

**CARDIFF SCHOOL OF EUROPEAN
LANGUAGES, TRANSLATION AND POLITICS**

PhD THESIS

**THE ROLE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN ACCESSION
TO THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE CASE OF TURKEY**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is empirical PhD research about political theory from the past and its adaptation in today's politics. The National identity is evaluated with Benedict Anderson's "imagined Communities" approach to the Republic of Turkey as a case study in the whole thesis.

The PhD thesis consists of two main sections and two main issues for Turkey's accession to the European Union. In one section is Turkey's permanent data which expresses the Turkish national identity, such as the geography, demography, language, ethnic composition and religion. The permanent data describes the unchangeable data for Turkey and it is the religion that is the informally important criterion for Turkey's accession to the European Union. In another section is Turkey's alterable data which expresses the Turkish national identity, such as the governmental and administrative ideologies like the guardian identity of the military regime in Turkey. The alterable data describes the changeable data for Turkey which is the formally important political criterion for the accession to the European Union. Both sections are closely related to the movements of political parties in Turkey to understand which identifiable data explicitly affected Turkey's bid for EU membership.

The history of the Turks and the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish administration and the relationship between Turkey and the European Union are the determining factors in deciding which data plays a role in Turkey's accession to the European Union, either the permanent data or the alterable data, and what role the data plays.

Primary research carried out in Brussels with very high level selected elite staff provides the argument in this thesis.

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ABBREVIATION

AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
AP	Justice Party
APD	Accession Partnership Document
CESP	Common External and Security Policy
CHP	Republican Peoples Party
D-8	Developing Eight
DECAF	Democratic Control of the Armed Forces
DP	Democrat Party
DSP	Democratic Left Party
DYP	True Path Party
ECHR	European Court Of Human Rights
ECJ	European Court Of Justice
EEC	European Economic Community
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
FIDH	International Federation for Human Rights
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSYK	Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors

IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession
ISPMS	Islamic Social and Political Movements
MHP	National Movement Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NP	National Programme
NSC	National Security Council
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe
RP	Welfare Party
SAPARD	Special Agricultural Pre-Accession System for Agriculture and Rural Development
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
TGS	Turkish General Staff
TPHR	Turkey's Population and Health Research
UN	United Nations
UNICE	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe'
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

THE RESEARCH AIMS AND THE SCOPE

1.1. Background to the Research

This thesis investigates the role of national identity in the accession to the European Union (EU). It does this by focussing on the case study of Turkey, a major nation that is also an EU candidate country. The thesis is in part a case study of the EU enlargement process, especially viewed from the Turkish perspective. But more profoundly the thesis explores Turkish national identity, contributing thereby to the literature on the social construction of nations. The thesis makes an original argument about the permanent characteristics of this identity (such as religion) and more malleable features that can be changed in order to facilitate EU entry the development of Turkish democracy.

Before starting to explore the further complex and multifaceted nature of national identity between Turkey and European Union, it is necessary to recall the main processes and elements forming the European Union. In order to analyse the thesis subject two processes will be at the core of the discussion: the idea of European common identity as a top-down process and the bottom-up manifestations of both Turkish political and cultural identities in the European Union; and whether they are cultural, historical and political in nature.

Studies on the national identity of Turkey have been conducted within the framework of the nation-state mindset by Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities – Reflections on

the origin and spread of nationalism”. The Anderson approach is used as a means of investigating Turkey’s national identity study and its boundaries.

Much of the background of the research uses previously published information about nationalism and national identity approaches. A broad range of writers were consulted on nationalism and national identity: notably Benedict Anderson, Manuel Castells, Robert Andersen, Tracy B. Strong, Grainne De Burca, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Anthony D. Smith, Hugh Seton Watson, Euan Hague, Barbara Goodwin, Samuel Huntington, as well as several other lesser writers. Turkish language sources were extremely important: these included the core works of Binnaz Toprak, Ali Engin Oba, Oral Sander, Paul Dumont, Mehmet Emin Erisingil, Ergun Ozbudun, Aydin Taneri, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Edward Mcnall Burns, Alaeddin Senel, Yusuf Akcura, Ziya Gokalp and Robert Devereaux. The political Islam dimension was elucidated through close study of Bucar Bojko, Mathew Nelson, Steffen Krohnert, Umit Ozday, Samuel P. Huntington, Lewis Bernand, Gwynne Dyer, Hasan Bulent Kahraman, Donald Everett Webster, Cuneyt Arcayurek, Richard Tapper, Dogu Perincek, Omer Faruk Genckaya, Hilal Elver, Ralf Gustav Dahrendorf, Amiran Kurtkan and Teresa Reeves. In order to investigate Turkish military power and the accession of the European Union I have relied on Michael Emerson, Hilal Elver, Tolga Bilgic, Pertna Karatzaa, Dilek Kurban, Mesur Uyar, Edward J. Erickson, Monnet Annabella Mittoz, Beatriz Villanueva Penas, Igor P. Lipovsky, Atay Akdevelioglu, Cagri Erhan, Baskin Oran, Kunda Keskin, Gokcen Alpkaya, Hikmet Ulugbey, Kudret Ozersay, Firat Melek, Mustafa Aydin, Omer Kurckuoglu, Sanem Baykal, Tugrul Arat, Erol Manisali, David Canezza, Cahit Goktepe, Gursel Cemal, Hanim Arikan, Michael D. Goldhaber, Gareth H. Jenkins, Tim Jacoby and Hale Williams. In order to investigate current situation between European Union and Turkey I have read Egemen Bagis, Ridvan Karluk, Ozgur Tonus, Gurkan Asli, Baris Yakup, Ahmet Sozen, Umit Cizre, Pinar Tank, Belen Gongora Martinez and Nichole Sobecki.

Nevertheless, in order to refine my arguments I have used some other qualitative and quantitative secondary research resources as Turkey 2008 Progress Report, Turkey 2009 Progress Report, Turkey 2010 Progress Report, KONDA Research Centre Surveys, Eurobarometer surveys, CoE Resolutions, Turkish High Court Appeal data, various Turkish and European newspapers, various official European and Turkish reports, European Treaty, European Council, Presidency conclusions and resolutions, EU News Agency and various news agencies, EU and Turkish official websites. As my primary research resources my background research included some combination of conducting a review of the political theory literature and interviewing the key actors who have conducted work in the area of Head of DG Enlargement Turkey Team. Interviewees included Jean Christophe Filori, DG Enlargement Education, Culture and Budget Department specialist Rainer Emcherman, Former Director of DG Agriculture and special adviser on Socio-economic and political changes in European Union rural areas in Institute for European Policy Professor Laurent Van Depoele and the Turkish diplomat at Permanent Representative office of Republic of Turkey in Brussels.

These mixed methods were appropriate to the task in hand; notably developing the frame of the imagined community to understand those areas in which core features of Turkish identity might evolve; and those ontologically constant features where changes was less likely.

1.2. Research Aims and Objectives

The overarching research question is whether there are constant features of Turkey's identity that preclude its membership of the European Union; or whether the case of Turkey is one that illustrates the power of Europeanisation in reshaping national identities. Set against this general background, the thesis explores both the Turkish understanding of democracy – which is influenced by the Turkish history of nation-building and is based on the governmental structure – and its likely implications for the European Union; and the European understanding of democracy and its likely implications for Turkey. It develops a framework consisting of national identity 'frames' for the analysis of national democratic systems. The research study is only a first step towards understanding why the Turkish governmental system might sometimes be considered as undemocratic, as it is occasionally portrayed at the European level. We also set out to enquire why Turkish religion is such a big issue in the accession of Europe. The two core features of contemporary Turkey – its governmental system and its religious identity - are at the heart, historically speaking, of the difficult encounter between Turkey and the European continent that has been playing itself out in the Accession negotiations since 2005.

The two-way nature of the Turkey-EU relationship requires us to focus on Turkey's domestic politics and society, as well as the reception of the Turkish case at the level of the EU and its member-states and its public opinions. The thesis thereby contains national- and European-level approaches. Firstly, there is an examination of how European-level issues influence the accession to the European Union. Secondly, there is a consideration of whether Turkish entrenched national practices and attitudes affect the process of European integration. At the Turkish level, adaptation pressure takes the form of domestic level changes in particular patterns of public administration and governance; the prospect of EU membership has produced major changes in domestic Turkish structures, notably in relation to the role of

the military and the consolidation of democratic forms. There is also evidence that Turkish citizens have changed their attitudes in some respects. The core question here is whether there is a goodness of fit between Turkish identity and European integration. If not, what are the possible paths whereby Turkey can become a member of the European Union? The thesis demonstrates that Turkey has made considerable efforts at adaptation; but EU membership depends on a pluralistic acceptance of identities on both sides.

The thesis is divided into five main parts. We begin in *part one* with a literature review, which is intended to set out the theoretical approach we intend to adopt for the study of 'Turkey's national identity'. This approach is largely based on Benedict Anderson's classic book "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism". We adapt Anderson to the case of Turkey's national identity; and we use the insights contained therein to uncover the key themes of Turkish nationalism and dimensions of identity with a particular understanding of both European and Turkish identities.

In *part two* we consider the "**religious issue**", or the identity of Turkey as a Muslim country; we argue that this reality, though not part of any formal negotiation criteria of the EU, has become one of the core informal criteria for Turkish accession to the EU. There is distrust of Turkey because of its status as a large state with a Muslim majority. We argue that there are core criteria that are difficult to change; notably the nature of the religious majority. These ontologically constant criteria have come to constitute the informal criteria in Turkey's bid for European Union (EU) membership. From Anderson, we distinguish between three approaches that help to shape Turkey's identity: the ontological (deep truth), the historical (the legacy of the past) and the political (pressing contemporary issues or patterns of party competition). We apply these different levels both to Turkish identity and the reception of this identity at the EU level. What we label as the ontological constants are: geography,

demography, ethnic composition, language and religion. In the chapters under part two, we conclude by considering the role of political Islam

In part *three*, we consider the “**military dimension**”, which we identify as the main formal criteria for Turkish accession into the EU, according to the formal negotiations between EU member states and Turkey. We argue that the broad area of the military and democracy is one which is not so tied to an unchanging conception of national identity. There has been substantial change, as modern Turkey has abandoned key elements of its militaristic past and adapted to European democratic norms. The evidence demonstrates, however, that the capacity for resistance on behalf of the military remains strong. The chapters in part three explore Turkey’s *alterable* characteristics, by which we signify that elements of Turkish politics and identity that are liable to change given external pressures. We argue that these *variables* can also be understood in terms of Anderson’s ontological, historical and political design approaches. They comprise changes in the pattern of military administration, in the role of the army, in the acceptance of democratic norms; together they are all part of the formal criteria for accession to the European Union. Turkey has to adapt to the Copenhagen political criteria and demonstrate its capacity to integrate the *acquis communautaire*.

In part *four* the thesis moves to consideration of the “**accession process**” itself. We provide an outline of the relationship between Turkey and the EU and demonstrate how the history of Turkey’s integration into the EU has been primarily affected by Turkish military issues. The European integration process involves a combination of an analysis of the democratic/state frameworks which underpin Turkey’s political movements and a historical and up-to-date view of the accession process, which this thesis will illustrate in order to provide a picture of the issues from both the European and Turkish perspectives. However, the main issues which will directly affect Turkey’s accession into the EU stem from a critique of ‘Turkey’s democratic deficit’, which, according to the EU, is derived from Turkish

institutional configurations and practices. This research identifies significant corresponding elements in the main issues associated with the process of becoming a democratic state and their cause and effect as the main issues which underpin how Turkey's political movements are portrayed.

Part *five* is being conducted to investigate “**stability**” which we investigate other invisible obstacles to the creation of sustainable democracy in Turkey. In order to make sustainable democracy in Turkey, economic, regional, cultural and social instabilities in Turkey are investigated. This chapter contains much of the evidence from the primary research interviews that were carried out at both the Turkish and European levels. As part of the research I carried out a substantial number of interviews with key figures in Brussels (notably the head of the Turkey team in DG Enlargement) amongst officials and academics.

The overarching objective of the thesis was to endeavour to discover a whether there exists a cause-and-effect relationship between the role of national identity, and the conditions for acceding to the European Union. We chose the case of Turkey as potentially a difficult one; a major state in terms of population with a distinctive identity rooted in religious preferences, a precise sociological and demographic composition and a political past where forms of centralised republicanism have alternated with periods of military rule. Our main conclusion is that Turkey has been undergoing a period of change that one might describe as the ‘Europeanization’ of the Turkish political system and Turkish citizens’ ideologies. The analysis will demonstrate that, alongside constants in Turkish identity and the imagination of citizens’, the country has come a long towards meeting the convergence criteria for EU membership; and that, if this is still refused, this obstacles tells us at least as much about existing EU states as it does about Turkey.

Finally, the thesis casts a new light on questions about identities, their intangible and flexible character. Some traits of a national identity are more malleable than others; we

demonstrate that this is the case for much of the political inheritance that can loosely be labelled as Kemalist. On the other hand, tensions have appeared between the status of Turkey as a country with a Muslim majority, and the informal biases that condition the reaction of some powerful existing member states to the prospect of Turkish entry. Whether the EU is ready or not to admit a large, mainly Muslim, mainly non-European country is open to some doubt. We argue, therefore, that national identity does assume an important role in terms of accession to the European Union, and that it is more difficult for Turkey than, for example, for a non-Muslim country such as Poland. However, the prospect of full European integration is not irremediably closed to Turkey. Turkish governments had undertaken important democratic and secular reforms and have improved the socio-economic welfare of Turkish citizens. National identity dynamics have made a difference in the case of Turkey, but it is too early to predict whether entry will be closed off indefinitely, or whether similar identity configurations in other places would produce similar effects.

1.3. Research Questions

The thesis set out to examine the role of identity in processes of EU accession: in this case for case of Turkey's EU Membership. The initial question was framed in the following terms: "What is the role of national identity in accession to the European Union: the Case of Turkey?" There has been a good deal written about Turkey and Europe, but rarely from the specific angle of identity. The identity dimension plays itself out at more than one level: until Europeans see Turks as 'one of them', they will not be admitted into the group identity of being European, and hence will not be able to join the European Union. The prospect of membership will consistently be postponed and possibly eventually denied outright.

The research engages in a broad discussion of many different aspects of national identity. Our central argument is that there are ways to modify identities so as to reduce the

intractability of conflicts, though we draw a distinction throughout between constants and variables in identity construction. This discussion is rooted in an overview of the key literature in relation to nationalism and national identity. It addresses, in a very specific way, key issues with regard to Turkey's national identity. It is also more broadly situated in the study of the history of European integration and the future of Turkey's EU membership.

Four substantive research questions are addressed:

1. What is the Turkey national identity and how is this expressed in terms of Turkey's political order?
2. What are the main constants and variables of Turkey's national identity and how do those issue influences the prospect of Turkish integration within the European Union?
3. What are the main differences between European identities' and Turkish identity? We will mobilise various qualitative and quantitative analyses to answer this question
4. Does Turkey's national identity play a key role in its attempt to join the European Union?

1.4. Research Rationale

There are several reasons for choosing Turkey as the focus study. First of all, Turkey is one of the candidate countries for the European Union membership, and must harmonize with the *acquis communautaire* during the negotiations in the pre-accession process. If the debate about the composition and form of a Turkish identity has become so complex today, it is because the nature of that identity is still unclear.

National identity is a difficult concept with which to analyze foreign policy initiatives, but it offers an insightful and interesting route to explore the Turkish EU accession. With respect to Europe's relations with Turkey, the problem of national identity has been and will

continue to be inhibiting Europe's changing form, which has contributed to an identity shift which has affected its perception of itself and its relations with Turkey.

This thesis looks at the identity shifts associated with Turkish accession and its spin-offs: nationalism, racially and culturally oriented policies in Turkey, a European identity crisis and the changing perception of Turkey as a consequence of these factors. The relationship between the EU's own identity crisis and Turkish accession provides the context for examining shifts in Turkish identity formation.

Identity is a conception of self in relation to others. This conception includes aspects of language, tradition, history, culture, territoriality, and ethnicity. States have different identities since they differ in one or more of these aspects.

Identity is a difficult concept with which to analyze foreign policy initiatives, but in the case of Europe and Turkey they offer an insightful and interesting route to explore. In Europe, the post-Cold War period has been one of great hope and great discouragement. Steps toward unification have appeared successful thus far, but problems have arisen that could hinder Europe's international dexterity and internal stability. With respect to its relations with Turkey, these problems have been and will continue to be tense. Europe's changing form, with resultant hardships, has contributed to an identity shift which has affected its perception of itself and relations with Turkey.

Perceptions of other states constantly fluctuate on a supranational level. States may be politically recognized or not; treaties may be adhered to or not; diplomatic ties may be retained or not. On an identification level, however, perception of other states and the ethnicities and cultures within them are less likely to fluctuate. It is for this reason that perception change is such an important factor in looking at the socio-political orientation of any given state or group of states.

The identity of Europe directly relates to its perception of other states. The process of unification, underlined by a concerted effort to define or create a European culture and identity, has recreated or rediscovered perceptions of others. The identity's constructs are still malleable and perceptions of other states and regions are dynamic at best, chaotic or confused at worst. Whether negative or positive, wrong or right, these perceptions will become foundational as time passes.

Affecting identity to a large extent has been the hardship of unification, mainly as a result of economic challenges and the social problems accompanying them. Important to note is the loss aversion theory where expectations remain stable. External shocks, or economic decline, can result in a changing focus of (European) identity. New economic challenges can produce a rise of discriminatory behaviour in various European states, which will be discussed in further detail later. A relatively new, unified Europe perceives others in relation to its unification, since unification is at the heart of its identity shift. There are geographical areas which are considered strategically important within this new unification paradigm. Primary importance has lain in Eastern Europe, where countries are either already joined, are in the process of joining, or are being considered for membership of the European Union. The Turkish case is not always seen as a priority, given this spatial preference.

Many claim that a variety of domestic problems in Turkey, such as human rights violations, economic instability, population growth, and the political presence of religious based groups have frustrated Turkey's goals. Though these factors are generally accepted, they are not the sole reasons for blocking Turkey from full European integration. European perception has been integral in their being turned down.

Particularly crucial in this group of anti-Turkish European states is Germany, whose Turkish Muslim population is the largest in Europe. Uniquely enough, policies being put forth appear to be attempting a kind of heterogeneity within a homogeneous state system.

Europe seems to be attempting a kind of cultural federalism (heterogeneity) within a political union (homogeneity). The cultural federalism, however, would not be totally heterogeneous as particular ethnic and religious groups will be at the core. Differentiation would be on the basis of what European language is spoken or to which set of European traditions a group adhered. This attempt at balancing between heterogeneity and homogeneity may result in great contradiction for the efficient functioning of the super-state and society. It would also pose considerable hurdles for Europeans on a level of identification. As they are already experiencing the difficulties of friction between various European cultures, creating a homogeneous state structure without de-emphasizing the proposed federalist framework of the cultural identity may be more difficult (with less reward) than relinquishing cultural control to a kind of conservative-based multicultural system.

1.5. The Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, which has raised issues relating to Turkey's national identity and the bid for European Union membership, the core research questions are developed in **Chapter Two**, which examines two main sets of literature around Nationalism and Turkish national identity. Consideration of the broad literature on nationalism is key to our endeavour of uncovering the role of national identity in joining the European Union. We are able to define the bases of a framework of analysis that is drawn from Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and that constructs identity in terms of an ongoing dialogue between: ontological constants (such as religion and deep beliefs), a selective interpretation of historical variables (how is history used in national construction) and more malleable identity markers that are contingent upon specific periods and circumstances.

In **Chapter Three**, we build upon these theoretical approaches with a view to identifying gaps in the research field. We draw liberally on Benedict Anderson's approach,

using quotations to direct the reader to the precise areas of analysis that will be undertaken in the thesis.

In **Chapter Four**, we address the ontological constants of Turkey's identity. We have drawn upon evidence from articles, newspapers, surveys and politicians' visions in relation to the fixed and variable items which form the constant characteristics of Turkish politics and society. We link discussion of these ontological constants with a broader debate about whether Muslim Turkey falls foul of informal criteria of EU entry. In this chapter, extensive evidence is provided in relation to the nation's history, geography, demography, population, language, ethics and religion. The argument presented is that Turkey has a distinctive cultural contribution that has provided a challenge to those forces within the EU that are fearful of the entry of this large, demographically vibrant state.

Insofar as Turkey itself is concerned, the thesis seeks to enhance the framework developed by Benedict Anderson with his thesis of nations as "Imagined Communities". The thesis endeavours to find responses to questions such as: Do Turkish people see themselves as part of Europe with their common values (such as religion, ethics, race, ancestry)? Or do Turkish people see themselves as belonging to Turkish countries or as part of the Muslim world with which they have a common religion? Benedict Anderson's theoretical perspective is applied to Turkey's national identity throughout the thesis. This theoretical approach and analytical model is the best suited to identify the generation of the nation's identity, its common geography, its cultural traits and the history of its communities. Chapter four looks at what are labelled the ontological constants of Turkish identity, most particularly its religious heritage. The thesis contrasts, in some important respects, understandings of the role of religion in Turkey and in various European countries. The chapter also casts a critical eye on the literature on the Clash of Civilisations, which creates a set of well-rehearsed arguments for rejecting the other, in this case Turkey. While the Clash of Civilisations

approach condemns Turkey to an Anatolian backwater, the chapter reminds the reader of the role of Islam in European history and the historical significance of the forces that comprise contemporary Turkey.

Chapter Five focuses on religious issues in order to provide an in-depth explanation of how the Islamist movement began in Turkish history. In this chapter attention turns to religion to understand the history of political movements in Turkey. In order to illustrate the history of Islamism in Turkey, the chapter revisits the period of the Ottoman Empire, and then discusses the underpinnings of the Kemalist period which has done so much to shape contemporary Turkey. The chapter concludes by observing the emergence of a new strand of political Islam in Turkey, arguing that the AKP has succeeded in embodying a synthesis of Turkey's Islamic and Republican legacies.

Chapter Six addresses the formal issues at the heart of Turkey's attempted accession to the European Union. We discuss the formal procedure for accession into the European Union. An overview is provided of Turkey's political evolution towards the standard required by the EU under the Copenhagen criteria. Evidence is drawn from primary research interviews in Brussels, from surveys and from the Turkey Progress Reports. It is argued that Turkey has come a long way in reforming its political and legal systems in order to accommodate the European Union. Though the accession negotiations have stuttered, the country has fulfilled many of the Copenhagen Criteria; it has a form of stable democracy and institutions and of rule of law. Considerable progress has been made with respect to human rights in Turkey. So why have accession negotiations stalled? The chapter presents some evidence on specific cases – the Ergenekon case and Kurdish issue – which might explain in part why Turkey is not yet deemed to be fit for EU membership. Turkey is still perceived to be falling down in terms of formal criteria, and also faces the obstacles of informal barriers to its bid for EU membership.

Chapter Seven presents a historical overview of the Turkish military, traditionally presented as one of the key obstacles in the path of the democratisation necessary for Turkey's EU membership bid to succeed. The chapter starts with a historically based analysis of the role of military power during the Ottoman sovereignty period. It then explains the importance of the Turkish Armed Forces in the process of establishing and consolidating the Republic of Turkey. The chapter demonstrates how, vested with prestige from the Ataturk period, the army was able to legitimize its "guardianship" role through its unique position in society as its most trusted institution, and through its penetration of the core institutions of the State. The chapter demonstrates that military power and the identity of the armed forces comprise an important part of modern Turkish identity; but the role of the military has been subject to change and this particular identity marker has undergone a substantial evolution, in line with our framework of variable facets of identity. But the chapter also recalls the legacy of repeated military coups that is also part of the heritage of the post-Kemalist regime. Ultimately, the military remains an obstacle to the evolution of Turkey towards a democratic nation-state.

In **Chapter Eight**, the core themes are brought together in chapter, which analyses in detail the history of the integration process and the current state of relations between the EU and Turkey. Two important points are made in this chapter. First, that when progress towards European integration has stalled, this is usually as a result of the EU freezing relations as a result of military coups in Turkey. Second, this chapter will also show that democratic government constitutes a form of alterable data, because it could change, given that Turkey's new constitution approved a process of democratisation in 2010.

Chapter Nine then analyses other 'invisible' obstacles that make sustainable democracy in Turkey difficult to achieve. The chapter looks in turn at the economic, regional, cultural and social instabilities in Turkey. It draws fairly heavily on primary research

interviews that took place in Brussels and that sought to elucidate how best to move forward in the context of Turkey's bid. The chapter contends that there are invisible boundaries, based on economical, regional, social and cultural objections to Turkey's membership by powerful players within the EU. Understanding these invisible boundaries is key to explaining why existing players are afraid of the impact of a potential Turkish entry and why they expressed vehement opposition to Turkey's membership of the EU. This episode demonstrates once again that the EU is a club whose rules are defined by existing members.

Finally **Chapter Ten** reviews the research and its findings and present some potential future avenues of research.

PART I

**LITERATURE
REVIEW**

Chapter 2

NATIONALISM & NATIONAL IDENTITY

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Nationalism might be generally thought of as an ideology that uses national identity as the basis for social and political action.¹ Identity is often constructed in terms of its adjectival values: for instance in terms of national identity, religious identity or ethnic identity. Identity is, in practice, usually associated with a specific form: such as religious, ethnic or cultural. In this thesis, Benedict Anderson's approach towards nationalism and national identity will be used to understand Turkish national identity. While modern Turkey draws on older forms of national identity, it is also influenced by new identity markers. There are tensions between the old and the new; and these tensions can produce polarisation within the community. National identity results from the politicisation of specific identity markers.

This argument recognises that communities, citizens and peoples can develop distinct identities. Communities define themselves in terms of a common denominator, often understood in terms of national symbols and reinvented histories. In this thesis we retrace

¹ Andersen, R. 2001. "National Identity and Independence Attitudes: Minority Nationalism in Scotland and Wales". Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends Working Paper Number 86.

modern Turkish identity in the specific context of the country's broader efforts to join the European Union. The focus shifts in turn from Turkish perceptions of identity as develop through its post 1923 history; to the perspective on Turkey from the position of states and populations within the European Union. To recall, the European Union has twenty-seven member states following six enlargements since the European Coal and Steel Community was established by six founding states in 1951. At present, the EU has three more candidate countries: Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey. As a supra state undergoing structuring, the European Union is living through three main forms of integration simultaneously. These are cultural, economic and political integration. These three related phases are indispensable for structuring a supra state.

The integration process of the European Union has been analysed in terms of economic and political phases but the necessary importance has not been given to cultural integration analyses. In this thesis, we adopt a cultural integration centred approach greatly influenced by Benedict Andersen's persuasive thesis on imagined communities. Anderson² adopts a historical sociological approach to understanding nationalism. In other words, the meanings of the events in history are analysed and interpreted with a historical perspective. Common interests and values need to exist in order for people to come together to act in common and to create a common structure. This is a general principle. Although society is not a mathematical sum of individuals and has its own separate and specific personality, the above-written principle is valid for societies which are different from each other. That is, common interest and common values are required between subgroups and social groups so that a society can come together.

Anderson considers national structure to be a social structure neither based fully on blood relationship, as is the case in sub-national social groups like clans and tribes, nor

² Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

completely on the lack of this relationship³. In addition, a national structure is a complex and stable social synergy including ethnic and historical experiences. Today, the political structuring of the world is based on this type of nation-state. A political organization called a nation-state is the organization of the community phase based on the nation, indicating that the structuring of the nation is the most mature and stable phase of social evolution. The integration of the nation is needed to obtain this political structure; similarly, minimum communal integration is necessary for supranational political structuring. While a common history, motherland, culture and common interests provide this during the integration of the nation, minimum common values are required in supranational communal integration.

A great majority of European Union citizens do not want the membership of Turkey with 80 million people, according to research implemented by Eurobarometer⁴ in 2006. Turkey is a big and populated country. Opposition to Turkish membership is predicated upon a fear that the current cultural structure of the European Union will be challenged in the case of Turkey's EU membership.⁵

The nation-states of the EU are generally perceived to be bound by a common geography, a shared sense of history, a national culture, a degree of proximity between citizens and finally common future expectations. In turn the EU is based, at least in part, on the belief that nation-states should share common values, not least those of democracy. Hence, the cultural spread within the EU, though considerable, is limited by the belief that EU states ought to be able to interact with each other. In practice, Turkey itself represents a

³ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁴ Eurobarometer. 2006. "Attitudes towards European Union Enlargement" Fieldwork. March–May 2006, Brussels: European Commission. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_255_en.pdf> [Accessed October 7th, 2007]

⁵ Eurobarometer. 2006. "Attitudes towards European Union Enlargement" Fieldwork. March–May 2006, Brussels: European Commission. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_255_en.pdf> [Accessed October 7th, 2007]

multicultural model with other identities such as Armenian, Arabic and Kurdish enhancing citizenship bonds.

Needless to say, the EU membership of Turkey would differ from that of other EU member countries, from the point of view of population, geography, economy, security, military potential and, most importantly, culture and religion. The special nature of Turkey has been an obstacle to its integration in the EU. This ambivalence might be illustrated by exploring the views of some top political elites. Thus, German Parliamentarian Hans-Gert Pöttering explains, “Although Turkey meets all criteria; the opinions of the citizens should be taken into consideration while EU decides on the full membership of Turkey”. In addition, he defended most of the European countries which would say “no” to the membership of Turkey if a referendum were organized. The German parliamentarian explained that, even though Turkey would meet all the criteria, its full membership was not guaranteed and added “there is a majority objecting to Turkey’s membership in Europe and this should be taken seriously?”⁶

A similar sentiment was expressed by French politician Jean Marie Le Pen, who affirmed that Turkey’s EU membership was like the participation of volleyball players in a football game and asserted that privileged partnership should be given to Turkey. While Le Pen thinks that Turkey is not a European country, Gollnisch said, “If Turkey becomes a member of the EU, then will Israel, Guinea, Algeria, South Africa become full members? This can never happen”⁷. In addition, he added that “Turkey was not European in terms of its geographical, political and cultural dimensions and Turkish citizens did not want the EU and

⁶ Spiegel Online. 2009. “Pöttering Warns against EU Membership for Turkey” Brussels: Available from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,626644,00.html> < [Accessed May 25th, 2009]

⁷ Cansu Camlibel. 2007. “EU made up of Christian values, Turkey has no place in it, says far right EU politician” Brussels: Turkish Daily News. Available from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=eu-made-up-of-christian-values-turkey-has-no-place-in-it-says-far-right-eu-politician-2007-03-10> < [Accessed October 3rd, 2007]

desired to be together with Islamic countries; European civilization was based on Christian values and the development of Europe to all areas was again based on Christianity”.⁸

After all, both geographical borders of Turkey extend to the Middle East, the Balkans, Caucasus and the Arabian Peninsula and a Muslim country’s candidacy is realized for the first time in history. Can Turkey be a European country as in Le Pen’s statement? Is it right to criticize the EU membership of Turkey from the point of view of national identity? Is cultural difference the cause of the gap between the two sides?

Doubtless, religious disparity or solidarity will never be a formal criterion or issue in accession to the EU in the light of the accession criteria (the Copenhagen criteria). However, as a candidate country, Turkey has to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria but this criterion is not guarantee for Europeanization of Turkey. Here another research question appears according to Anderson’s approach: Do Turkish people see themselves as part of Europe with their common (Turkish) values (such as religion, ethics, race, ancestry)? Or do Turkish people see themselves as belonging to Turkish countries (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Turkmenistan, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and Uzbekistan as well as Turkey) or as part of the Muslim world as they have a common religion? This is from the Turkish point of view. Do Europeans (of the twenty-seven EU Member States) see themselves as different (in culture, ethics, religion, etc.) from Turkish peoples or the Muslim world? The discussion by Anderson suggests that “The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations”.⁹

⁸ Cansu Camlibel. 2007. “EU made up of Christian values, Turkey has no place in it, says far right EU politician” Brussels: Turkish Daily News. Available from < <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=eu-made-up-of-christian-values-turkey-has-no-place-in-it-says-far-right-eu-politician-2007-03-10>> [Accessed October 3rd, 2007]

⁹ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso.

Doubtless, twenty-seven Member States have different beliefs (Protestant and Catholic Christianity) among them. However, Turkish citizens of Turkey have never participated in Christianity (though some have after marriage with Christians).

There has also been close interaction between Turkish culture and European culture; the Ottoman Empire managed European lands in Vienna for centuries. The European reference was also central for Atatürk, whose Turkish revolutions were underpinned by notions of westernization and Europeanization. Atatürk (founder of Republic of Turkey) brought the Republic of Turkey closer to Europe and provided Turkish society with the opportunity to make close contact with European cultures. Turks moved closer to European cultures, at least in comparison to other Turks and Muslims, after the creation of the Republic of Turkey by Atatürk.

The reasons for conflicts between Turkey and Europe might be economic or political and geographic or religious. Why is it important to consider the question of Turkish identity? Why should cultural varieties coming into being with the effect of modernism and postmodernism be analysed? And how European is Turkey itself? How does it compare with other EU countries? Arguments used against Turkey's 'belonging' to the European family have been based on religion, history, geography and civilization. Citations such as the above assume that Turkey does not conform to understandings of a common European identity.

This chapter is a literature review chapter which seeks to understand Turkish identity and Turkish nationalism using approaches developed by Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Community* work in relation to the generation of a state's (the Republic of Turkey) identity. The following chapters describe key aspects of a national identity in a specific context: that of Turkey in the context of its eventual accession into the EU.

2.2. The Generation of Nationalism and Explaining Nationalism

Nationalism is a political conception defending the political solidarity and sovereignty of a community called a nation due to linguistic, religious, historical or cultural relations. In other words, this view contends that a commitment to the national ideal is more important than commitment to the universal principles or rights and freedoms of an individual.

Nationalism became a dominant ideology in Europe with the beginning of the 19th century and across the world in the 20th century. The political map of the world was shaped in accordance with the principles of nationalism during this period. Key historical dates in the development of the Nation would naturally refer to the peace of Westphalia (1648), the French revolution (1848) and the German-Italian unifications (1858-1871).

Nation-building and nationalism has spawned a very rich literature, encompassing the theoretical studies of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Elie Kedourie and Anthony Smith and many others. These studies encompass a broad range of conceptions that are sometimes associated with nationalism, such as the public spirit, militarism, chauvinism, ethnic belonging, nationalism, irredentism, fascism, militancy, religiosity, authoritativeness, racialism, anti-imperialism, irritability, imagined communities, historical identity, heroism, spirituality, cult of ancestry, commitment, sovereignty, common decision, motherland, romanticism and culture.

It emerges from these works that the most important factor causing nationalism is the necessity to socialize the sense of political belonging as being independent from an emperor that had previously been described on the basis of emperor and dynasty. Political belonging and discipline had to be based on the common decision of the “community”. Therefore, nationalism emerged as a radical, revolutionary, anti-monarchist movement against the

settled Monarchical order in the 18th and 19th century. It is based on community; but difficulties in defining “community” led some nationalist intellectuals to prefer emotional meanings of the Nation at the risk of forcing facts and logic. For example, were Sicilians or Venetians (speaking the same language) a separate nation or part of the Italian nation? Did the nation of Austria exist? Were Macedonians separate nations or Bulgarian or part of South Slav? Proponents of different ideas about this issue tried to prove the “natural” existence of the nations they were defending from the beginning of time by attributing an imagined history or imagined roots to the related nation.

Nations are cultural beings that can be understood as having objective characteristics. Factors such as “having a common history, speaking the same language, having the same religion” determine the cultural being of nations. Perceiving “nation” as having an objective meaning helps us understand the tangible characteristics of a nation, such as language and religion. With a more subjective meaning, nations are possible when members define themselves as individuals belonging to that nation. An individual accepts his/herself as a member of the nation. (S)he exists as a political subject in a national sense. The most important benefit of the definition of nations with a subjective meaning is the differentiation of nation from “ethnic group”. Both objective and subjective definitions of the nation can be held to be valid. Indeed, they have complementary characteristics. However, when nationalism is included, the issue takes on a more complex structure, because nationalism is a political doctrine. Two important factors exist for nationalism. One of them is loyalty to a nation existing in a cultural sense and the second factor is existence in a community with citizenship relations in a political sense. As a result of the above-written definitions (objective and subjective nation), the conception of nation is obvious both in the cultural and the political sense.

Referring to the national concept in the political sense involves the appearance of a human group wherein individuals (within a nation) interconnect and share ‘citizenship bonds’. This view was generated by Jean Jacques Rousseau. The views of Jean Jacques Rousseau were valued, and French people escaped from being slaves of the emperor and appeared as “citizens having rights and freedoms”.¹⁰

In the political sense, the concept of nation became transformed into one of nationalism at the end of the 19th century. As a result, the generation of nations by nationalism instead of generation of nationalism by nations occurred. This change started a process in which regional differences were minimized, the single-type nation concept was handled and conceptions such as national songs and a single language were discussed. This process of national construction by nationalism is pertinent in the case of Turkey: the next section will demonstrate how the adoption of a national song and a single language were considered as germane by Ataturk.

Generally, the main concepts of nationalism are limited to the mother country and national borders, mother language and writing, religion, history and education, and ethnic belonging. In nationalist thought, all of these form part of a national character. While some nations have accepted ethnic roots, bond and blood as a determinant of national character, others accept climate, political–religious–social and economical conditions as determinants of national identification.

¹⁰ Strong, Tracy B. 2002. *Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Politics of the Ordinary*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

2.3. The Importance of Illustrating “The Role of National Identity in the Accession to the European Union”

The question of Turkish identity is highly relevant politically, because it is often presented as an obstacle that prevents Turkish entry into the EU. A brief history of the EU is provided in the ensuing section. France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries concluded the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. More than forty years later, the European Community had been transformed as a polity, with more than double its original number of Member States. But the nation of its transformation (or, by its modern name, “Europeanization”) comes from changes deeper than its geography or demography.

Before going further, it is necessary to distinguish European identity from Europeanization. European identity can be defined as a political tool operationalised by various policies, decrees and programmes created by European institutions with the aim of developing a new sense of collective and political identity among the peoples of Europe. It could also be defined as a new hybrid form of transnational and cultural identity. Europeanisation, on the other hand, refers to the impact of the EU on substantive public policies or political attitudes.

There are serious obstacles to any enterprise that seeks to propose a European identity; the traditional values of national belonging to a political “imagined community” clash with the postmodern character of EU societies. By necessity, any attempt to discuss what is meant by European identity requires us to take into account traditional and contemporary ways of self-identification, such as a national or local sense of belonging. To be British or to be French is to be conscious of different historical, cultural, economic and

political processes which, with the European concept, have become increasingly relevant and also problematic, as national and political contexts shape the nature of the debate.

Following the draft treaty establishing a constitution for Europe signed by twenty-five member states in October 2004, De Burca (2005) wrote a book entitled “The EU Constitution: in search of Europe’s International Identity”¹¹. The core thesis of De Burca’s book is that theoretical accounts of identity have in common is a belief that individual, national and group identities are constructed or formed at least in part around a differentiation between self and other, between what is perceived as internal (European) and belonging and what is perceived as external (not-European).¹² From the perspective of the European politicians cited above, Turkey falls clearly into the other, non-European category. But the internal-external dynamic can work in several directions. Jean Baudrillard¹³ suggests that European identity can be perceived when desired and wanted, as was the case in parts of Eastern Europe before 1989 or in Turkey today. However, it might also be argued that in Western Europe the desire to become European varies greatly from one country to the next and from one social group or generation to another.

The historical background to the European Union is vital to an understanding of how groups are socially constructed through social institutions and every practice that shapes the sense of belonging to a political community. When summarizing the ideas behind the evolution of the European Union, it is important to keep in mind that it has become a complex political entity defined by a set of treaties, laws and institutions which have altered

¹¹ De Burca, Grainne. 2005. *The EU Constitution: in search of Europe’s International Identity*. Netherlands: Europa Law Publishing.

¹² Open Europe Briefing Note. “The Government’s Case Examined”. Available from <www.openeurope.org.uk/research/government_arguments.pdf> [Accessed August 7th, 2007]

¹³ Sassatelli M. *Europe, Globalization and the Destiny of Culture* An Interview with Jean Baudrillard, *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(4): 521–530.

the political, economic, social and cultural landscape of Western Europe.¹⁴ We could define this situation as a complex identity.

The European Constitution may draw “inspiration from the cultural, religious, and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality, and the rule of law”.¹⁵ This construction of national may appear to set up a conflict between the EU’s cultural, religious, and humanist inheritance and the position of Turkey’s citizens. Does Turkish people “imagine themselves” as European in the same way as European people do? We will return to this powerful question later, but first let us develop further the distinctions between objective and subjective approaches, and the contrasting theoretical perspectives that we could use in this thesis.

2.4. Theoretical Approaches towards Nationalism and National Identity

¹⁴ For a useful and solid introduction to the European Union, see Gilbert (2003) and McCormick (1999).

¹⁵ *Treaty of Lisbon (2007)*, The Treaty of Lisbon (also known as the Reform Treaty) is a treaty designed to streamline the workings of the European Union (EU) with amendments to the Treaty on European Union (TEU, Maastricht) and the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEC, Rome), the latter being renamed Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) in the process in 13 December 2007. [Online Resources]. Available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Lisbon> [Accessed May 5th, 2009]

When nationalism is analysed conceptually, it is possible to see various inconsistent and variable definitions. Many theoreticians have handled this concept with different values and factors in their articles. However, in order to understand which definition of nationalism is suitable for the argument of this thesis, we need to keep in mind our central focus: that of Turkey's national identity, and whether it prevents an obstacle in the accession to the European Union. This study will help to show reader why Benedict Anderson's political theory¹⁶ about nationalism best captures the subjective meanings of Turkey's national identity, and how that identity itself is mediated by others within the EU, complicating the future possible Turkish integration with European Union. Anderson is valued because he allows national identities to evolve, not merely to be considered as an unchanging constant. Our preference for Anderson is enhanced by a brief considered of other key nationalist writers in the field.

In contrast to modernist scholars, Benedict Anderson¹⁷, an expert of South-eastern expert nationalism, argued that nationalism cannot be defined by a fixed framework of definition and ought not to be limited to pre-existing conceptions. While explaining the objective of his work, *Imagined Communities*, he starts by considering whether a number of indecisive hypotheses should be proposed in order to reach a more satisfying definition of nationalism. But the core of his work is that nations are variable, because different facets are mobilised as part of the imagined community that any nation represents. At most, nationally imagined communities can be compared with other, for example to capture the degree of solidarity amongst their members.

¹⁶ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

¹⁷ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

A writer such as Hobsbawm would also reject that any too rigid definition of nationalism. In his book *Nations and Nationalism*, Hobsbawm¹⁸ states that the world of the 19th century was not cosmopolitan; instead, it was international. In this way, he tried to make the appearance of nationalism depend on mercantilist economical politics. Nations appeared as closely connected to the national economy concept. States pursued central economic politics within the context of firm, bounded certain borders. Citizens living within these territorial borders shared common economic values, which later spread to common cultural values. Nations which started as economic units of organisation developed more comprehensive forms of political ideology; such national economies were eventually grouped within the system of nations. For Hobsbawm, language, religion, ethnic basis and common history influence the appearance of nation; however, the appearance of nationalism in the political sense should be handled separately from these factors. A similar focus on objective factors was shared with another writers such as Ernest Gellner¹⁹; modern nations developed as a result of changes in the population balance between rural areas and cities, producing new social groups (the bourgeoisie) in time demanding new forms of political organisation and the safeguard of individual property rights. For Gellner, these economic variables, understood in terms of the need to trade within larger borders, helped to explain the appearance of the bourgeoisie as a new power against Monarchical political authority in the 18th century. The bourgeois, trying to remove the power centres of the feudal period, acted as a dynamic force behind the creation a new system of states, which depended on a single centre within a larger territory. The French Revolution represented millions of people, who spoke different languages and belonged to different ethnic groups and religions, coming together under a common objective. The nationalism of Western Europe can be defined with the benefits of

¹⁸ Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁹ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

this revolution. In other words, the Revolution helped to determine the structure of the modern nation-state, based on a large community, and driven politically and economically by a mass bourgeoisie. This new state relied on a central authority that was able to ensure order, police the market and control borders. The French revolution was primarily economic in this account; it allowed the bourgeoisie to trade across the boundaries of former feudal borders, and it granted the right for the bourgeoisie to engage in their business independently within the borders of the state. Defining nationalism as a culture attaining power as a result of industrialization, E. Gellner²⁰ is different from other intellectuals who were conceptualizing nationalism with a political history analysis. If Gellner²¹ focussed on the economic preconditions for the rise of nations, Anthony Smith identified core features associated with national identity. The definitions of nationalism by Anthony Smith²², based on symbols and highlighting the common generation of myths, were the result of a long historical process. For Smith, nationalism was defined by communities which have a common language, common religion, common ethnic basis, common culture, common history and common geography instead of political realities. These objective traits give rise to symbolic forms of solidarity which bind members of nations. Nationalism was not inevitable; some of the nations living in the former USSR had their nationalities frozen after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Marxists accept that nation, nationalism and religion are artificial consciousness and class relations define relations and identity. Nation and nationalism are not universal; they are back factors that should be overcome, because the history of humanity is a history of progress. Marxists do not take into consideration the role that religion and nation play in the civilization movement during the history of humanity by suggesting class relations

²⁰ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

²¹ Gellner, Ernest 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

²² Smith, D. Anthony, *Theories of Nationalism* (1971), *Theories of Nationalism* (1983), *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1987), *National Identity* (1991), *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (1995), *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998), *The Nation in History* (2000), *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (2003).

and class identity as a single factor and free of a nature destroying the identity of nation and religion. After the dissolution of the USSR, however, many nations achieved their own nation-state and others started to represent themselves as autonomous republics. The Soviet example demonstrates the difficulties of reasoning in terms of historically bound processes; nationalism can gain new meanings as historical circumstances evolve.

A.D. Smith²³ was primarily interested in conceptualising nationalism as a doctrine instead of a theory and highlighted the necessity to give weight to the modernistic meaning of this doctrine. In particular, he was trying to evaluate the difference between the processes of nation-building in France and Germany. From these contrasting models, Smith drew lessons that could be applied to national forms elsewhere in the world, an example of the developing nations being viewed through the prism of the European region. The key point in relation to Smith lie in the objective sense given to nationalism; the integration of an existing phenomenon with the appropriate socio-economic conditions and political transformations. Acting on the basis of the European experience, these two writers differ on one point. Gellner²⁴ highlighted nationalism as a necessity generated by the industrialization process; Smith²⁵ identified core characteristics of nationalism and nation-building and framed this in terms of necessity and the evolution of specific functional characteristics. According to Ernest Geller²⁶, “nationalism is a political principle providing coincidence and overlap of a political and national unit”. Ernest Gellner stated the reason for the generation of nationalism as “to continue dynamism and provide commitment within the community as a result of

²³ Smith, D. Anthony, *Theories of Nationalism* (1971), *Theories of Nationalism* (1983), *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1987), *National Identity* (1991), *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (1995), *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998), *The Nation in History* (2000), *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (2003).

²⁴ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

²⁵ Smith, D. Anthony, *Theories of Nationalism* (1971), *Theories of Nationalism* (1983), *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1987), *National Identity* (1991), *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (1995), *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998), *The Nation in History* (2000), *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (2003).

²⁶ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

capitalistic movements in the modern world". A nation defined culturally was translated to nationalism as a result of capitalistic movements within this point of view. Nationalism is a political principle: political and national units should be the same, according to the definition of Ernest Gellner²⁷. In other words, the borders of the state should be same as those of the nation. Actions implemented to generate and protect this objective are called nationalistic movements. A nation should not be within the borders of a different nation's state: it has to own its state. These objective accounts of nationalism have their place in assisting our understanding. But nationalism today is often understood through more subjective prisms, well captured by the work of Benedict Anderson²⁸. But there are key obstacles to imagining communities in the absence of a state; it is extremely difficult to proclaim a historical and cultural heritage without a central state authority. Nationalism without a state looks to revive a process of national building via civil actions. Hence, the drive by minority groups within an existing state to create an identity which differentiates them others, which is solely owned by them and which might provide the basis for a future state form.

Benedict Anderson (1983)²⁹ conceives of nations neither as an existing reality nor as a necessity created by the evolution from one economic system to another. On the contrary, he presented nationalism as a project designed by groups who were differentiated by different experiences. These differences were created by precise conditions such as social and economic opportunities. These different designs were not able to present a sample type of the nations of the world. This differentiates Anderson from Anthony Smith who tried to analyse the core, central core and strength of ethnicity with his book named *Ethnic Origin of Nations*, written in 1986. He wanted to propose an alternative to the modernistic approach; he

²⁷ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

²⁸ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

²⁹ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso.

defended resolutely his central distinction between ‘good’ civic nationalisms and ‘bad’ ethnic nationalisms, an approach he confirmed in his later book *National Identity*. Smith’s nationalism has a mobilization function, which can produce civic good, but also deviate into ethnic closure.

Other writers have also made a major contribution. Hobsbawm emphasises³⁰ on the generation of different forms of nationalism through different historical formations. He objects to writers approaching the issue with generalizations; and, indeed, in rather sceptical about pre-existing theoretical assumptions about nationalism. As with Gellner, Hobsbawm highlights the historical determining feature of Western Europe’s experience. According to Seton Watson³¹, nationalism has two basic meanings. With its first meaning, nationalism is defined as a doctrine related to the characters, interests, rights and duties of nations. The latter indicates that it is an organized political movement aiming to progress the propounded objectives and interests of nations. This movement desires to realize two main objectives. These are the creation of an independent state dominated by the nation and national unity.³²

A rather different approach again is offered by Manuel Castells (1996), in his book *The Power of Identity*. Castells³³ explained cultural identity as a value programming global wealth, information and power networks and stated the influence of cultural identity on communal bodies and state mixed up between global networks and cultural identity. Castells reconciles globalization with the generation of a new community form and new cultural network. In addition, he thinks of these economic activities determining a network community strategically as a community on which globalization makes its mark (in economic

³⁰ Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³¹ Watson Seton, Hugh; *Nationalism and Communism* (1964), *Nations & States* (1977).

³² Goodwin, Barbara. 1992. *Using Political Ideas*, New York: Wiley.

³³ Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity; The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers.

conditions and globalization). Manuel Castells analysed the world by cultural identity and focused on communal actions and politics, because he defended that interaction between globalization based on technology, power and bodies of identity (sexual, religious, national, ethnical, territorial and socio-biological) generated communal movements and politics.³⁴

Instead of supporting the influence of globalization on individuals' identity, Anderson focuses rather on states seeking an identity, in the light of technological developments and the calling into question of traditional economic liberalism and communism. While Anderson supports gaining strength in language, religion and national values through returning to self with states and cultural networks where openness exists, Manuel Castells³⁵ argues that cultural identity gained as a result of openness follows universalisation. When the more developed position of China and Japan is taken into consideration in the technological sense, if the generation of identity depended on globalization and technology as Manuel Castells stated, Turkey and other countries would try to become like Asia instead of becoming Europeanized, a new community of cultural network could be generated between the world and Asia, and sexual, religious, national, ethnical, territorial and socio-biological interactions could take place, as Castells mentioned. The interaction of factors which represent identity in accordance with globalization, such as religion, language, ethnicity or race, with other technological countries or change of these factors, has not yet been observed and it is certain that developed technology diversifies the lifestyles, nutrition habits, economy, art and market of other nations.

In the case of Turkey within the cultural identity affects on Turkey-EU integration, these broad questions of identity assume an enhanced importance because of recent political

³⁴ Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity; The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers.

³⁵ Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity; The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers.

developments within Turkey. The striking victory of the democratic Islamist party, the AKP, in 2007 led observers to conclude that this was the most important election since the death of Atatürk, who was the founder of the Secular Republic of Turkey. For example, the French paper *Le Parisien* newspaper ran with the headline the “Victory of the Islamists” and stated “Coming to power in Ankara and being generated from Islamic movements, the Justice and Development Party (AKP)³⁶ obtained an overwhelming victory against the opposition in general elections”³⁷. Other newspaper *Metro* (in United Kingdom)³⁸ explained that the election would determine the future structure of Turkish democracy and the identity of Turkey, and emphasized that the influence of the election went beyond Turkey, being perceived as a precedent for Muslims elsewhere. The selection of a political government supporting Islamic values and regulations was a reaction to postmodernism. For the purposes of our argument, the victory of the AKP in Turkey shows up the contradiction in Castells argument; there is little interaction between technology-based globalization and the cultural identity of the Republic of Turkey. Turkey’s role in a global world economy did not signify that there is no space for an Islamic party. Global cosmopolitanism of the Castells³⁹ variety does not add much to our understanding of political identity in Europe today.

³⁶ AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi): Turkish Political Party that describes itself as a centre-right conservative party. The name is “The Justice and Development Party”, which emerged from the remnants of former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan’s Welfare Party. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s (General President of Party) AKP altered the traditional focus of religiously affiliated politics from concern over Turkey’s lack of Islamic characteristics to pushing for democratic and economic reforms in addition to stressing moral values through the communitarian-liberal consensus.

³⁷ *Le Parisien* Newspaper, “Victory of Islamist”. France. Available from < <http://www.leparisien.fr>> [Accessed July 23th, 2007].

³⁸ *Metro* Newspaper, United Kingdom. Available from < www.metro.co.uk/news> [Accessed July 23th, 2007].

³⁹ Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity; The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers.

The selection of a political government supporting Islamic values and regulations as a reaction to postmodernism, and politicians' (Benedict Anderson, 1983)⁴⁰ "Islamic fundamentalism" whose background is based on religious parties can be an indicator stating the lack of any interaction between technology-based globalization and the cultural identity of the Republic of Turkey turned to military, neo-liberal and conservative liberal governments from the beginning of its foundation. According to Hugh Seton Watson⁴¹, nationalism has two basic meanings. With its first meaning, nationalism is defined as a doctrine related to the characters, interests, rights and duties of nations. The latter indicates that it is an organized political movement aiming to progress the propounded objectives and interests of nations. This movement desires to realize two main objectives. These are the creation of an independent state dominated by the nation and national unity.⁴² According to Ernest Geller⁴³, "nationalism is a political principle providing coincidence and overlap of a political and national unit", whereas Marxists accept that nation, nationalism and religion are artificial consciousness and class relations define relations and identity. Nation and nationalism are not universal; they are back factors that should be overcome, because the history of humanity is a history of progress. Marxists do not take into consideration the role that religion and nation play in the civilization movement during the history of humanity by suggesting class relations and class identity as a single factor and free of a nature destroying the identity of nation and religion. Ernest Gellner stated the reason for the generation of nationalism as "to continue dynamism and provide commitment within the community as a result of capitalistic movements in the modern world". A nation defined culturally was

⁴⁰ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso

⁴¹ Watson Seton, Hugh; *Nationalism and Communism* (1964), *Nations & States* (1977).

⁴² Goodwin, Barbara. 1992. *Using Political Ideas*, New York: Wiley.

⁴³ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

translated to nationalism as a result of capitalistic movements within this point of view. Nationalism is a political principle: political and national units should be the same, according to the definition of Ernest Gellner⁴⁴. In other words, the borders of the state should be same as those of the nation. Actions implemented to generate and protect this objective are called nationalistic movements. A nation shouldn't be within the borders of a different nation's state: it has to own its state.

A national history definitely exists in all nationalism. Historical narratives perform a key role in the nationalist generation of the nation. Every nation tries to take back its history, and finally attribute "past eternity" to the nation through a history-gained continuity. Those whose past is longer will translate it to the history of an eternal nation and those whose past is relatively new will try to meet the demands of past eternity by detailing their past. A sudden and revolutionary identity change during the nationalism process is artificial and affected. Therefore, it is not possible for a community feeling itself as German to be English or Slav. However, the same community can define itself as Bavarian according to the geography in which it is located. Identity is separated into two groups, defined as individual and national, but both of these groups are combined with each other. Therefore, understanding the generation process of individual identity is essential to learning communal identities.

In next chapter, Turkey's national identity will be investigated by using Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" approach⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

⁴⁵ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

Chapter 3

CONSTRUCTING TURKEY'S NATIONAL IDENTITY

BENEDICT ANDERSON'S IMAGINED COMMUNITY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I demonstrate how useful Benedict Anderson's, *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (1983, 1991), in which he proposed the theory of imagined communities, is to verify the argument of my thesis¹. In his seminal work, Anderson sets out to understand nations' scope of origin². While doing this, Anderson categorises to examine nations' identities by referring to their ontological, historical and centralist dimensions. Overall, his thesis is that nations are imagined as communities as a result of the cultural roots of a nation, and the origins of its national consciousness, language, patriotism and racial characteristics. In order to investigate the national identity of Turkey,

¹Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

² Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

construction of national identity in Turkey needs to be done with particular attention to European Union accession criteria at the thesis in respect to find subject of research “The Role of National Identity in Accession of European Union”.

In this thesis, Turkey's national identity is addressed while paying particular attention to European Union accession criteria. We argue in favour of the pertinence of the Anderson approach. Turkish national identity is retraced by looking back at its historical roots and origins, understanding the contemporary markers of identity and the importance of on-going transformations (such as Europeanization). The Anderson “imagined communities” approach allows us to combine his ontological, historical and political identity conceptual categories with an investigation into the informal and formal criteria of the accession to the European Union. The approaches also allow us to consider cultural-socio-economic-political changes in Turkey and their impact on contemporary identities. This thesis is inspired by the Anderson approach to attempt to construct Turkish national identity by engaging with the main identity issues that have complicated Turkey's bid for EU membership. We now set out this identity in rather more detail.

3.2. **Constructions of National Identity in Turkey**

In order to analyse Turkish nationalism, the thesis investigates Turkish national identity using Benedict Anderson's “imagined communities” approach. Anderson suggests investigating national identity using its ontological, historical and governing dimensions. The first approach is that of historical origin. We are primarily interested in retracing the development

of the idea of Turkish nationalism. How did Turkish nationalism emerge after the 18th century? We take inspiration from Anderson's arguments;

The two most significant factors generating nationalism and ethnicity are both closely linked to the rise of capitalism. They can be described summarily as mass communication and mass migrations.³

While using imagined communities ideas in the thesis, Anderson's use of history draws liberally on the writings of Karl Marx and Eric Hobsbawn. Anderson acknowledges the importance of capitalism in part due to the growth of print technology; he argues that the standardization of national calendars, clocks and language was embodied in books and the publication of daily newspapers (Haque, 2009)⁴. These developments in print technology generated a sense of simultaneous national experiences for people, as they became aware of events occurring in their own nation and nations abroad.⁵

Anderson first attempted to analyse the term of nationalism in his 1983 book, *Imagined Communities*. But he made a much more significant contribution later on in the 1991 revised and enlarged edition of his book⁶. In this enlarged edition Anderson noted that he had become uneasily aware that a new contribution to thinking about nationalism was required. The nation could not only be understood in terms of temporal evolution, but also required thinking about the changing nature of space⁷. Anderson's arguments about creating a national identity are important for this thesis since he argues that nations invent their national identities by using political and cultural identity markers. However, he argues "the nation is

³ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁴ Hague, Euan. 2009. *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Second Edition, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

⁵ Hague, Euan. 2009. *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Second Edition, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

⁶ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁷ Hague, Euan. 2009. *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Second Edition, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

imagined as limited because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” . For Benedict Anderson, national identity is “constructed”. The chapter will explain ways in which Turkey national identity is “constructed”. Do Turks construct their identity as being fundamentally opposed to, or compatible with the broader framework of the European Union? What is the role of Turkish national identity in the slow process of accession to European Union.?

3.2.1. The Origins of Turkey

In order to examine scope of Turkey's origin modelling by Benedict Anderson's arguments, this section modelling and implementing to Benedict Anderson's definitions about national identity from his book (1991), “Imagined Communities – Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism” to the Turkey's national identity study.

In order to introduce Turkey's origin under Benedict Anderson's approaches, items such as past, memory, objective, ideal, future and unity of idealism can be counted as subjective bonds establishing a relation between people who form a nation. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson presents his conceptual framework as a tool-kit that helps us understand the origin, function and power of nationalism⁸. He argues that nationalism is comprised in part by the subjective bonds of the past, the role of memory, and the ideals that establish a relation between the people who form a nation. Past common suffering or successes gained together, struggles to reach a common objective and common resistance

⁸ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

against common threats connect people and form nations.⁹ It is a useful starting place to investigate Turkey's origin under the Ottoman Empire, as the Ottoman Empire was the form of political organisation that existed before the creation of the Republic of Turkey was established.



As Anderson places such importance on symbols, we now present the Coat of Arms of the Ottoman Empire. The crescent moon and star were used as symbols during the Ottoman Empire; they are today the symbols of Islam. If one looks at the flags of Islamic countries, one can see the presence of the crescent moon and star in them. Today, the flag of the Republic of Turkey also contains the crescent moon and star, in a similar manner to under the Ottoman Empire. Using the Arabic words, you can see the Islamic *tuğra*¹⁰ (the Sultan's signature) and explanation as the rules of the Ottoman State which is made by God for Success and depends on help from God and thereby prevails. Other main figures in the Turkish flag are old war instruments such as guns, arrows and axes. Is there any story behind these symbols? We might explain those figures because the Ottomans were Muslim and Islamist. They also refer to the prestige of the army, at an individual and a state level.

⁹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso. Taken from: Renan, Ernest. 1882. *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation*, Paris: p. 29.

¹⁰ The most outstanding symbol of the Ottoman sultan's authority was his imperial *tuğra* (cipher), which was affixed to all official documents, indicating *fermans*, vakfiyes and correspondence; it was also carved on his seals and stamped on coins minted during his reign. Each sultan chose his personal *tuğra* immediately after his accession and used the same format throughout his life. Since the word *tuğra* is of Oghuz Turkish origin (*tuğrağ*), it is thought that the tradition of validating documents with the ruler's name or signature was practiced as early as the ninth or tenth century and passed on to later Turkish dynasties, including the Seljuks and the Mamluks. Available from <<http://www.turkishculture.org/fine-art/graphic-arts/tugra-sultanic-cipher-116.html>> [Accessed April 3th, 2009]

Being one of the largest states in the world, the “Ottoman Empire” appeared as a result of the expansion of an *uçbeyliği*¹¹ founded on the border of Byzantine in 1299 by Turks who came to Anatolia from Middle Asia.¹² During the foundation, most of the citizens of the Ottoman Empire were Turkomans (Turkmen), assimilating old Turkish traditions instead of the culture of Iran or Arabia¹³. This is of clear relevance in the Anderson framework, for whom the cultural roots of nationalism could be traced to the ‘unselfconscious coherence’ of medieval religious communities and the permeable political boundaries of preceding dynastic realms¹⁴.

Religion in the Ottoman Empire was the most important link between the centre and the periphery¹⁵. It was the institutional and the cultural reference point for the rulers in their relationship to the ruled¹⁶. The Ottoman Empire gained a multinational imperial status after 1453 and the recruitment system (*devşirme*)¹⁷ constituted the base of the state; thereafter, the importance of the factor of being a Turk was decreased, increasing the ambivalence between Turkish identity and the Ottoman Empire¹⁸.

¹¹ The word “Beylik” denotes the territory under the jurisdiction of a Bey (roughly translates as “Lord”). Aside from its Anatolian context, the term is also used with reference to the Ottoman governmental institutions as of the 16th century in the largely autonomous regencies along the coastline of present-day Tunisia and Algeria.

¹² Oba, Ali Engin. 1995. *Rising of Turkish Nationalism*, Ankara: Imge Inc.

¹³ Oba, Ali Engin. 1995. *Rising of Turkish Nationalism*, Ankara: Imge Inc.

¹⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

¹⁵ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

¹⁶ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

¹⁷ Devsirme is a system of human taxation under the Ottoman Empire, from the 15th century until the 19th century. Young Christian boys were taken away from their families in the Balkans and made into the property of the Sultan in order to become part of the army or the administration. Devshirme is from Turkish, meaning “gathering”. Available from <<http://lexicorient.com/e.o/devsirme.htm>> [Accessed May 5th, 2009]

¹⁸ Oba, Ali Engin. 1995. *Rising of Turkish Nationalism*, Ankara: Imge Inc.

Binnaz Toprak, in her book *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*, describes the Ottoman Empire in the following terms:

In the Ottoman case the basis of the authority was religious. The sultan was considered to be not the representative of the people but the representative of God. Therefore, the concept of the state, however distant it may be for the masses, had a meaning only within a religious context: the state was Islamic, the ruler was the leader of the world Islamic community, and political obedience was the duty of every Muslim subject since the political order had divine sanction¹⁹.



The Sultan was the government. He enjoyed absolute power and, in theory at least, was personally involved in every governmental decision. Toprak also stated that, in the political sphere, the most important function of religion was to secure the legitimacy of political rule in order to maintain the stability of the status quo.²⁰ The picture below represents the Sultans and Caliphs during Ottoman Empire period. Anderson recognised the importance of religion in

his account; nationalism could inspire the sacrifice and dedication once reserved for religion.²¹ Religion gave way to Turkism movements, and Turkish nationalism became expressed in the idea of Turanism, leading to the concept of the 'Great Turkish Union' which appeared in Turkish hearts following the collapse of Tsarist Russia at the end of the First World War. Pan-Turkism or Turanism was a political concept supporting the freedom and unity of Turkish communities living under the sovereignty of Russia.

¹⁹ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

²⁰ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

²¹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

While Anderson recognises the importance of religion, it was not the main inspiration for the new Republic of Turkey. And Ataturk soon distanced himself from the broader Turanist movement, closing the Turanist organisations shortly after the proclamation of the Republic²². Indeed, Ataturk's modernising regime set itself against the legacy of obscurantist religion. Ataturk sought to increase the national consciousness of Turks and Turkey against the larger Islamic identity. He imposed the Latin alphabet which was also adopted by Europe, and approached Europe and European culture instead of Islam. These major reforms were designed to shift the Turkish people's understanding of nationalism away from Islamic identity and gradually to assimilate western culture. Ataturk saw the opportunity to reshape a nation defined in terms of modernisation, the lay Republic and the army. In important respects, his projects for Turkey would move the nation closer to Europe than Greece, which retained the Greek alphabet and the fusion of church and state.

With regard to Ziya Gokalp's poem and Ataturk's alphabet reform, it could be argued that the main aim of the Ataturk movement was to separate Turkey from the Islamic world and to thoroughly separate the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman ideology from the Islamic state. This is the main example of the modernisation movements instigated by Ataturk. As Anderson stated, Islamic nations with same religion look at each other and wonder why they were acting the same although their language was different, while they were on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Both of them had only one common point and it was "Islam" and both of them were Muslims. Nations (states) or communities sharing the same religion perceive other nations (communities), whose religion is identical to the former, as belonging to the same race and culture and form their own cultural networks. The cultural bonds of nations (communities) speaking different languages but believing in the same religion is connected though the common religion. Common cultural designs were promoted by the usage of

²² Oba, Ali Engin. 1995. *Rising of Turkish Nationalism*, Ankara: Imge Inc.

Arabic in the language of the scriptures. Religion provided binds that tied together people over and above the hierarchy and centralism of the governing Ottoman emperors and the repressive governments of the Ottoman Empire. The processes about being imagined, modelled, adopted and transformed are described up until now.

Anderson's nation is an imagined political community that is both inherently limited and sovereign²³. The modern Republic of Turkey was imagined as a distinct national political entity from the multi-national Ottoman Empire, guided by a different ideology and relationship to religion. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, and its repaid decline provided an opportunity for the creation of a Turkish Republic, under the first leader of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish State. Ataturk established the Republic of the Turkey in 1923. Over the next 20 years, the Kemalist and his supporters transformed Turkey into a modern nation state, a civilised nation that his reforms that transform into a secular, rational and modern people. His reforms to the education system, his alphabet reform, and his promotion of women's rights all testified to this modernising intent. Ataturk imagined a political community that was Turkish and a secular Republic, though respectful of the Muslim religion of the vast majority of the population. The early nationalist ideology emphasised being 'Turkish' over and above being 'Muslim'.

According to Ataturk, nationalist struggles were required to allow the new Republic to stand up to the powerful European forces on its borders.²⁴ The aim of Ataturk was to highlight Turkish nationalism within national and defensible borders, in order to found a Turkish nation-state.

²³ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

²⁴ Sander, Oral. 2002. *Political History*, Ankara: Imge Inc, p. 416.

Just as in the Ottoman Empire, the religious organisations in the Turkish Republic were linked to the administrative structure of the state with the important distinction, however, that whereas in the past, the clerics has wielded a great deal of influence in political affairs, they lost any formal control of the political process after the establishment of the Republic.²⁵

Ataturk's nationalism was based on the idea of common citizenship and was a far cry from sanctioning religious or racial discrimination. Nationalism aimed to protect the unity of the Republic of Turkey and prevent separatist movements threatening the unity of the State, according to the Kemalists.²⁶ Recep Peker stated this problem as follows in 1931:

We accept all citizens who belong to the Turkish nation with political and social bonds as our own people. Although ideas and feelings such as "Kurdism", "Circassian" and "Laz" exist among these people they belong to our nation. Existing misunderstandings are the result of autocratic governing and long term historical pressures and our effort is to remove these.²⁷

The Kemalists were secular. In this, they were different from earlier nationalist groups such as the Young Turks²⁸, who considered Islam to be the key instrument holding the Empire together. However, the Kemlists did grant some importance to religion. By emphasizing Turkized Islam, they relied on Islam for support in the development of a national Turkey²⁹. Rather than emphasizing ancestry, religion and ethnic root issues, however, the Kemalists tried to make a definition of nation by highlighting language and

²⁵ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

²⁶ Dumont, Paul. 1999. *Kemalist İdeolojinin Kökenleri*. Jacob M. Landau, June 1999. *Ataturk ve Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesi*, İstanbul: Sarmal, p. 49–72, p. 55.

²⁷ Dumont, Paul. 1999. *Kemalist İdeolojinin Kökenleri*. Jacob M. Landau, June 1999. *Ataturk ve Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesi*, İstanbul: Sarmal, p. 49–72, p. 55.

²⁸ The Young Turks "Turkish: *Jön Türkler*" were a coalition of various groups favouring reformation of the administration of the Ottoman Empire. The movement was against the monarchy of Ottoman Sultan and favoured a re-installation of the short-lived Kanûn-ı Esâsî constitution. They established the second constitutional era in 1908 with what would become known as the Young Turk Revolution. The term Young Turks referred to the members of the Ottoman society who were progressive, modernist and opposed to the status quo. Available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Turks [Accessed October 7th, 2009]

²⁹ Dumont, Paul. 1999. *Kemalist İdeolojinin Kökenleri*. Jacob M. Landau, June 1999. *Ataturk ve Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesi*, İstanbul: Sarmal, p. 49–72, p. 55.

culture and the expected fusion of non-assimilated ethnic groups within such a Turkized policy.⁴ While defining nation, emphasis made on the linguistic union had been featured by writers and poets such as Ziya Gökalp, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Yusuf Akçura, Fuat Köprülü and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul.

The nationalism of Atatürk was intended to bind together all individuals accepting the land of Anatolia as their motherland and willing to say “I am a Turk”, irrespective of their race or ethnic group. Nationalism is a key Kemalist principle aiming to provide solidarity and unity; Turkish identity is more a question of will than a blood right. This sentiment of the need to want to be Turkish is well expressed in some of the poetry that we consider below.

One of the poems written by Ziya Gökalp states:

The motherland is neither Turkey nor Turkestan;
The motherland is large and endless country: Turan...³⁰

Here, the Turkish poet addresses Turkism by accepting all Turan geography as the “motherland”; including countries whose origin is completely Turk (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Northern Cyprus, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Western Thrace, Chechnya, Eastern Turkestan, Turkoman of Iraq, and Crimea). This expansive view of what Turkey ought to comprise presents one possible imagined community of the Turks; but Atatürk was intelligent enough not to pursue such expansionist aims. In essence, the above is consistent with the more subjective readings of nation, whereby identification with national symbols is itself a form of belonging. This bears similarities with Ernest Renan's classic writings. Renan rejected the idea that objective factors formed nations. According to the writer a “human is not a consequence of race, language, religion, the Paths Rivers are following, direction of

³⁰ Erisingil, Mehmet Emin. 2003. *Ziya Gökalp Poems*, Istanbul: Remzi Book House.

mountain ranges. When people with strong senses and hearty people come together a moral conscious is created which is called a nation".³¹

In Imagined communities, Anderson examined ways in which nationalism was self consciously constructed once the nation-state had become a legitimate and prestigious political entity. Dominant groups and dynastic realms employed policies of "official nationalism" to legitimize their claims to national authority and identity.³² These general comments of Anderson certainly seem relevant in the case of Ataturk. Kemalist arguments were deployed in order to legitimate national authority and identity. As part of the mix, Ataturk fully accepted that religion could play a role. He stated that Islam was an important part of the national Turkish identity, which could not be protected without Islam. Thus, Ataturk responded positively to the migration demand of minorities such as Bosnians, Circassians who were not Turkish but who were bound to Turkey with their Muslim identity. The people of the Turkish nation must perceive themselves as "Turk"; by they could enjoy close relations with members of other Muslim communities. They must be willing to die for the sake of their nation (community) imagined as both Turk and Muslim. In other words, patriotism is to be ready to die for the good of "loyalty" and faith felt for the imagined nation. "How happy to say I am a Turk!" (*Ne Mutlu Türk'üm diyene*) is the most emblematic of Ataturk's statements.

The interests of people who belong to a certain religion, cult or speak a certain language are put before anything else within the objective nationalism conception. However, the subjective nationalism concept gives importance to the interests of people who have a common past and are willing to live together in the future. Repeatedly, Ataturk urged the definition of a nation in a broader sense; as the people's own wide range of memory heritage,

³¹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

³² Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

their commitment to a common desire and success in order to live together and the common will to come together in a nation.³³

The importance of language in Anderson's construct is repeatedly affirmed. Anderson emphasised the importance of written languages as creating unified fields of communication, which enabled speakers of a diverse variety of languages to become aware of one another via print and paper. People, consequently, became aware of the existence of the millions who share their nation and language³⁴. For Anderson and other writers such as Hobsbawn, philology represents "the first science placed in the core of the universe". Known as sacred languages until the generation of philology, the Latin, Arabic, Greek and Hebrew (Ibranian) languages started to lose their significance. Nations, such as the Turkish, shaped their own languages as products of nationalism. Since none of them belonged to God, nations such as the Turks considered themselves as the new owners of these languages.

Since Benedict Anderson identified nationalism with the influence of capitalism, it is not completely wrong to represent capitalist development as one of the first movements that underpinned nationalism. Capitalism started as a result of developments in the printing presses between 1500 and 1550. The generation of philology and the spread of presses with the effect of capitalism allowed publications to be written about nationalism in every language.

Ibrahim Shinasi (1824-71) and Namık Kemal (1840-88), who were expert writers of Turkish nationalism in the nineteenth century, analysed the liberty concept within the framework of Ottomanism and Namık Kemal gave a well-organized content to the "Motherland" concept which might be understood by large masses. History writers of this

³³ Ozbudun, Ergun. 2011. *The Constitutional System of Turkey: 1876 to the Present* (Türk Anayasa Hukuku) USA: Palgrave Macmillan.

³⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso.

period developed a basis for cultural actions as a result of which Turkism movements occurred. Turkish nationalism started with the political reforms. Turkish nationalism was inspired by the appearance of publications shedding light on the history of Turks before Islam.³⁵ Mahmud Kashgari (Mahmud from Kashgar) presented the life and lifestyle of the Turkish people, and the structure of the Turkish community, in *Divanu Lugat-ül Türk*. In this way, Mahmud Kashgari became a philologist to teach the Turkish language and “a strong nationalist to introduce the Turkish world as it is”

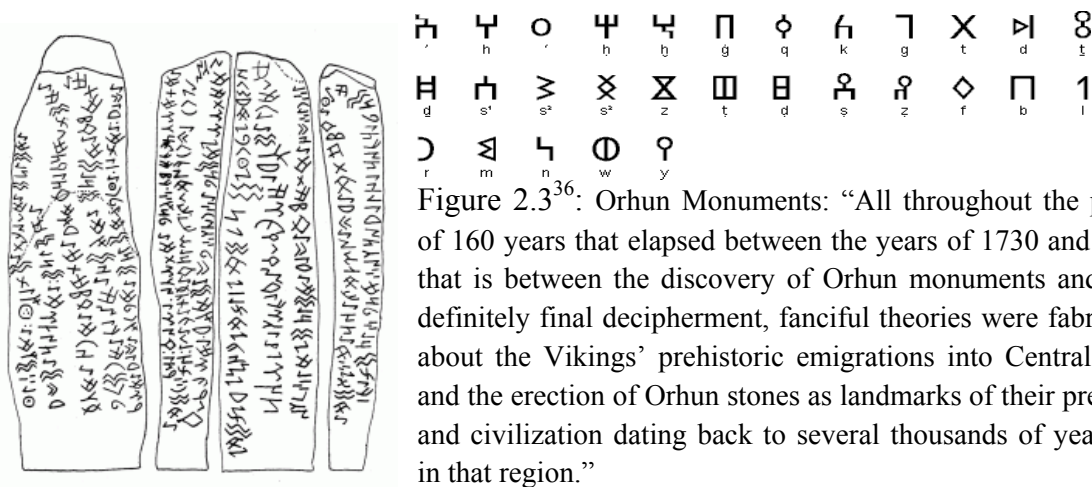


Figure 2.3³⁶: Orhun Monuments: “All throughout the period of 160 years that elapsed between the years of 1730 and 1893, that is between the discovery of Orhun monuments and their definitely final decipherment, fanciful theories were fabricated about the Vikings’ prehistoric emigrations into Central Asia, and the erection of Orhun stones as landmarks of their presence and civilization dating back to several thousands of years BC in that region.”

To illustrate the argument, let us consider the case of the Orhun Monuments³⁷ left by Turks who lived in the 8th century. Orhun Epigraphs had been written in pure Turkish and Turks living during this period had been fanatical nationalists and aimed to put all Turkish

³⁵ Oba, Ali Engin. 1995. *Rising of Turkish Nationalism*, Ankara: Imge Inc.

³⁶ Available from <(http://www.antalya-ws.com/futhark/FUTHP2E.HTM)> [Accessed May 5th, 2009]

³⁷ The Orhun Monuments were discovered by a Swedish officer named Strahlenberg, and his finding was made known by publications in 1730. In 1893, the Danish scholar Thomsen was able to decipher these inscriptions and declare that they were written in Turkish. The monuments of Kultigin and Bilge Kagan, situated near the Kosho-Tsaydam lake in the Orhun River valley to the south of Lake Baykal, and that of Sage Tonyukuk, the Deputy-Khan a little farther on, are the three important memorials which make up what are known in general as the Orhun Monuments. The inscription used on them consists of 38 characters. Numerous stone monuments are also found around the Yenisei River, but they belong to a period much earlier than that of the Orhun pieces, and there are in excess of 150 Skyturkish character-forms used on them. The ancient Turkish script was written vertically with the lines running from top left downwards to the bottom right, and read accordingly, that is from right to left when the text is laid down on its right side. Available from <(http://www.antalya-ws.com/futhark/FUTHP2E.HTM)> [Accessed May 5th, 2009]

people together. Anybody taking refuge in their language had been included within their community and protected against all fears. Therefore, non-Turkish people had taken refuge in the Turkish language and had been protected against damages and loss. If the saying “Learn the Turkish language, because their sovereignty will be long-term” is true, learning the Turkish language is a religious mission, but if it is not true then the objective of this saying is due to the learning and teaching need of the Turkish language. Fahrettin Mübarekşah, who lived in the 12th century, wrote *Secere-i Ensâb* to explain the pedigree of Turkish and Islamic dignitaries and described a Turk as like a pearl inside an acre.³⁸ During the period of “Beyliks”,³⁹ founded after Seljuks, Karamanoğlu (or the Karamanid) Mehmed Bey had made Turkish an official language for the first time and the language was purified of Arabic and Persian words, and after a while Turkish became the official language of other Beyliks.

Secondly, there are several types of community song simultaneously; these can only be stated by poems or songs. National anthems sung during national festivals can be an example. Irrespective of how far away people are from each other, they read the same sections at the same time. A nation is a community formed by people who are connected to each other with subjective bonds. These bonds are spiritual and consist of senses and thoughts. The subjective nation concept was first raised and supported by Ernest Renan's⁴⁰ (1823–1892) *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation* “What is a Nation” work in 1882⁴¹. As Benedict Anderson mentioned⁴², a

³⁸ Taneri, Aydın. 1993. *Türk Kavramı'nın Gelişmesi*, Ankara: Ocak Inc.

³⁹ Anatolian Beyliks or Turkmen Beyliks (Turkish: Anadolu Beylikleri, Ottoman Turkish) were small Turkish emirates or Muslim principalities (Beylik) governed by Beys, which were founded across Anatolia as of the end of the 11th century, in a first period, and more extensively after the decline and fall of the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate in the second half of the 13th century.

⁴⁰ McNall Burns, Edward. 1982. *Modern Political Ideas* (Çağdaş Siyasal Düşünceler): 1850–1950 by Alaeddin Şenel, Ankara (editor): Birey ve Toplum Inc, p. 442–443.

⁴¹ Renan, Ernest. 1939. *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation*, Paris: 1882, Turkish language translation by Ulku Magazine, volume 77, July 1939, p. 396; volume 78, August 1939, p. 514.

⁴² Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso.

common language represents the common structure of the nation, Turkish nationalist and poet Ziya Gokalp's poem about the Turkish language says:

Conscience of Turkism is single,
It's religion is single, motherland is single
But all are separable
At least its language is single.⁴³

As the importance given to press and science increased presses and pressing phases developed and became widespread, Turkish writers published many literary works, but the sharing of Turkish nationalism and terms such as “nation” and “motherland” with the public started with the beginning of the 19th century. Far more recently than this, the Turkish nationality found a new meaning through the Turkish-rooted independent republics which appeared after the dissolution of the Soviet Union during the post-cold war era, beginning in 1992. The appearance of many independent Turkish-rooted states from a single independent Turkish state redirected the population's attention towards Turkish nationalism. The Turkish constitution was defined with the “bond of citizenship” without referring to objective factors. According to the first clause of Article 66, “Everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk”⁴⁴. During the 1961 Constitution period, the Constitutional Court reflected the subjective nationalism concept in its constitution dated 11–14 February 1975, no. K.1975/23⁴⁵:

Nationalism cannot be accepted as different from Turkish Nationalism which unites, be it in fate, pride or distress, in a common bond as an indivisible whole around national consciousness and aspirations, and which has as its aim always to exalt our nation in a spirit of national unity as a respected member of the community of the world of nations enjoying equal rights and privileges. Beliefs aiming to integrate in accordance with Racism, Turanism or a religion or cult... They are not included by the meaning of

⁴³ Erisingil, Mehmet Emin. 2003. *Ziya Gokalp Poems*, Istanbul: Remzi Book House.

⁴⁴ Ozbudun, Ergun. 2011. *The Constitutional System of Turkey: 1876 to the Present* (Türk Anayasa Hukuku) USA: Palgrave Macmillan. p.53.

⁴⁵ Turkish Constitution Law Court (Anayasa Mahkemesi), 11–14 February 1975 date and E. 1973/38, K. 1975/23 numbered decision, *Constitution Law Court Decisions Magazine*, volume 13, p. 247.

“Turkish Nationalism” and... They are against the principles of Republic and cannot be appreciated as valid on the social and legal side.⁴⁶

According to Article 2 of the 1982 Constitution, the “Republic of Turkey is a state loyal to the nationalism of Ataturk”. The principle of “nationalism” was the first stated in Article 2 of the 1924 Constitution, with the date 1937 and no. 3115 regulation. The protector of the 1961 Constitution did not accept the “nationalism” phrase and preferred the usage of the “nation-state” term. During conventions of constituent assembly, the possibility to perceive the “nationalism” term as “racialism” was discussed and, as a result, the adoption of the “nation-state” phrase was accepted. In order to prevent misunderstandings over the “nationalism” principle in the 1982 Constitution, the “nationalism of Ataturk” phrase was used. Being defeated in the First World War, the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire was no longer valid and, under these circumstances, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk decided to fight to found a new, modern, young and dynamic Turkish State instead of an old Empire.⁴⁷ Article 2 of the Turkish Constitution⁴⁸ accepts “Ataturk nationalism” instead of just any nationalism. This point is emphasized as the “Nationalism concept defined by Ataturk” in the Introduction section of the Constitution. A map and population census⁴⁹ formed the grammar providing the act of saying “I am Turkish and from Turkey”.

⁴⁶ Turkish Constitution Law Court (Anayasa Mahkemesi), 11–14 February 1975 date and E. 1973/38, K. 1975/23 numbered decision, *Constitution Law Court Decisions Magazine*, volume 13, p. 247.

⁴⁷ Ozbudun, Ergun. 2011. *The Constitutional System of Turkey: 1876 to the Present* (Türk Anayasa Hukuku) USA: Palgrave Macmillan. p.53.

⁴⁸ 1982 Constitution, Article 2: “The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state ruled by law, respecting human rights in the spirit of a social peace, of national solidarity and of justice, bound to the nationalism of Ataturk and founded on the principles pronounced by the preamble.”

⁴⁹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

3.2.2. The Historical, Cultural and Political Dimension of Turkey

According to Benedict Anderson, history, culture and political design provide the inspiration for the construction of national identity⁵⁰ Anderson highlighted three factors which we could define also as three cultural and political designs for imagining the nation. In order to examine Turkey's national identity, following Anderson, we shall endeavour to describe the three factors as ontological, historical and centralist forces⁵¹.

Within Anderson's "imagined communities" approach, ontology, history and centralist forces are main research areas to understand a nation-state identity⁵². The ensuing chapters will develop further what we mean by the ontological, historical and political dimensions of Turkish identity. Following the definitions of Anderson himself, the ontological dimension refers to the permanent characteristics of a national identity, the constants that either cannot be changed, or else shift only very gradually. Under the ontological heading, we refer to Turkey's permanent characteristics: its geography, demography, ethnic composition, language and religion, all of which are difficult to alter, and all of which, also, are considered here to be informal criteria that have intervened in a negative way in Turkey's bid for European Union membership. These heavy variables do not facilitate the task of negotiating Turkish entry.

⁵⁰ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁵¹ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁵² Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

Moving from the heavy ontological variables, the next level of analysis is that of Turkey's centralising Forces and Politics. The thesis will explore what we label as Turkey's alterable characteristics: and namely the Armed Forces, Turkish public administration, its record on rights and minorities and its politics, all of which relate to the formal criteria for Turkey's bid for EU membership, and which directly affect the accession process. Underpinning both variables and constants lies our third level of analysis; that of History. The thesis will adopt a broad historical approach by demonstrating the cohesion between past, present and future historical events. It will retrace the evolution of Turkey's political and religious movements and the interplay of both with the pattern of public administration. The historical dimension also allows us to interrogate the history of European integration. We will combine an analysis of the democratic and state frameworks which underpin Turkey's political movements and a historical and up-to-date view of the accession process.

According to Benedict Anderson, when these ontological, historical and political factors are combined, they are able to bind people through their imaginations of what they have in common. The process of constructing national identity is thus one that necessarily combines these three dimensions. While doing this research, thesis will use following approaches⁵³ to reach arguments;

First, in relation to Ontology, the thesis examines Turkey's permanent characteristics such as Turkey's geography, demography, ethnic composition, language and religion which, it will be argued, constitute the informal criteria for its bid for European Union membership, and which have an indirect effect on the accession process.

Second, in relation to Turkey's Centralist Forces and Politics, the thesis explores Turkey's alterable characteristics: such as the Turkish Armed Forces, public administration

⁵³ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

and politics. The 'alterable data' more directly relate to the formal criteria for Turkey's bid for EU membership, and directly affect the accession process.

Third, underpinning both the constants and variables of Turkey's polity and identity is the need to understand the historical dimension. The thesis narrates the evolution of the Turkish Republic in order to glue past, present and future historical events. It considers the effect of Turkey's main political and religious movements on the history of the Turkish administration. Understanding history also involves understanding the evolution of European integration and the impact of the process of European integration on domestic Turkish politics, public administration and political identity.

In this endeavour, I carried out primary interviews in Brussels, as well as using extensive secondary resources and primary empirical data. Interviews took place, for example, with Engin Arıkan, the senior Turkish representative in the accession negotiations, whose formal title is Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary), Representative for the Turkish and European Union Negotiations Period in the Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels. I also interviewed the following senior members of the Turkey team of the Directorate-General Enlargement, in Brussels: Jean-Christophe Filori, the head of the team; Riccardo Serri, responsible for civil-military relations; and Professor Laurent van Depoele, a former Director of the DG Agriculture, and special adviser on socio-economic and political changes in European Union rural areas at the Institute for European Policy, Department of Political Science, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

Table 3.1: Benedict Anderson's Arguments

Ontological	Historical	Centralist Forces and Politics
<p>The idea that a particular script language offers privileged access to ontological truth.</p> <p>Benedict Anderson argues that Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet.</p> <p>Instead of characterizing nationalism as a social pathology or ideology, like fascism or liberalism, Anderson treated nationalism as a part of the human experience, like kinship or religion.</p> <p>Religion, whose demise in sovereignty was one of Anderson's reasons for the rise of nationalism.</p>	<p>The process of modulation and adaptation, according to different eras, political regimes, economies, and social structures. The historical map can also be worked on the basis of a totalising classification.</p> <p>The historical processes Turkey faced during the formation of the nationalism of Turkey and Turkey's national identity.</p>	<p>The idea is coming from hierarchic designs under governing kinds on nation-states.</p> <p>While defining power of centralist forces on nationalist, Benedict Anderson has defined as sovereign and community as "It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm; finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship".</p> <p>Benedict Anderson noted the political importance of Marxism in the late 19th century and its incorporation into the state and the official organs of representation.</p>

Table 3.2: Using Benedict Anderson's Arguments to map Turkish Culture and Politics

Turkey's Ontology	Turkey's History	Turkey's Politics
<p>Turkey's ontological situation has been analysed and examine national identity, geography, culture, ethnic structure, and social life in Turkey. It will describe these subjects using the results of a public opinion survey carried out using professional methods and official statistics.</p>	<p>History is the most appropriate discipline to shed light on the problems explained, because history analyses what occurred in the past and draws lessons for the future. Study of the past means examination of both today and tomorrow.</p>	<p>In the respect of power of centralist forces, the following questions should be analysed; how has Turkish religion and Turkish army had been practised since the establishment of the Republic, and how has Turkish religion and Turkish army had been shifted in its meaning and importance for individuals? Are Turkish citizens' ideologies, and Turkey's previous regimes, connected with each other? Answers will also be sought for the question why political parties shift to the other in Turkey? How has Turkish national identity played a role in their religious identity as a "Muslim"?</p>
<p>The reason to find main ontological differences between EU and Turkey is defined main issues in accession of European Union.</p>	<p>Therefore, reform of the Ottoman State constituting the basis of Turkish reforms, westernization efforts and Turkish external policy during the Ataturk period should be researched, and the targets, as well as the principles providing an evaluation of today's situation and offering an insight regarding the future, should be identified.</p>	<p>The answers to these questions will help to draw conclusions regarding the national political identity of the Turkish administration.</p>
<p>In this respect thesis explore the reasons why researching religious movements in Turkey is important in terms of its accession into the EU, and will discuss the history of the Islamic movement in Turkey.</p>	<p>The main critical subjects' to define Turkish history are; the role of religion which is an informal issue as cultural obstacle and permanent data's of Turkey; the role of military power which is an informal issue as democracy rule and alterable data's of Turkey.</p>	

3.2.2.1. The Ontological Dimension

The ontological dimension of identity can have a cultural and a political aspect; in this section, I will explain why an ontological analysis is key to the thesis. Let us go back to one of the key definitions presented by Anderson. He argues that communities that are formed and led people who share a common geography⁵⁴. This theme was developed in interviews with key interlocutors in Brussels. In order to examine role of common geography in cultural and political design, an interview took place in Brussels with Jean-Christophe Filori, Head of the Turkey Team, DG Enlargement. In relation to the linked questions: “Is Turkish identity European or not? And geographically is Turkey in Europe or not?” Filori⁵⁵ defined Turkey’s geographical identity as follows:

“There is no standard geographical answer to whether Turkey is in Europe or not. There is no common definition of Europe geographically; there is not a common EU standard of where the limits of the EU are. Nobody has ever said, ‘This is where the EU stops and we will not take any new member states beyond this limit.’”

According to Filori, whether ‘Turkey is in Europe or not’ is a very divisive issue; does Europe stop at the Bosphorus, or are there other views? The limits of the European Union in the east are actually difficult to define. This whole debate about geography really relates to the identity of the European Union.⁵⁶

In fact, there are many characteristics differentiating the people of the current EU member states from each other; Irish and Hungarian, Portuguese and Finnish, French and German are all different, though there are equally fundamental values connecting them. This

⁵⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁵⁵ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁵⁶ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

point was made in an interview with Rainer Emschermann⁵⁷ who is an EU enlargement specialist on in Turkey Team on Education, Culture and Budget in DG Enlargement: 'there is no European identity and or clear description of European identity'.

About the relationship between Turkey and the European Union, a similar line of questioning was adopted with other interviewees. Professor Laurent Van Depoele⁵⁸ was sceptical of the claims made by Turkey's EU opponents and of the geographically based arguments against Turkish entry. Van Depoele conducted on his arguments about 'why people are saying Turkey is not a European member state' and he follows:

"If you look at the geographical point of view, we can say that three per cent of Turkish territory belongs to Europe, going to Istanbul, and then all the other parts beyond the Bosphorus are not Europe. Why should we take Turkey as a non-European state inside the European Union?" argues by Van Depoele.

The religious dimension is the most important of these ontological constants that, though not formal criteria of EU access are nonetheless identified in interviews as factors that might be an obstacle to EU entry. The current members of the European Union have a common background of Christianity, but Turkey would be the first Islamic country to join. Head of DG Enlargement Jean-Christophe Filori⁵⁹ did not see this as a problem, stating that this could bridge the European Union and the Muslim world. Full European Union membership would create its own problems, but all parties - European/ Turkish, Christians/ Muslims – would have a duty to work together and integrate.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

⁵⁸ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

⁵⁹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁶⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

From Anderson's perspective, common ontological characteristics such as ethnic roots, blood, geography, religion, demography and language are all constants that glue communities together, and make their members feel themselves to be part of the same community. Anderson argues in his book that Muslims' visits for Mecca are the best examples of this homogeneity. Even though Muslims do not know each other at the Mosque (cami) and even though they cannot speak the same language (there are too many languages between Muslims such as Arabic, Turkish or Malaysian) they feel themselves a part of the same brotherhood because they believe and pray for the same mission and the same God. From this we conclude that religious identity is a powerful identity marker; that there is no formal religious criterion for EU entry – but also that Turkey's Muslim status has complicated the process of EU entry because it raises objections amongst some of the existing member-states (though this motivation is disguised in other arguments) and is not supported by public opinions.

The key issue in terms of ontological constants is that of religion. In his classic work, one of Anderson's reasons for the rise of nationalism was because of the decline of religion and its demise in sovereignty.⁶¹ Anderson treated nationalism as a part of the human experience, like kinship or religion.⁶² Our interviewees were very careful not to identify religion as a reason for not accepting Turkish entry. In respect of religion concerns on accession of European Union, my interviewee's opinions are conflict on religion issue for Turkey' bid. I found a different views and arguments under result of my primary research.

⁶¹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁶² Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

While Laurent Van Depoele⁶³ argues European Union thinks European Union's contracted as Christianise and Roman law, Jean-Christophe Filori⁶⁴ argues that there are no religious criteria at the accession to the European Union. They were more willing to concede on other points. According to Van Depoele, for example, there are clear issues about Turkey's demography as an obstacle to full EU membership:⁶⁵

“People are saying Turkey has around some 72 million people. If you look at the demographic evolution, we will see that Germany has 81 million people, but this will go down and Turkey will go up. So if Turkey becomes a member of the European Union in 20 years time, it will be the most populated state of the European Union”.

Van Depoele argues that Turkey's population is deemed to be a risk for other European member states. This position was acknowledged in a different way by Turkish diplomat Arikan, in a lengthy interview. For Arikan, only a few EU member states opposed Turkey's entry: France, the Netherlands, Austria and Germany. Most others supported Turkey's membership, but they should show their support in more concrete ways. First, they should prepare their own public for a vote on the EU membership of Turkey, secondly, they should show more support for Turkey in the routine negotiations. There is no reason for any party to try to slow down or stop Turkey's membership application.⁶⁶

⁶³ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

⁶⁴ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁶⁵ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

⁶⁶ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for “Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods” in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time: 4pm, place: Brussels.

One of the key theme of Anderson's framework is that 'communities that are formed and led by people who share a common culture'⁶⁷. How important is this cultural dimension, in the views of those prominent EU officials that were interviewed? The head of the Turkey Team in DG Enlargement was rather sceptical about cultural claims. He observed:

"There are no cultural identity criteria for accession to the European Union. Europe in itself is an extremely diverse cultural world; you cannot compare Spain with Finland in this respect, because they are different cultures. Hungary has a completely different cultural background from Ireland. The culture of Europe is based on diversity as regards culture". Filori concluded that "The European Union has a very diverse cultural heritage. Turkey will add to the richness of European culture. The European Union is based on this diversity".

For the head of the Turkey team in DG Enlargement, Turkey ought to become a standard member state, like any other member state, committed to respect for women, respect for freedom of expression, or respect for secularism. This interviewee was convinced that Turkey could adapt, but it was up to Turkey itself to convince its neighbours that it was capable of changing to meet common European standards. So, it is in the hands of Turkey and the best way to communicate this to European citizens is to continue to change. Turkey has already dramatically changed compared to ten years ago. The changes are already very impressive and Turkey should continue to do so. Filori specified he is convinced that Turkey will be the very standard of European democracy and this will convince the people in the European Union.⁶⁸ But even an interviewee as resolute in his opinions as Filori acknowledged that there was concern at the level of public opinion in the EU member states; large sections of public opinion do not want any further cultural diversification, and they do

⁶⁷ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁶⁸ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

not favour Turkey's accession to the EU. This is apparent from the Eurobarometer⁶⁹ surveys of public opinion in 2000, in the chapter of the survey headed, "How Europeans feel about themselves".

Jean-Christophe Filori⁷⁰ responded as follows:

"European Union has a much diversified cultural heritage. Turkey will add to the richness of European culture. Also the European Union is based on this diversity".

Following, Filori further responded that he doesn't think that this creates a problem. Turkey might become standard member state like any other member states regarding respect for women, respect for freedom of expression, or respect for secularism. According to Filori, these concerns that he stated above, it's up to Turkey convince them that it actually can change dramatically to meet all these standards the European citizens refer to. So, it is in the hands of Turkey and best way to communicate this to European citizens is to continue to change. According to Filori, Turkey has already dramatically changed compared to ten years ago. The changes are already very impressive and Turkey should continue to do so. Filori specified he is convinced that Turkey will be the very standard of European democracy and this will convince the people in the European Union.⁷¹

Unlikely approaches under informal criteria of culture, some important Turkish political philosophers such as Ziya Gokalp defines nation as "a class common in linguistic, religious, moral and artistry sense: in other words, composed of individuals disciplined with the same "principles of Turkism".⁷² According to other Turkish political philosopher Yusuf

⁶⁹ Eurobarometer Public opinion Poll 2000; "How Europeans feel about themselves". Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_documentation/05/txt_en.pdf> [Accessed October 7th, 2009]

⁷⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁷¹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁷² Gokalp, Ziya. 1968. *The Principles of Turkism* (1923), translated by Robert Devereaux, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Akçura, a nation is a “community of humans resulted where social unity is originated due to unity of race and language”.⁷³ This is to say, while having investigate Turkish culture, it is necessary to analyses under two dimensions; Formal Copenhagen political criteria and informal criteria by human's beliefs.

Benedict Anderson argues as “Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet”⁷⁴.

About religion, instead of characterizing nationalism as a social pathology or ideology, like fascism or liberalism, Anderson treated nationalism as a part of the human experience, like kinship or religion.⁷⁵ Because religion, whose demise in sovereignty was one of Anderson's reasons for the rise of nationalism”.⁷⁶ In respect of religion concerns on accession of European Union, my interviewee's opinions are conflict on religion issue for Turkey' bid. I found a different views and arguments under result of my primary research. While Laurent Van Depoele⁷⁷ argues European Union thinks European Union's contracted as Christianise and Roman law, Jean-Christophe Filori⁷⁸ argues that there are no any religion criteria at the accession to the European Union.

In fact, the EU means diversity in unity, and if **European values** are considered to be universal values that apply also in Turkey, but the European Union then goes on to thinks that

⁷³ Akçura, Yusuf. 2006. *Uc Tarz-i Siyaset* [Three Policies], *Yusuf Akcura (1904), Politics and Economics*, Ankara: Sinemis Inc.

⁷⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁷⁵ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁷⁶ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁷⁷ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

⁷⁸ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

European values cannot apply in a **Muslim country** because Muslims are bound to remain different, then that is the bankruptcy of European civilization. To examine this, I asked the interview question: "If European values should apply to Turkey, what are these European values?" Rainer Emschermann⁷⁹ explained that citizens should be able to fulfil their potential in a more solidarity-based society. For citizens to give their full support to European integration and to develop their sense of belonging to the European Union, it is important to bring common European values, history and culture to the fore. Civil society is fundamental to creating a European identity and enhancing different shapes of the various aspects of belonging to a community.⁸⁰

In sum, the interviewees all argued that the EU means diversity in unity. If European values are considered to be universal values, then they should also apply in Turkey. There was acceptance that this could produce tensions in Turkey, but there were tensions in all countries and the EU accepted a wide diversity of cultures. None of the interviewees considered that Turkey's Muslim identity was, de facto, a reason not to accept Turkey into the EU. The universal values were those that were compatible with varying religious creeds. The position was well expressed by another member of the Turkey Team (Rainer Emschermann⁸¹) who explained that citizens should be able to fulfil their potential in a more solidarity-based society. For citizens to give their full support to European integration and to develop their sense of belonging to the European Union, it is important to bring common European values, history and culture to the fore. Civil society is fundamental to creating a

⁷⁹ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

⁸⁰ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

⁸¹ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

European identity and enhancing different shapes of the various aspects of belonging to a community.⁸² These broad values were eminently achieved in the case of Turkey.

3.2.2.2. The Historical Dimension

The historical dimension is of key importance in the Anderson framework. Nations are shaped by their historical experiences, but these historical experiences are highly selective. Elites in power at any one time attempt to emphasise certain aspects of a common past; to this extent, history is constructed. Even if elites are selective in their use of historical events, history is the most appropriate discipline to shed light on the problems explained, because historical analyses inform us about what occurred in the past and draw lessons for the future. The study of the past requires an examination of both today and tomorrow. To understand contemporary Turkey and to situate the debates about accession to the EU, we need to go back in history. Therefore, we need to understand the reform of the Ottoman State which constituted the basis of Turkish reforms, westernization efforts and external policy during the Ataturk period. We need to understand the role of Ataturk as the main historical reference in twentieth century Turkish history. In short, we need to understand how the Republic has evolved over the temporal long term.

Benedict Anderson argued that communities that are formed and led by people who share a common history⁸³. Benedict Anderson's argument about historical design of community through sharing a common intuition is very compatible with this thesis. This explains the choice of considering the Turkish religion and army as part of Turkish national

⁸² EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

⁸³ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

identity. Based on the distinction made above about permanent and alterable data, the thesis will set out to answer the following research questions:

- Do Turkey and the member-states of the EU share a common reference to the importance of religion in their civilizations?
- Has Political Islam had an impact on the history of Turkey- EU relations?
- Why the Turkish military is so powerful in Turkish politics and how important is this in explaining the difficulties of Turkish integration into the EU?

The historical map can also be worked on the basis of a totalising classification. History is the most appropriate discipline to shed light on the problems explained, because history analyses what occurred in the past and draws lessons for the future. Study of the past means examination of both today and tomorrow. Therefore, reform of the Ottoman State constituting the basis of Turkish reforms, westernization efforts and Turkish external policy during the Ataturk period should be researched, and the targets, as well as the principles providing an evaluation of today's situation and offering an insight regarding the future, should be identified.

Binnaz Toprak emphasises the importance of history in her book *Islam and Political Development in Turkey* as follows:

The nature of Islam as an "historical" and an "organic" religion raises a number of questions about the relationship between the state and the religious organization in the Ottoman Empire. The close association between the religious and the social- political systems- both in functional and organizational terms- was a distinguishing characteristic of traditional ottoman society.⁸⁴

The main critical subjects' to define Turkish history are; the role of religion which is an informal issue as cultural obstacle and permanent data's of Turkey; the role of military power which is an informal issue as democracy rule and alterable data's of Turkey.

⁸⁴ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

Anderson's argument about members of a community sharing a common intuition is very compatible with this thesis. As the key elements of Turkey's identity are usually portrayed as those of the religion and the army, we will pay special attention to these two dimensions. In the course of the ensuing chapters we will endeavour to investigate the influence of the religious dimension in relations between Turkey and the EU, and we will chart the rise of a democratic political Islam in Turkey. In this respect, the following question should be analysed: how has Islam been practised since the establishment of the Republic, and how has Islam shifted in its meaning and importance for individuals? The answers to this question will help us to draw conclusions regarding the identity of the Turkish administration and politics. We will consider the influence of the military in Turkish politics, both historically and in the contemporary period. The main critical subjects' to define Turkish history are; the role of religion which is an informal issue as cultural obstacle and permanent data's of Turkey; the role of military power which is an informal issue as democracy rule and alterable data's of Turkey.

3.2.2.3. The Political Dimension

While defining power of centralist forces on nationalist, for Anderson, the nation is "imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm; finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship".

If the nation is built on common values, is this also the case for the European Union? In the opinion of one of my interviewees, Europe is kept together as a community because of the political values it represents, including the values of fundamental human rights. My primary research interweaver Rainer Emchermann argues that the one thing EU shares is common values of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights; cultural diversity, tolerance and solidarity belong to those values. Project promoters are invited to consider how those values can be reflected in their projects.⁸⁵ And so far the answers by the member states and the European Council in the decision towards Turkey, is that the European Union is a community of values based on the European Convention on Human Rights, based on democracy, tolerance, respect for individual freedoms this is what the European Union is based on. However, if Turkey manages to fully respect those standards, then Turkey should become a member state like any other member states. According to Filori, this so far was the line followed by the member states of the European Union and this is why Turkey started accession negotiations.⁸⁶

Any changes in the European Union make it necessary to engage citizens and civil society organizations in a deep, long-lasting reflection on the future of Europe because of the effects of the earlier enlargements and new participant countries. In the view of Rainer Emschermann⁸⁷ it is extremely important for the future of both the European Union and Turkey to participate in constructing an ever-closer Europe, which is democratic and world-oriented, united in and enriched through its cultural diversity. Participation and democracy in Europe lies at the heart of this programme for the democratic state of Turkey in a cultural

⁸⁵ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

⁸⁶ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁸⁷ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

way, this programme is the best way to integrate Europe with both Turkey and EU member states for developing a common sense of European identity based on common values, history and culture.⁸⁸

We will now consider whether Turkish identity can adapt to these standards by more specific chapters on the role of Turkey's religious and political heritage and contemporary development. The insights from these chapters will then be used to inform our study of Turkey's encounter with the European Union.

⁸⁸ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

PART II

RELIGIOUS ISSUE

Chapter 4

ONTOLOGICAL ANALYSES of TURKEY: The Cultural Dimension

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we will investigate whether Turkey's religious identity plays a role in terms of its eventual accession into the European Union. Within the scoping defined, this chapter aims to provide a "cultural" argument for European integration. Considering the religious dimension also allows us to continue the exploration of modern Turkish identity along the lines outlined by Anderson and presented in the previous chapter. Is Turkish national identity compatible with that of the broader European one? Do the traditional values of belonging to a national political "imagined community" clash with the postmodern character of EU societies. By necessity, any attempt to discuss what is meant by Turkish identity requires us to take into account the traditional and contemporary ways of self-identification by Turks. From the ontological approach introduced in the last chapter we consider whether the deep variables are modern Turkish identity are indeed compatible with its eventual membership of

the European Union? To recall, the ontological approach identified the heavy, difficult to change factors of language, religion, history, geography or ethnic roots. These heavy variables are recognised in different forms by the key writers we considered in the previous two chapters: Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Anthony Smith and Ernest Gellner make use of such arguments when developing their concept of nationalism. In particular, language, culture, ethnic roots, religion and history are presented as near constants in understanding national identity. The question we raise in this chapter is the following; is there an identity clash between Turkey and the broader EU, and does this relate to the subject of this chapter, namely, its Muslim religion?

The ontological approach was described in chapter three's research aims in the following terms:

The thesis examines Turkey's permanent (data) characteristics such as her geography, demography, ethnic composition, language and religion which constitute the informal criteria for its bid for European Union membership, and which have an indirect effect on the accession process.

The ontological approach, then, refers to Turkey's permanent characteristics such as her geography, demography, ethnic composition, language and religion. Our argument is that, though these are not formal criteria to join the EU, they are considered as informal criteria for its bid for European Union membership. They are raised in public debate – by politicians and public opinions in powerful countries like France and Germany – as potential obstacles for allowing Turkish entry. We must consider whether these constants of Turkish nationalism are indeed obstacles to EU entry.

In the respect of above, the Anderson approach is obviously highly relevant here: Anderson suggests that communities want to define themselves and the people they are living together with by a common denominator. This need for definition is revived within the framework of the selected common denominator, he argued, because such a common denominator can appear as a product of historical synergy, a symbol of a religious belief or a

spoken language. In the works of Anderson, Gellner, Smith and Hobsbawn, these concepts are appreciated as a measure of nationalism. These can be handled as factors of nationalization, even though they are not fully accepted by Western European nationalist traditions. Though they are usually concerned as fairly invariable constants, the originality of Anderson's approach is that these factors – religion, language and culture– can be acquired. European collective consciousness is shaped by a common understanding of the historical and cultural background of Europe. Nations construct themselves; though we must be very wary of national traditions that look to bloodroots, over generations it does make sense to talk of nations having their own genetic codes as part of their identity. This is also the basic idea of Europe itself; European identities are forged as a result of common experiences over generations. But they can also be subject to change and adaptation. The merit of the Anderson approach is to allow judgements on which aspects of a national identity are unlikely to change – and which characteristics are more malleable.

This theme of variable identity markers and their significance in the European context is one that is discussed by Bojko Bucar¹, who considers that the informal criteria of EU accession have been highly contentious. According to Bucar² there are informal criteria of accession to the EU that have been contentious as far as the accession of Turkey to the European Union is concerned: (a) the Muslim faith (b) not being a European country (c) geographical risk (d) the size of the country, are some of the informal criteria, according to Bucar's paper. This theme of variable identity markers, and their significance in the European context is one that is discussed by Bojko Bucar³, who considers that the informal criteria of

¹ Bojko Bucar. 2008. "EU's relations with Turkey as an Issue of Governance". Paper prepared for the 2008 ISA Annual Convention in San Francisco.

² Bojko Bucar. 2008. "EU's relations with Turkey as an Issue of Governance". Paper prepared for the 2008 ISA Annual Convention in San Francisco.

³ Bojko Bucar. 2008. "EU's relations with Turkey as an Issue of Governance". Paper prepared for the 2008 ISA Annual Convention in San Francisco.

EU accession have been highly contentious. Bucar identifies these contested identity markers as: the Muslim faith; the belief that Turkey is not a European country; the belief that Turkey, with its borders to Syria and Iraq, creates a large element of geographical risk, and, finally, the size of the country, by far the largest landmass of EU countries were to be allowed to join the Union. These factors correspond well by our understanding of the unspoken, informal criteria that continue to provide an obstacle to Turkish entry. These ‘obstacles’ are challenged by Bucar:

It has been often asserted that Europe had a problem with the Islamic religion from its beginning and it is supposed to have problems with the Islamic religion still today. Both assertions are a construct that has little to do with reality, however those claims persist constantly. Much closer to the truth would be the assertion that Europe, from its beginning, has a problem with religion as such. It shows a history of intolerance, discrimination, hatred, crusades, religious wars, pogroms and ethnic cleansing⁴.

Are these suggestions correct? Are there informal criteria for Turkey’s accession into the EU that do not form a part of the official accession process? In this chapter, we pursue the argument that Turkey’s very distinctive identity has acted as an obstacle to its bid for EU membership.

According to Mathew Nelson who is an author of *Revisiting Anderson’s “Imagined Communities” Almost 25 Years Later*, he states one of Benedict Anderson approaches in his quotes as follows,

Nationalism can be understood as not merely ‘socially constructed,’ but a phenomenon that is indeed, also lived. Further, the production of knowledge is closely related to the geography of colonial conquest, for instance, mapping and other forms of land surveys⁵.

⁴ Bojko Bucar. 2008. “EU’s relations with Turkey as an Issue of Governance”. Paper prepared for the 2008 ISA Annual Convention in San Francisco.

In respect of Benedict Anderson approaches, geography, language, ethnic composition, demography and religion are all included in a nation's cultural identity.

Following Nelson argues as follow;

At the same time, however, Anderson's conception of the nation is one of a community that is socially-constructed, or "imagined" into being: "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined"⁶.

We set out the constants of Turkey's identity, based on geography, culture, ethnic structure, and social life. In this, we concur with Nelson (2007), in his *Revisiting Anderson's "Imagined Communities" Almost 25 Years Later*, that nationalism can be understood as not merely 'socially constructed,' but a phenomenon that is indeed, also lived. We touch upon a potential tension within the Anderson schema: nations have strong identity markers, but, at the same time, Anderson's conception of the nation is one of a community that is socially-constructed, or "imagined" into being: "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined"⁷.

The distinction between constant and variable features of national identity will be addressed throughout the thesis. In this chapter, we set out the core constants, while in chapter five; we consider whether these factors are obstacles in the way of EU accession. In order to investigate the constants, or the permanent data of Turkey's identity, this chapter analyses national identity according to the criteria of geography, culture, ethnic structure, and social life.

⁵ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

⁶ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

⁷ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

4.2. Constants of Turkish Identity

In his theory of imagined communities, Benedict Anderson⁸, suggested that national identity is how one imagines oneself. In Anderson's words, 'a nation as an imagined community' consists of a creation myth, events recognised or forgotten selectively, and stories of heroism and existing value judgments which are accepted. In this respect, cultural values, historical affinity, linguistic affinity, religious and faith-based affinity and common moral values make up national identity. This chapter will examine cultural identity as a means of exploring what we label as the ontological constants. This chapter will examine the cultural identity and permanent data of Turkey under five subheadings, which are:

- (1) Geography,
- (2) Demography and population,
- (3) Language,
- (4) Ethic composition,
- (5) Religion.

4.2.1. Geography

Geography informs us about the places and communities in which we live and work, according to UK Royal Geographical Society⁹. Hence, the geography of Europe is more extensive than the element that comprises Christian culture and history. There is an argument, however, that, historically, the common basis of unity for European consciousness has been

⁸ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁹ UK Royal Geographical Society. Available from <<http://www.rgs.org>> [Accessed December 12th, 2011]

to defend Christianity against the Islamic culture in general, and the Turks in particular. Turkey has been considered as an 'other' territory by many in Europe, and geographical boundaries have been one explanation for why Turkey ought not to join the EU. Of course, there is no formal geographical limitation in the Copenhagen Criteria, the formal criteria for accession to the European Union. However geography might well produce differentiation and between identity markers separating communities if we follow Anderson's approach¹⁰ Geography is vital, because proximity and space can combine to produce a common cultural sense of belonging, common roots, history, and perceptions of place. Geography appears as a good example of a constant which contributes to identity and yet is very difficult to change. The European Union developed in terms of a specific political, cultural and economic environment after the end of World War II. The foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman in 1950 marked a new phase in European cooperation. The pooling of resources in Coal and Steel production gave rise to the creation of a supranational organization with the European Coal and Steel Community. The beginnings of European integration were thus clearly framed in terms of geography and territorial reconciliation. But the official the European Commission website does not stipulate that geography can be used to exclude a country from being considered for membership of the European Union.

The European Union has not defined its limits in geographical terms, but every applicant country has to meet the basic conditions laid down by the European Council in Copenhagen: democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and protection of minorities, a functioning market economy with the capacity to withstand competitive pressure in the EU, and the ability to take on the obligations of membership.¹¹

¹⁰ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

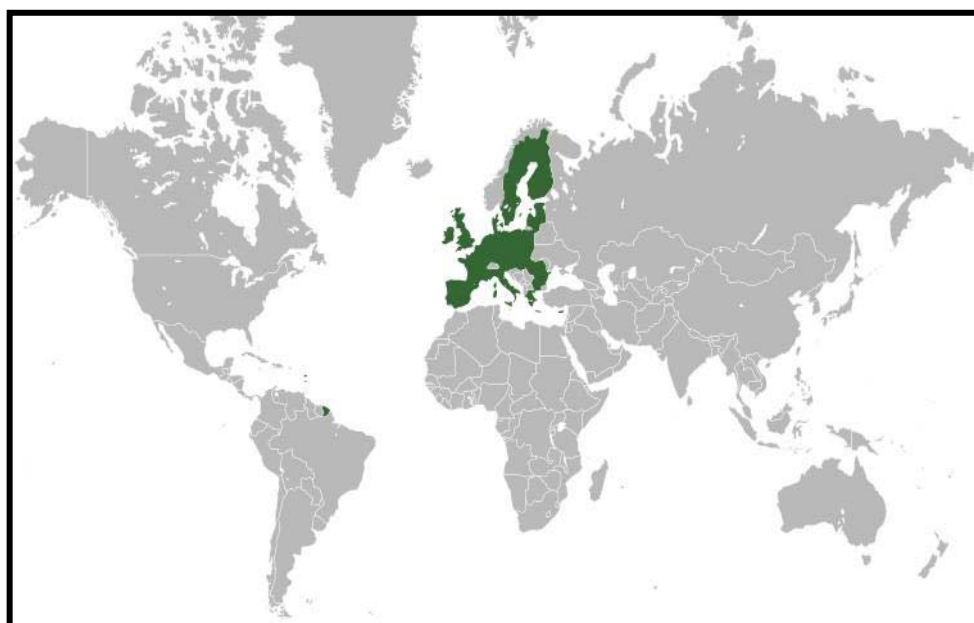
¹¹ European Commissions, Enlargement Archives. "Question and Answers about the Fifth Enlargement (Archived)". Available from < http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/questions_and_answers/1-10_en.htm > [Accessed December 14th. 2011]

Nevertheless, a sense of geographical attachments is obviously important, in so far as people feel psychologically attached to Europe in the context of European citizenship.

Figure 4.1: EU Member States (27)



Figure 4.2: EU Member States in the World Map



The figures above show European Union countries on the world map. But what about Turkey? There are too many different encyclopaedic definitions about Turkey geographical position for any certainty about whether it can claim to be a European country. The Encyclopaedia of Nations describes Turkey's geographical position in the following terms:

Turkey is a peninsula that, uniquely, straddles 2 continents. Located in south-eastern Europe and south-western Asia, 97 percent of its area occupies Anatolia, the peninsula of land that lies between the Black Sea on the northern coast of the country, and the Mediterranean to the south, where the continents of Asia and Europe meet.¹²

Google Earth, using its searchable map and satellite view, describes Turkey's geographical position in the following terms: "Turkey located in western Asia on the Anatolian peninsula with Mediterranean Sea to the South and the Black Sea in North. Turkey has a small enclave in south-eastern Europe west of Istanbul including parts of the city."¹³

In the opinion of numerous European politicians, there is little room for doubt: Turkey is located in Asia. The sentiment that Turkey, not being part of Europe, should not be allowed to join the EU has been expressed by leading politicians such as the former president of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, to the former President of Bavaria, Stoiber. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing¹⁴, then Chairman of the European Convention and former President of France, stated in an interview to *Le Monde* published on November 9, 2002:

¹² Encyclopedia of the Nations, Turkey. Available from <<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Asia-and-the-Pacific/Turkey.html#ixzz1gWkajKvC>> [Accessed May 5th, 2009]

¹³ Nations Online, Turkey. Available from <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/google_map_turkey.htm> [Accessed May 6th, 2009]

¹⁴ Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, he is a French central-right politician. (French Presidency: 1974-1981; President of European Convention 2002-2003; 2004 UMP)

“Turkey cannot belong to Europe. It is not a European country...those who have promoted most the enlargement towards Turkey are the adversaries of the EU. Turkey cannot be admitted as a member to the EU, simply because it is Asian”¹⁵

Giving an answer based on geography in response to the questioning of the Europeanness of Turkey is also in fashion among many participants from every country and all age groups in debating forums on the Internet. However, many contrary and opposing views are held within Europe. If the criterion is geography, how did Cyprus become an EU member? We are discussing an island 100 kilometres from Damascus, 80 kilometres from Athens, and located on the same meridian as Ankara. Cyprus is an EU member which cannot be fitted on the map on Euro banknotes due to the design difficulty. Algeria was a French state during the 1950s when the European Communities were established as the ancestor of the EU. Therefore, more than half the land of a country which is a founder of the EU was located in Africa.

4.2.2. Demography and Population

The identity of Turkey is usually a controversial subject in Europe. There are some groups attempting to externalise Turkey by looking from the axis of religion and geography. The question of Turkey’s identity is sometimes framed only in terms of the narrow questions: “Are Turkish people European?” and “Is Turkey located in Europe?”

There are two absolute and unchangeable factors concerning Turkey among these justifications: religion and geography. Other arguments are less watertight, and Turkish identity shows signs of evolution. Most of the formal criteria for accession concern issues of human rights, democracy, respect for the rule of law and limitations on the role of the

¹⁵ *Le Monde*. 9 November 2002. “Pour ou contre l’adhésion de la Turquie à l’Union Européenn”. France: Le monde.

military in politics. Other European countries were also, in the past, beset with similar problems, but they have now generally overcome them. Even though Turkey is coming from behind, it is on a course of positive and accelerating transformation. Now, Turkey is not far from being a European country in various aspects such as social progress and human rights.

Evidence in relation to what ordinary EU citizens think of cultural diversity within the EU can be gleaned from various sources, notably the Europa press releases published by the European Commission¹⁶. One such press release in December 2007 affirmed that 72 percent of EU citizens believe that people with a different background (ethnic, religious or national) enrich the cultural life of their country; only a quarter (23 percent) of citizens disagree with that idea, according to a Flash Eurobarometer survey (2007) commissioned by the European Commission.

Respondents in the latter survey were asked about the patterns of their interaction with people of different cultures, about their general attitude towards cultural diversity and, specifically, about the upcoming European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008. These results suggest much greater tolerance amongst EU citizens than national politicians appear willing to admit. Both of these surveys relied on interviewing a representative sample in all 27 states of the EU.¹⁷

¹⁶ Europa Press Releases. 4 December 2007. IP/07/1846, Brussels: Europa Press. Available from <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/1846&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>> [Accessed December 5th, 2007]

¹⁷ Europa Press Releases. 4 December 2007. IP/07/1846, Brussels: Europa Press. Available from <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/1846&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>> [Accessed December 5th, 2007]

The most important outcomes of the aforementioned 2007 Eurobarometer survey¹⁸ can be grouped into the following conclusions:

- Day-to-day interaction among people belonging to different cultures is a reality in Europe.
- A large majority of EU citizens believe that people with a different background (ethnic, religious or national) enrich the cultural life of their country.
- The dominant feeling in the EU is that intercultural dialogue is beneficial, while carrying on domestic cultural traditions is equally important:
- Europeans attribute a variety of meanings to the expression “Intercultural dialogue in Europe”; most of these are closely related to the core concept, and are positive.
- There was reasonable interest for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue¹⁹

One of the most important raised in these surveys is that of Turkey’s potential EU membership. These surveys allow comparison between the social and economic indicators of EU countries and candidate countries. The deficiencies of Turkey can be appreciated in terms of these indicators, and then instructive, even imperative, sanctions are implemented. In the process of accession more generally, criteria based on social development and human qualities in particular are emphasised, in addition to the level of economic development in candidate countries in the process of expansion.

On the other hand, intensive discussion of the population structure and the demographic characteristics of Turkey has not been a formal item in the accession negotiations. Even though Turkey is introduced as a giant country with a population of over 70 million, is the total population of a candidate country the most important demographic

¹⁸ Flash Eurobarometer Survey. 2007. “Intercultural Dialogue in Europe”. European Commission, Fieldwork: November 2007, Report: December 2007. This survey was requested by Directorate General Education and Culture and coordinated by Directorate General Communication. The survey’s fieldwork was carried out between 13 and 17 of November 2007. Over 27,000 randomly selected citizens aged 15 years and above were interviewed in the twenty-seven Member States of the European Union. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_217_sum_en.pdf [Accessed January 15th, 2008]

¹⁹ Europa Press Releases. 4 December 2007. IP/07/1846, Brussels: Europa Press. Available from <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/1846&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en> [Accessed December 5th, 2007]

characteristic affecting the candidacy process? What is the demographic structure in the European Union with its recently accepted countries? What is the position of Turkey in this structure? The best way of answering these and similar questions is to analyse this structure as a whole, instead of discovering demographic structures of candidate countries and examining variables separately. The socio-demographic level will analyse here the average score obtained on a scale from 1 to 10.

Table 4.1: Socio-demographic distribution in EU-27²⁰

sex	
Male	4,1
Female	3,9
Age	
15-24	4,5
25-39	4,5
40-54	4,6
55+	4,2
Education	
15	3,7
16-19	4,4
20+	5,1
still studying	4,6

The average level of subjective knowledge of European Union citizens is 4.3. The average score of knowledge about the European Union for men is 4.1, while the level is significantly lower for women (3.9). The aim of this section is to introduce, compare, and interpret the demographic structure of EU member countries and Turkey as a candidate country by using multivariate methods.

The population factor cannot be an indicator on its own. It should be considered in the context of social conditions and as a factor in development in particular. The size of the

²⁰ Eurobarometer 62. "National Report Executive Summary of Turkey". Fieldwork October – November 2004. Brussels: European Commission. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb62/eb62_tr_exec.pdf [Accessed February 5th, 2008]

population may help to make inferences while dealing with the subject-fact in which quantity is considered a component. It may facilitate setting objectives or making predictions. For example, inferences about achievability of an objective can be made by giving a numerical value for a population group (number of university graduate businessmen, schooling ratio in primary education, number of English teachers, etc.) in development objectives. However, numerical adequacy does not ensure the achievement of an objective and quality to be developed alone and automatically. Each country provides a model specific to itself in the EU, which is composed of 27 different countries. There are 28 different models within the common model the Union tried to introduce in Lisbon, Bologna, and Prague. Thus, the twenty-eighth model is taken into account rather than each of these 27 models in the core of concepts like “matching” and “compliance with *acquis*” which are frequently reflected in public opinion. Namely, a development process which consists of developing undeveloped models up to the level of the most advanced country is still not predicted in the agenda of the EU. Beyond the most advanced model, discussions are carried out on a model which might concern the whole Union beyond 20-25 years.

At this juncture, discussion of the effect of population instead of the population itself is concerned. A discussion in which the quality of the population is dealt with rather than its size, and in which the intellectual dimension becomes prominent, is appropriate. Thus, just as countries with populations of a few million do not worry about this case in the inter-country league, countries with high populations do not make it a reason for pride. Discussion continues on the basis that the quality of a population has equal importance to its quantity.

The numerical size of the population and, additionally, the large proportion of young people in the population provide advantages for Turkey in terms of reaching development objectives. However, these advantages will not continue forever and will not ensure development spontaneously due to the “demographic transition” process.

Table 4.2: Socio-demographic distribution in Turkey²¹

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Female	1383	47,7
Male	1520	52,3
Marital Status		
Married	1876	64,6
Single	900	31
Widow/Divorced	127	4,4
Age Structure		
18-25	769	26,5
26-35	715	24,6
36-45	585	20,2
46-60	567	19,5
61 and over	266	9,2

A low or crowded population should be transformed in a parallel direction with development objectives by the effect of social, economic, and cultural conditions and so on. This transformation necessarily starts with the sociological aspect. For example, the rate of participation in education and working life by women is expected to increase with urbanisation. According to Turkey's Population and Health Research (TPHR) carried out in 2003, 7 percent of households are composed of individuals living alone, 17 percent are composed of two individuals, 45 percent are composed of three or four individuals, 15 percent include five individuals, 8 percent include six individuals, and the remaining 8 percent are composed of larger families. A greater number of individuals per household are generally found in rural households: 28 percent of rural households, but only 14 percent of

²¹ NUTS-1. 2002. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/generic_url_page/?pcode=&pmode=DETAIL&language=> [Accessed February 5th, 2008]

households in urban areas, comprise six or more individuals²². Population values that have a firm relationship with healthy urbanisation, healthy formal infrastructures (education, culture, health institutions, systems, and so on) are a subject which can be dealt with not directly but indirectly. The framework of objectives introduced in the way of the EU is directly related to population structure. If the attempt of a country to be included with 27 different countries, which do not physically resemble each other, is separated from political topics, it is evidence that one of the actual reasons remaining is based on population structure.

The key informal criteria – and one explaining more or less covert opposition to Turkish entry, is that the population of Turkey has increased fourfold since 1945 and its population is now 70.6 million. The dynamics of Turkey's demography indicate that the population will continue to grow in the coming decades, since the population of the younger age groups is greater than that of the older age groups in Turkey's population, and so growth does not depend on immigration from abroad. It was predicted that Turkey's population would increase by 10.5 million between the 2000 and 2010 population censuses (the results of the latter are not yet fully known). The State Planning Organization (SPO) predicts that the population may even reach 100 million in 2050²³. In addition to this, life expectancy is always increasing in Turkey: average life expectancy increased by 3.3 years for men and 3.6 years for women between 1995 and 2005. As in the case of other countries, the average life expectancy of Turkish men (68.9 years) is shorter than that of Turkish women (73.8 years). In 1998, Turkey had the second largest population after Germany among 28 countries. This circumstance is the factor which has most affected and will affect the likely of integration into the EU.

²² NUTS-1. 2002. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/generic_url_page/?pcode=&pmode=DETAIL&planguage=> [Accessed February 5th, 2008]

²³ Ibid.

Table 4.3: Demographic distribution in EU-27 and Turkey²⁴

	Million	Population of EU %	km2	km2 of EU %	person/km2
EU-27	494.8	100%	4,422,773	100%	112
Austria (AT)	8.3	1.7%	83,858	1.9%	99
Belgium (BE)	10.5	2.1%	30,51	0.7%	344
Bulgaria (BG)	7.5	1.5%	110,912	2.5%	70
Cyprus (CY)	0.8	0.2%	9,25	0.2%	84
Check Republic (CZ)	10.3	2.1%	78,866	1.8%	131
Denmark (DK)	5.4	1.1%	43,094	1.0%	126
Estonia (EE)	1.4	0.3%	45,226	1.0%	29
Finland (FIN)	5.3	1.1%	337,03	7.6%	16
France (FR)	63.8	13.0%	643,548	14.6%	99
Denmark (DE)	82.2	16.6%	357,021	8.1%	231
Greece (EL)	11.1	2.2%	131,94	3.0%	84
Hungary (HU)	10.1	2.0%	93,03	2.1%	108
Ireland (IRL)	4.2	0.8%	70,28	1.6%	60
Italy (IT)	59.3	12%	301,32	6.8%	196
Latvia (LV)	2.3	0.5%	64,589	1.5%	35
Lithuania (LT)	3.4	0.7%	65,2	1.5%	52
Luxemburg (LUX)	0.5	0.1%	2,586	0.1%	181
Malta (MT)	0.4	0.1%	316	0.0%	1,261
Netherland (NL)	16.4	3.3%	41,526	0.9%	394
Poland (PL)	38.1	7.7%	312,685	7.1%	122
Portugal (PT)	10.6	2.1%	92,931	2.1%	114
Romania (RO)	21.6	4.4%	238,391	5.4%	91
Slovak Republic (SK)	45.1	9.0%	504,782	11.4%	87
Rep. of Slovenia (SI)	5.4	1.1%	48,845	1.1%	111
Spain (ES)	2.0	0.4%	20,253	0.5%	99
Sweden (SE)	9.1	1.8%	449,964	10.2%	20
United Kingdom (UK)	60.6	12.3%	244,82	5.5%	246
Turkey (TR)	70.6				

²⁴ NUTS-1. 2002. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/generic_url_page/?pcode=&pmode=DETAIL&language=>> [Accessed February 5th, 2008]

Table 4.5: Demographic distribution in EU-27 and Turkey – (2011)²⁵

geo\time	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
EU(27 countries)	495291925	497686229	499686575	501104164	502477005
Belgium	10584534	10666866	10753080	10839905	10918405
Bulgaria	7679290	7640238	7606551	7563710	7504868
Czech Republic	10287189	10381130	10467542	10506813	10532770
Denmark	5447084	5475791	5511451	5529449	5560628
Germany	82314906	82217837	82002356	81802257	81751602
Estonia	1342409	1340935	1340415	1340127	1340194
Ireland	4312526	4401335	4450030	4467854	4480176
Greece	11171740	11213785	11260402	11305118	11329618
Spain	44474631	45283259	45828172	45989016	46152926
France	63645065	64007290	64369147	64716310	65075310
Italy	59131287	59619290	60045068	60340328	60626442
Cyprus	778684	789269	796875	803147	804435
Latvia	2281305	2270894	2261294	2248374	2229641
Lithuania	3384879	3366357	3349872	3329039	3244601
Luxembourg	476187	483799	493500	502066	511840
Hungary	10066158	10045401	10030975	10014324	9986000
Malta	407810	410290	413609	414372	417608
Netherlands	16357992	16405399	16485787	16574989	16654979
Austria	8282984	8318592	8355260	8375290	8404252
Poland	38125479	38115641	38135876	38167329	38200037
Portugal	10599095	10617575	10627250	10637713	10636979
Romania	21565119	21528627	21498616	21462186	21413815
Slovenia	2010377	2010269	2032362	2046976	2050189
Slovakia	5393637	5400998	5412254	5424925	5435273
Finland	5276955	5300484	5326314	5351427	5375276
Sweden	9113257	9182927	9256347	9340682	9415570
United Kingdom	60781346	61191951	61595091	62026962	62435709
Iceland	307672	315459	319368	317630	318452
Liechtenstein	35168	35356	35589	35894	36152
Norway	4681134	4737171	4799252	4858199	4920305
Switzerland	7508739	7593494	7701856	7785806	7866500
Montenegro	624896	627508	630142	632922	:
Croatia	4441238	4436401	4435056	4425747	4412137
Macedonia	2041941	2045177	2048619	2052722	2057284
Turkey	69689256	70586256	71517100	72561312	73722988

²⁵ NUTS-1. 2011. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001> [Accessed September 9th, 2011]

Twelve percent of a total population of approximately 550 million (i.e. one in ten Europeans), calculated with the assumption that 13 candidate countries including Turkey will be members of the EU, will be Turkish people. The total population of the other 12 candidate countries is 105.8 million, while in contrast the population of Turkey alone is 70.6 million.

Table 4.6: Total population, Candidate countries and potential candidates (2011)²⁶

geo\time	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
EU (27 countries)	495291925	497686229	499705496	501120688	502489143
Montenegro	624896	627508	630142	632922	:
Croatia	4441238	4436401	4435056	4425747	4412137
Macedonia	2041941	2045177	2048619	2052722	2057284
Turkey	69689256	70586256	71517100	72561312	73722988
Albania	3152625	3170050	3184701	:	:
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3844017	3843846	3843998	3844037	3843183
Kosovo (under UNSC Resolution 1244/99)	2126708	2153139	2180686	2208107	:
Serbia	7397651	7365507	7334937	7306677	:

The population structure of the EU indicates that the 27 member states are highly populated and have cultural differences. The population of the EU was approximately 493 million in January 2008. It is foreseen that the populations of many countries will decrease over the next ten years; a young, demographically vibrant Turkish population would offset the demographic stagnation in countries such as Germany. In reality, the population development in Turkey, a potential future member state of the European Union, is likely to be of particular interest to Germany, the country with the greatest population in the EU – at 82 million - but also a country with a low birth rate, and the prospect of being rapidly overtaken in population terms in the event of Turkish accession. The total population of the EU corresponds to 7.3 percent of the total world population. Even though the Union's lands cover

²⁶ NUTS-1. 2011. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tgs00027> [Accessed September 9th, 2011] (: not available)

only 3 percent of the world's surface, with 114 people per square kilometre they are among the most densely populated regions of the world. Eighty percent of the society lives in cities and one third of citizens live in cities with populations greater than 1 million. The EU has a greater number of cities than any region of the world.

Table 4.7: Share of total population (proportion of population) of Turkey²⁷

Years	0-14	15-24	25-49	50-64	65-79	80 and more
1999	30.4	20.5	34.2	9.7	:	:
2000	30.1	20.1	34.7	9.7	:	:
2001	29.8	19.8	35.2	9.8	:	:
2002	29.6	19.3	35.7	9.9	:	:
2003	29.3	18.9	36.1	10.1	:	:
2004	29.0	18.4	36.6	10.3	:	:
2005	28.6	18.0	36.9	10.6	:	:
2006	28.3	17.7	37.3	10.8	:	:
2007	:	:	:	:	:	:
2008	26.4	17.6	37.0	11.9	5.9	1.2
2009	26.3	17.4	37.3	12.2	5.7	1.1
2010	26.0	17.2	37.3	12.4	5.8	1.2

According to table above, half of Turkey's population is younger than 28.3 years old. The median age is 28.3 in Turkey. The median age is 27.7 for men while it is 28.8 for women. The median age of those residing in cities is 28.4 while it is 27.9 in villages. People aged 15–64 comprise 66.9 percent of the population. The population of working age in the 15–64 age groups constitutes 66.9 percent of the total population, while 26.0 percent of Turkey's population is in the 0–14 age group and 7.0 percent is 65 or older. The demographic transformation trends of the EU show low birth rates and increases in life expectancy of one year every 10 years. A decline of 40 million was expected in the working population in the 15-64 groups up until 2005 and almost an equal increase was expected for the over 65 age group.

²⁷ NUTS-1. 2011. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tgs00027>> [Accessed September 9th, 2011]
(: not available)

Table 4.8: Crude birth rate, per 1000 inhabitants²⁸

geo\time	2009	2010
EU (27 countries)	10.7	10.7
Belgium	11.8	11.7
Bulgaria	10.7	10
Czech Republic	11.3	11.1
Denmark	11.4	11.4
Germany	8.1	8.3
Estonia	11.8	11.8
Ireland	16.6	16.5
Greece	10.5	10.2
Spain	10.8	10.4
France	12.8	12.8
Italy	9.5	9.3
Cyprus	12	12.4
Latvia	9.6	8.6
Lithuania	11	10.8
Luxembourg	11.3	11.6
Hungary	9.6	9
Malta	10	9.6
Netherlands	11.2	11.1
Austria	9.1	9.4
Poland	10.9	10.8
Portugal	9.4	9.5
Romania	10.4	9.9
Slovenia	10.7	10.6
Slovakia	11.3	11.1
Finland	11.3	11.4
Sweden	12	12.3
United Kingdom	12.8	13
Iceland	15.8	15.4
Liechtenstein	11.4	9.1
Norway	12.8	12.6
Switzerland	10.1	10.2
Montenegro	13.7	:
Croatia	10.1	9.8
Macedonia	11.5	11.8
Turkey	17.2	17.5

²⁸ NUTS-1. 2011. "Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1". Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00112>> [Accessed September 9th, 2011]

(: not available)

The population density of Turkey is slightly lower than, but close to, the EU average. The countries with the greatest population densities are Malta, the Netherlands, and Belgium.²⁹ Out of the countries currently seeking EU membership, Turkey is the only country that has a significant young and growing population at its disposal.

When the issue is considered globally, average life expectancy is seen to be increasing as a result of medical developments, improvements in health services, conscious nutrition, and the orientation of production moving from manual to mental with technology and development of labour laws protecting employees globally. Life expectancy is longer in developed countries than in other countries. Turkey has the greatest rate of population increase among the countries in Europe. Turkey's population was 70,586,256 on 31 December 2008, of whom 70.5 percent live in cities. According to the European Statistical Institute (EuroStat), in 2011 Turkey had 74 million inhabitants thus quintupling its population since the foundation of the Republic.³⁰

In this respect, the “ageing Europe, Turkey getting younger” evaluation, which is sometimes used as a political argument, is actually a temporary situation in scientific aspects. The direction of internal population dynamics and demographic indicators will also change in parallel with the change in social conditions. However, the meaning of this change in the context of relations with the EU should be observed in terms of different dimensions. Turkey may well have a “qualified” young population that makes sense in the context of “an ageing Europe”. Quite apart from the question of whether Turkey should join the EU, there is a real issue with how Europe's ageing population will be catered for in less demographically

²⁹ NUTS-1. 2011. “Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1”. Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00112>> [Accessed September 9th, 2011] (: not available)

³⁰ NUTS-1. 2011. “Major Socio-economic regions NUTS-1”. Brussels: Eurostat. Available from <<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00112>> [Accessed September 9th, 2011] (: not available)

dynamic countries. These calculations shed a different light on the Turkish bid for membership. As Steffen Kröhnert³¹ stated in his article “the consequences of the dynamic growth of population in the East provinces of Turkey cannot be ignored: the underdeveloped regions, based on an agrarian subsistence economy, have not been able to offer any perspectives to the booming number of young people”. On the other hand, Population growth is negative in some European countries (for example, Italy and Slovenia). The situation indicates that, even though birth rates have increased very slowly in EU-27 countries, the increase in the ratio of the ageing population to the birth rate leads the population to decline over time. In this context, a vibrant and young workforce, fully integrated into the EU, and geographically mobile in the process, might be one solution to Europe’s ageing problem.

4.2.3. Language

We consider language to be another near-constant of identity. Of course, people can learn new languages, or adapt their behaviour to accommodate universal languages such as English. But there is a powerful argument that language is a core identity marker, far beyond the instrumental value of being a means of communication. Language helps to construct the imagined community, to the extent that states divided by language, such as Belgium, can be weakened in their overall ‘national’ identity. Twenty-three languages have official status among all languages and dialects spoken in the EU. These languages are German, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Estonian, Dutch, Finnish, French, English, Irish, Spanish, Swedish, Italian, Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Maltese, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, and Greek. Documents on all subjects that are dealt with together, such as decisions on

³¹ Kröhnert, Steffen. 2010. *Demographic Development in Turkey*. Germany: Berlin Institute.

legislation, are translated into every official language of the Union. The European Parliament submits all General Meeting documents translated into these official languages. Some institutions within the Union only use the language of the relevant countries in some subjects like internal affairs. These documents may be translated partially for communication and contact issues.

Box 4.1: Turkey's and European Union (EU-27) Languages

BE	BE,FR	DK ,NL	RO	EE	CZ	NL,BE
Bulgarian	French	Danish	Romanian	Estonian	Czech	Dutch
EL,CY	AT, DE,LUX,BE	HU	LV	LT	MT	PL
Greek	German	Hungarian	Latvian	Lithuanian	Maltese	Polish
PT	IRL, UK,MT	SK	ES	FIN,SE	TR	FIN
Portuguese	English	Slovak	Spanish	Swedish	Turkish	Finnish
IRL	SI					
Irish	Slovene					

Language policy is the responsibility of each member country but the EU institution encourages learning the official languages within it. German is the most commonly spoken language as a native language with 88.7 million speakers in 2006. German is followed by English, French, and Italian. The most commonly known language is English, which 51 percent of the population can speak, followed by German and French. More than 56 percent of the population can speak another language in addition to their native language.³² Most of the official languages of the EU belong to the Indo-European language family. The exceptions are Hungarian and Finnish, which are Finn-Ugor languages, and Maltese, which belongs to the Semitic language family. All languages are written with Latin letters with the

³² Europa. "Languages in Europe – Official EU Languages". Brussels: EUROPA web portal. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/languages-of-europe/doc135_en.htm>. [Accessed December 5th, 2009].

exception of Bulgarian, which is written with the Cyrillic alphabet, and Greek, which is written with the Greek alphabet.

Approximately 150 regional and minority languages are spoken by about 50 million people in the EU in addition to the 23 official languages. EU citizens may apply to official bodies of the Union in Basque, Catalan, and Galician, which are among the regional languages spoken in Spain. Protection of the language rights of societies is the responsibility of member states even though the EU sometimes supports minority languages or local languages with special programmes.

There are many minority languages spoken by immigrant individuals who have come to Europe from different countries of the world, in addition to the many regional languages. Turkish, Maghrib, Arabic, Russian, Urdu, Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Ukrainian and different Balkan languages are spoken in many parts of the EU. These immigrant groups are usually bilingual peoples who speak both their own language and the official language of the country they live in. Immigrant languages do not yet have official status in the EU or any of the member countries.

However, they have been able to obtain special support within the scope of the Life Time Learning Project of the EU since 2007. Although Turkish has official language status in Cyprus and the Luxembourgian language has this status in Luxembourg, these languages have not been included in the EU languages since at least one existing language of the Union is already the official language in these countries (French and German in Luxemburg, Greek in Cyprus).

4.2.4. Ethnic Composition

Perhaps the most contentious of the ontological constants is that of ethnicity, a concept that is not accepted in all versions of nationalist thought. But it features prominently in writings about Turkish identity, and is inherent in some of the core objections to Turkey becoming an EU member.

The ensuing section draws on an unprecedented survey into the ethnic composition of Turkey that was carried out by the KONDA Research Centre in May 2011 (the survey being conducted in 59 different cities and interviewing a representative sample of 10393 people across Turkey in May 2011).³³ The survey was implemented with a specific methodology, whereby interviewers were asked to write down the subject's first response.

Later on, the frequency and similarity of responses were studied and grouped together in statistically meaningful groups. In the area that most concerns us, the key question was framed as follows: "We are all Turkish citizens, but we may be from different territories and origins. What do you know or feel yourself to be?" Subjects gave over 100 different responses to this question. The table below shows the identity groups according to subjects' responses and the percentage with which these identities were uttered by subjects.

³³ KONDA Research Centre. 2011. *Who we are?*, "Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi". May 2011.

Over 1500 people were employed for the most comprehensive nongovernment survey ever conducted in Turkey and 47,958 randomly chosen people were interviewed face to face.

The sample distribution based on interviews
Province 79
District 488
Number of neighbourhood and villages 2.685
Urban 2.286
Rural 399
Number of interviews 47.958

Table 4.9: Ethnic distribution in Turkey (by KONDA Research Centre, 2011)

Identity Groups Used in the Survey	Total %	Identity Categories Said by Subjects	Total %
Turkish	81,33	Turk	81,33
Local Identity	1,54	Manav	0,59
		Laz	0,28
		Turkmen	0,24
		Region name in Turkey	0,22
		Yörük	0,18
		Anatolian Turkish Tribes	0,03
Asian Turk	0,08	Tatar	0,04
		Azeri	0,03
		Central Asian Turkish Tribes	0,01
Of Caucasian Origin	0,27	Circassian	0,19
		Georgian	0,08
		Chechnian	0,004
Of Balkan Origin	0,22	From Balkan countries	0,12
		Bosnian	0,06
		Bulgarian Turk	0,04
Immigrants	0,4	Migrant	0,22
		Balkan immigrant	0,16
		Region name abroad	0,02
Muslim Turkish	1,02	Muslim	0,58
		Muslim Turkish	0,44
Alevi	0,35	Alevi	0,35
General Definitions	0,36	From Turkey	0,23
		World citizen	0,12
		Ottoman	0,01
Kurdish-Zaza	9,02	Kurdish	8,61
		Zaza	0,41
Arab	0,75	Arab	0,75
Non-Muslim	0,1	Armenian	0,08
		Greek and Christian	0,01
		Jewish	0,004
		Assyrian	0,004
Roma	0,03	Roma	0,03
From Other Countries	0,05	European	0,02
		Other Asian	0,01
		Russian	0,01
		Iranian	0,004
		American-African	0,004
Citizen of the Republic of Turkey	4,45	Citizen of the Republic of Turkey	4,45
Total			100

In respect of table 4.9, having included the information provided by mother tongue data as a control, the resulting figures show that adults in Turkey defined themselves as follows³⁴: 78,1 percent Turkish, 13,4 percent Kurdish, 1,5 percent local identities such as “Laz” and “Turkmen”, 0,1 percent Asian Turkish, 0,3 percent of Caucasian origin, 0,2 percent of Balkan origin, 0,4 percent immigrants, 0,9 percent Muslim Turkish, 0,2 percent Alevi, 0,3 percent with general terms such as “I am from Turkey; I am a world citizen” etc., 0,7 percent Arab, 0,1 percent non-Muslim, 0,03 percent Roma, 0,05 percent from other countries and 3,8 percent as citizens of the Republic of Turkey.

According to the KONDA survey³⁵, the Turkish Statistics Institute (TSI) estimates the adult population for 2006 to be 48 million and 709 thousand, which means that among them 38 million 43 thousand are Turkish and 6 million 524 thousand define themselves as Kurdish. The table below summarizes the raw data, the rectified data as explained above and the corresponding adult population of ethnic groups. However, it must be noted that for all groups less than one percent the margin of error is rather high.

Today, a State is seen as a land with determined borders where a nation or more than one ethnic group live, but a nation is more than the land it covers, the number of people it contains or the economic richness it produces, as Benedict Anderson says in his *Imagined Communities*³⁶. In Anderson’s words, “a nation as an imagined community” consists of a creation myth, events recognized or forgotten selectively, stories of heroism and value judgments accepted as existing. By means of these, every nation distinguishes itself from others, as a result of which the legitimacy of a state is guaranteed. The evidence presented from the KONDA survey suggests that there is an overwhelming sense of Turkish identity,

³⁴ KONDA Research Centre. 2011. *Who we are?*, “Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi”, May 2011.

³⁵ KONDA Research Centre. 2011. *Who we are?*, “Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi”, May 2011.

³⁶ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

expert in relation to the rather specific case of the Kurds, which will be addressed later on the thesis. But how far is this identity rooted in an unchanging commitment to the Muslim religion? Let us now consider this dimension.

4.2.5. Religion

The EU is a secular organisation which does not have any connection with any existing religion and does not refer to any religion in any decision it takes. There was a massive controversy about whether there should be a reference to the Christian origins of Europe in the draft Constitutional Treaty of 2004; but eventually all such reference to religion was excluded.

The public opinion evidence demonstrates a general belief that faith should be kept in the private sphere, but also widely diverging rates of religious belief across the countries of the EU. In a 2005 Eurobarometer³⁷ survey organised by European Commission, the evidence suggested that the majority of EU citizens have a faith, but only 21 percent of this group consider this issue significant. While loyalty to the church is gradually declining within the general population in every country, the size of atheist and antagonist groups is increasingly rising.

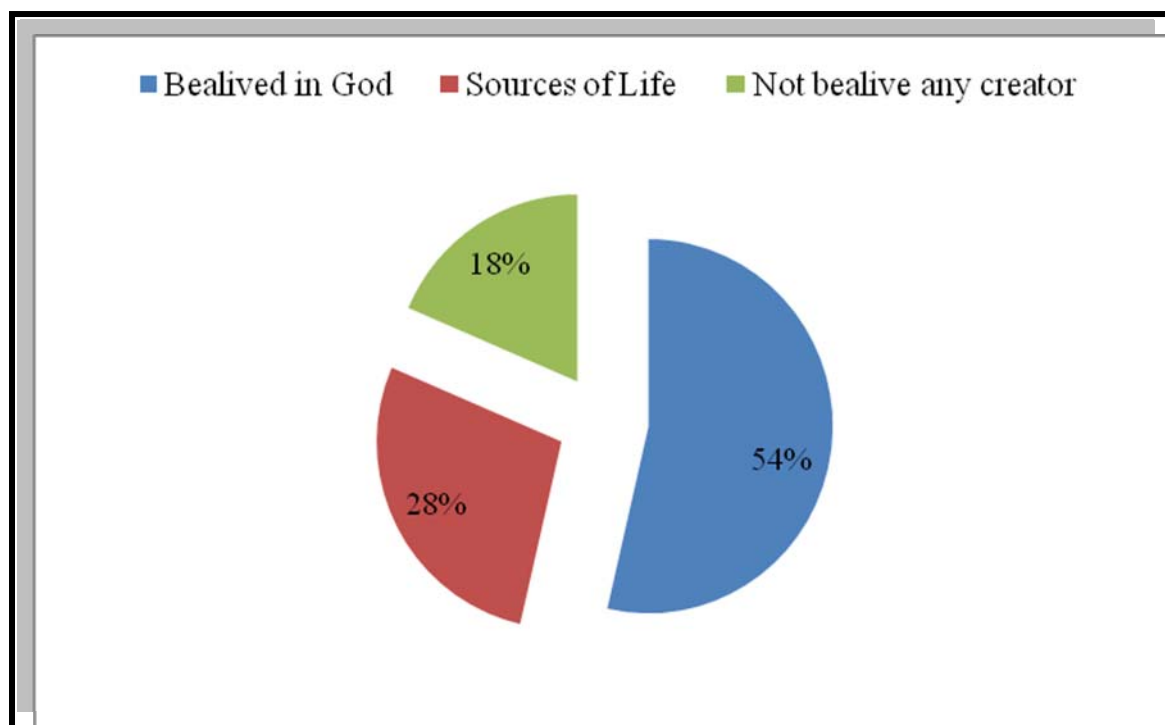
In the aforementioned Eurobarometer³⁸ survey, carried out in 2005, 54 percent of people living in the EU stated that they believed in any God, 28 percent stated that they believed in the existence of a kind of spiritual entity or source of life, and 18 percent stated

³⁷ Special Eurobarometer. 2005. "Social Values, Science and Technology". January-February 2005, Pub: June 2005. Brussels: European Commission. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf [Accessed December 22th, 2009]

³⁸ Special Eurobarometer. 2005. "Social Values, Science and Technology". January-February 2005, Pub: June 2005. Brussels: European Commission. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf [Accessed December 22th, 2009]

that they did not believe in any creator; these figures relate to the period when there were 25 members, as Romania and Bulgaria had not yet joined the Union.

Graph 4.1: Believes in God (EU 27)



The picture emerging as a result of surveys evidenced that the countries with the lowest rate of believing in God are the Czech Republic with 19 percent and Estonia with 16 percent.³⁹The same public opinion surveys evidenced that the most devout countries are Malta, which has a dominant Catholic population with 95 percent believing in God, and Cyprus and Romania, in which more than 90 percent of people believe in God.

It is evidenced that belief in God is more common among women than men. This case has increased in parallel with factors like the age of people, the religious environment they are brought up in, and having a low level of education. People in this segment associated

³⁹ Special Eurobarometer. 2005. "Social Values, Science and Technology". January-February 2005, Pub: June 2005. Brussels: European Commission. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf [Accessed December 22th, 2009]

themselves with right-wing political views and more criticised subjects related to philosophy and ethics. The EU is a secular body, with no formal connections to any religion and no mention of religion in any current or proposed treaty. Discussion over the draft texts of the European Constitution and later the Treaty of Lisbon included proposals to mention Christianity and/or God in the preamble of the text, but the idea faced opposition and was dropped.⁴⁰

In Table 4.10, Turkey and Malta are the first in line with the highest points, with 95 percent of people stating that they ‘believe in God’. Turkey is once again first in line but with the lowest points with only two percent of people stating that they ‘believe in a life force’. The high degree of religiosity and the Islamic character of Turkey are rarely explicitly mentioned as obstacles to integration, except on the far-Right. But the weight of these figures, demonstrating an overwhelmingly Muslim identity, does not bear a great deal of discussion; we might surmise that they explain why many Europeans are nervous about the prospects of Turkish entry.

⁴⁰ Special Eurobarometer. 2005. “Social Values, Science and Technology”. January-February 2005, Pub: June 2005. Brussels: European Commission. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf [Accessed December 22th, 2009]

Table 4.10: Religiosity list in the European Union and Turkey.⁴¹

Country	Believe in God	Believe in Life Force	Believe in neither God nor Life Force
Turkey	95%	2%	1%
Malta	95%	3%	1%
Cyprus	90%	7%	2%
Romania	90%	8%	1%
Greece	81%	16%	3%
Portugal	81%	12%	6%
Poland	80%	15%	1%
Italy	74%	16%	6%
Ireland	73%	22%	4%
Croatia	67%	25%	7%
Slovakia	61%	26%	11%
Spain	59%	21%	18%
Austria	54%	34%	8%
Lithuania	49%	36%	12%
Switzerland	48%	39%	9%
Germany	47%	25%	25%
Luxembourg	44%	28%	22%
Hungary	44%	31%	19%
Belgium	43%	29%	27%
Finland	41%	41%	16%
Bulgaria	40%	40%	13%
Iceland	38%	48%	11%
United Kingdom	38%	40%	20%
Latvia	37%	49%	10%
Slovenia	37%	46%	16%
France	34%	27%	33%
Netherlands	34%	37%	27%
Norway	32%	47%	17%
Denmark	31%	49%	19%
Sweden	23%	53%	23%
Czech Republic	19%	50%	30%
Estonia	16%	54%	26%

⁴¹ Special Eurobarometer. 2005. "Social Values, Science and Technology". January-February 2005, Pub: June 2005. Brussels: European Commission. Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf [Accessed December 22th, 2009]

The reason for emphasising the issue of Christianity to such an extent is that it is the most common religion in both Europe and therefore naturally the EU. The Christian Church is divided in Europe into the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church (Southeast Europe), and many different Protestant churches (especially in Northern Europe). Some other religions like Islam and Judaism are also represented in the EU. It is suggested that over 1 million Jews and over 16 millions Muslims lived in Europe in 2002.

Table 4.11: Religion in European Union

Roman Catholicism	Andorra, Austria, west Belarus, Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, France, south and west Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latgale region in Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, south Netherlands, Poland, Portugal , San Marino, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, central and south Switzerland, west Ukraine, and Vatican City. There are also large Catholic minorities in Albania, the United Kingdom and Scotland, and most European countries. In Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, and Romania Catholics are a small minority.
Eastern-Rite Catholicism	Western Ukraine and southern Italy. It also exists in very small numbers in Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, France (Corsica).
Eastern Orthodox	Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, the Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan (European sector), , easternmost Hungary, a small minority in Southern Italy, sizable minorities in Albania, Latvia and Lithuania, small minority in Poland, Finland (Karelia).
Oriental Orthodox	Armenia
Protestantism	Denmark, Estonia, Finland, north and east Germany, Iceland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden; east, north and west Switzerland; and the United Kingdom. There are significant Protestant minorities in France, the northwestern Piedmont region of Italy, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and smaller minorities in Poland, Greece, and Ireland.
Anglicanism	In the United Kingdom (England and Wales) with minorities in Ireland, Malta (through tourism) and Scotland.

Other significant belief movements having some believers in EU lands are Buddhism, Hinduism (the majority of who live in the UK) and Neo-paganism. Neo-paganism is a belief movement which ensured the revival of the polytheistic religions of people in ancient times in Europe and rapidly spread. Neo-pagan beliefs are officially recognised by the governments of the UK, Denmark, Sweden, and Spain.

In Turkey, more than 99 percent of the population is registered as Muslim. Islam is the religion with the largest community of followers in the country, where most of the population is nominally Muslim, of who over 75 percent belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. Over 20 percent of the Muslim population is Shia Alevi.⁴²

From the above survey, Christianity, in its various forms and guises, is the main source of religious heritage in Europe. Does this explain why there is such unease amongst many in the fact of the prospect of Turkish accession to the EU? We will consider in rather more detail the role of Islam in Turkey's imagined community. Next section will evaluate the acceptance of Islam inside of Europe by EU Member states; while chapter five will shift the focus to the role of political Islam, both historically and in contemporary Turkey.

⁴² Shankland, David. 2003. *The Alevi in Turkey: the Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition*. The first edition by Routledge Curson. New York: The Taylor & Francis e-Library.

4.3. How does the EU view Turkey's Ontological Constants?

While last section is describing why making an analyses on ontological design of Turkey is important during accession process to European Union under national identity approach, we will analyse ontological issues and 'cultural obstacle' which stands between Turkey and the EU. While doing research of ontology of Turkey such as Turkish demography, geography, ethnic composition, languages and religion by Benedict Anderson approaches⁴³, have been used as empirical research by comparing Turkey and EU member states to clarify arguments of this thesis. In the previous section we outlined what we described as the main ontological constants of Turkish identity; demography, geography, languages and feeling of ethnic identity. We now address these features of Turkish identity that have appeared create the most tension with other Europeans, and to complicate the chances of Turkey being able to join the EU, though they do not form part of the formal accession criteria. The chief issue here is that of religion and of the overwhelming Muslim identity of Turkish citizens. In his classic work, Benedict Anderson observed that the modern nation-state constructed itself against the influence of religion. The nation-state, he argued:

It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Coming to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living pluralism of such religions between each faith's ontological claims and territorial stretch, nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state⁴⁴

⁴³ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

In the case which concerns us here, Turkey's religious identity is perceived to pose problems. There are concerns, expressed in public opinion data, as well as voiced by populist politicians in countries such as Netherlands, that Turks can never be real Europeans, as they do not share the cultural references of European society. Can a Turk and a Dutch (European person) have a common cultural background and if no, how they could integrate within the EU? The strong anti-Muslim platforms that have developed in several European countries make the prospect of allowing the entry of an overwhelmingly Muslim state a worrying one. There is manifestly a lack of agreement at the level of the elite as well. In order to integrate Turkey's national religion and EU's national religion, both national religions that could not introduced in place of a mosaic consists under one name, such as Christianity, because of Islam is not a national religion in any EU member states excepts immigrants.

The accession negotiations with Turkey opened in 2005 just as the Europe-wide debate on population structure, geographical and policy issues seemed to intensify. The main topics of discussion among the members were whether there was a good cultural fit between Turkey and other EU states; and whether, if it became a member of the EU, it would soon be the most populous member country. There were also arguments over the boundaries of the European continent and the question of Turkey's geography: is it European or not? Discussions focused on this hypothesis, particularly the Treaty of Rome (1957), since European countries have accepted the common values approach to unity from the philosophical and intellectual prejudices which are considered in the framework.⁴⁵ The historical background to the European Union is vital to an understanding of how groups are socially constructed through social institutions and every practice that shapes the sense of belonging to a political community. When summarizing the ideas behind the evolution of the

⁴⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso.

⁴⁵ Europa. "The 2004 Enlargement: The Challenge of a 25-Member EU". Brussels: European Commission. Available from <<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50017.htm>>, [Accessed November 22th, 2009].

European Union, it is important to keep in mind that it has become a complex political entity defined by a set of treaties, laws and institutions which have altered the political, economic, social and cultural landscape of Western Europe.⁴⁶

This PhD research studies both constant and variable identity markers in relation to Turkey's accession to the EU. The use of the term ontological constants refers to identity markers that are not easy to alter, those persists through time and are clearly identifiable. Religion is the most important of these constant markers, though the role of religion in Turkey has varied considerably over the period since the creation of the Republic in 1923.

Religion contributes substantially to Turkish national identity and the argument forwarded here is that it is constant, insofar as religious beliefs are unlikely to be radically transformed by outside pressures. The role of the Army, on the other hand, is far more amenable to transformation under the weight of external pressures. We will discuss the Army and the influence of the Military in Chapter 7 in terms of it being a variable republican identity marker, one that is less timeless. The case of the Army demonstrates that some features of what were previously considered to be a strong national identity can be transformed on the path to the democratisation of Turkey. Our analysis also allows for the emergence of new political forces, such as the AKP, that synthesise various elements of traditional Turkish identity and that set out to reconcile religion and the Republic.

⁴⁶ For a useful and solid introduction to the European Union, see Gilbert (2003) and McCormick (1999).

Table 4.12: Ontological Constants in Europe and Turkey

	<u>European Union (27)</u>	<u>Turkey</u>
Demonym (Names of Nationalities)	Italian, French, Swedish, Finnish, Belgian, British, Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, Greek, Maltese, Cypriot, Romanian, Bulgarian, Austrian, Slovak, Slovenian, German, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Hungarian, Luxembourgish	Turkish
Languages	23 languages (official)	1 official language
Religions	Christianity (official)	Islam (99%)
Geography and Cultural Roots	Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Balkans, Northern Europe, Southern Europe, Mediterranean	Balkans and Caucasian

Table 4.13 conceptualises the constants of the European Union member states and Turkey in relation to their nationalities, languages, religions, geography and cultural roots.

Table 4.13: Ontological constants of Europe if Turkey joins to EU

European Union (27 + Turkey)

Demonym (Names of Nationalities)	Italian, French, Swedish, Finnish, Belgian, British, Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, Greek, Maltese, Cypriot, Romanian, Bulgarian, Austrian, Slovak, Slovenian, German, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Hungarian, Luxembourgish, Turkish	←
Languages	24 languages (official)	←
Religions	Christianity and Islam (official)	←
Geography and Cultural Roots	Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Balkans, Northern Europe, Southern Europe, Mediterranean and Caucasian	←

The most striking difference in the two tables is that of religion. Though there are already very strong Muslim populations across key European countries, such as France, Germany and the UK – the accession of Turkey would, for the first time, introduce a State with Islam as its majority religion within the EU. Though it is not deemed in any sense as a formal variable of EU membership, the religion dimension is clearly an intervening variable that complicates the task of Turkey's bid to join the EU.

4.4. Turkish Religious Identity: fear of the “other”?

Both EU governments and citizens are deeply divided on whether Turkey should become a member or not. Doubtless, the fear is important in this case. What are the fears of EU citizens regarding Turkey’s potential future EU membership? What has to change in their lifestyles? Are they not happy about cultural diversity or are they happy with supra-national states? Which argument about Turkey and Turkish citizens makes sense to EU citizens? Though religion does not form part of any formal criteria for EU accession, EU politicians and voters often cite religious or cultural variables in order to explain their opposition of Turkish entry. This sometimes takes the form of a defence of Christian values, but more often the belief that there is a basic incompatibility between Islam and democratic values, for instance in terms of the rights of women or the respect of the neutrality of the public sphere. The research has discussed the formation of identity in establishment on nation-state stage; every movement helps to construct an identity through which the people, social group or political situations can be recognised. In fact, identity is a unity reflecting why the “imagined communities” of Benedict Anderson become communities.⁴⁷

Moving beyond survey evidence and the statements of EU politicians, press reports from core EU countries suggest there is a core problem of integrating Turks (more so than other Muslims), as Turks tend to form highly cohesive communities and engage in communitarian practices. This is demonstrated by the following articles in the Flemish newspaper Flanders Today in November 2009.

⁴⁷ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

In an article entitled *Moroccans feel more Belgian than Turkish residents*, the newspaper observed that:



“Moroccans seem to identify much more with Belgium and Flanders than Turks and are generally more in command of the Dutch language than the Turks. This has also been revealed by a survey conducted by the University of Hasselt and the Centre for Equity. According to a similar survey, one of the reasons for this phenomenon could be the fact that the Turkish sense of nationalism is much stronger than the Moroccan. It’s interesting to note that Limburg Turks and Moroccans living in Genk have a stronger Belgian or Flemish identity than those living in Antwerp or Ghent. This could be attributed to language, as immigrants living in Genk have a much better command of the Dutch language than those living in other cities. The Flemish sense of identity is weak, being far less important than to be seen as a citizen of Ghent or Antwerp rather or even a Belgian national. Immigrants often have little knowledge of the

Flemish government level either. A survey conducted in Mechelen in 2000 showed that 38 percent knew the name of the Belgian prime minister and Mechelen mayor, but only 6 percent were familiar with the Flemish minister-president. Equally noteworthy is the fact that religion seems to play no role in the extent to which Moroccan or Turks feel Flemish, Belgian or an Antwerp citizen. Highly religious immigrants feel equally Belgian, Antwerp or Belgian as less religious ones. A previous survey conducted by the Centre for Equity Policy showed that people who often visit their mosque felt even more confident about institutions such as the police, judiciary and municipal management than those who never frequent their mosque.”⁴⁸

The perception, then, is that Moroccans feel more Belgian than Turkish residents. In both cases, there have been controversies over whether Muslim minorities should integrate themselves into the mainstream of European society, or whether they should be allowed to retain distinctive dress codes, such as women wearing headscarves. In the case of Moroccans, and especially Turks, national identity is expressed in terms of original national identity; feeling Turk, rather than Belgian. The religious sentiment of being a Muslim appears as more important than adapting to the host culture; hence religion continues to form part of a constant form of (Turkish) national identity. The persistence of multi-cultural communities in countries such as Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands might explain why the Turkish bid

⁴⁸ Flanders Today. 2009. “Morokkanen voelen zich meer Belg dan Turkey”. De Standaard /Vlaams-Brabant/Brussel ; Monday, 23 November 2009 ; p.4. Brussels: Fladers Today.

for entry into the EU is not, frankly, welcomed by the leaders of these states. National identity is understood by Turks in terms of their own, Turkish national identity, wherever they have to be living. The ostentatious wearing of religious symbols runs counter the beliefs systems of many Europeans and draws attention to their predominantly religious identity. In short, Turkish people feel themselves to be “Turkish” wherever they immigrate and they will feel themselves to have the “same identity” wherever they are, with same languages, religion and ancestry: in short, the same cultural roots.

The history of European civilisation in part one of division between rival branches of Christianity: Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, all of which are present in the EU today as widely practised religions. Though a historical reading would emphasise the divisions between these branches of Christianity, and the forewarn nature of any attempts at reconciliation, from beyond Western Europe the region is characterised mainly by its Christian identity. What unites the Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox denominations is far more important than what divides them. Christian culture has lain at the root of European history, and can explain the formation and development of a common value system that is widely accepted across European states. This common European history and culture presents an image of cultural unity – at least from afar. The countries of the European Union share a common history and culture. This observation presents challenges for Muslims: to be a Muslim (hence to be a Turk) is to stand out as being part from, or different to core European values. Irrespective of formal accession criteria, Turks are deemed to be ‘others’ and this might explain the hostility with which many view the bid for membership.

If Turkey enters the EU, despite the homology of the cultural infrastructure, it will undoubtedly create cultural and social challenges. In terms of the historical formation of European values, Turks have become ‘the other’, the object of a socio-cultural conflict. Religious differences are central to these perceptions of identity. Turkey has a common

identity that is unacceptable to most countries in the Union. Elsewhere religion has become reconciled with the state, and a democratic and secular approach has come to the fore, while the world is entering a period of modernization and industrialization. There is a fear that allowing Turkey into the EU will challenge this secular approach and aggravate community tensions within the EU itself. In other words, the Muslim identity of Turkey creates issues for the EU, whatever the declarations of its spokespersons. Briefly, Turkey's membership has been in question for many years for European citizens.

In his article *Revisiting Anderson's "Imagined Communities" Almost 25 Years Later* Nelson interprets presents Anderson's approach in terms of 'the role of creative imagery, 'invented traditions,' representation, imagination, symbols, and traditions in nationalism, as a constructed narrative about the nation-state⁴⁹. But how far can this argument be stretched? Are there alternative approaches available to that of the 'imagined community'? One clear alternative is that of the *Clash of the Civilizations* that we will now consider.

4.5. Imagining a Clash of Civilizations

For the European Union to realize a process of supranational integration, nation-states need minimum conditions providing unity, which are, respectively, a common geography, history of the communities corresponding to national history, intercommunity history corresponding to national culture or greater cultural proximity internally when compared with proximity to other cultures, common interest and finally common future expectations. There is a powerful argument that Turkey and the countries of the EU are, quite simply, incompatible, at least in

⁴⁹ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's 'Imagined Communities' Almost 25 Years Later". Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; *Other Worlds, Other Globalizations*, Carleton University.

terms of co-structuring a powerful supranational polity. They can trade with each – but they are too far apart culturally to allow for Turkish entry into the EU.

It is interesting, from this perspective, to adapt one of the most popular frames developed in the past few years: that of the Clash of civilisations. American political scientist Samuel Huntington⁵⁰ defined the clash of civilisations in the following terms:

World politics is entering a new phase, in which the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of international conflict will be cultural. Civilizations-the highest cultural groupings of people-are differentiated from each other by religion, history, language and tradition. These divisions are deep and increasing in importance. From Yugoslavia to the Middle East to Central Asia, the fault lines of civilizations are the battle lines of the future. In this emerging era of cultural conflict the United States must forge alliances with similar cultures and spread its values wherever possible. With alien civilizations the West must be accommodating if possible, but confrontational if necessary. In the final analysis, however, all civilizations will have to learn to tolerate each other.⁵¹

This analysis has resonance in a number of European capitals; with Turkey being the local version of a potential clash of the civilisations. Doubtless, the prospect of Turkey's membership constitutes the main reason for such an identity crisis. The rejection of the draft constitutional treaty was associated, at least in the case of the Netherlands, with a reaction against the prospect of Turkish entry.

From the perspective of Anderson, or scholars working from a similar perspective (such as Mathew Nelson) there can also be the place for a Clash of civilisations reading. Hence, Nelson refers to the “us” against “them” mentality in the following passage of his article:

⁵⁰ Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

⁵¹ Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

No doubt, in part to boost their own importance, by positing ‘our side’ against distinct civilizational rival, academics such as Bernard Lewis⁵² and Samuel Huntington⁵³ exploit this difference to be made into an opposition to be threatened by. By assigning this essence - a civilizational separateness – an East/West, us versus them mentality is subsequently remade.⁵⁴

How relevant are these analyses in the case of the EU? There are 27 national governments within the EU, many with strong Muslim minorities that they seek to integrate as peacefully as possible. The Clash of civilisations rhetoric is unlikely to facilitate this process of integration. The EU is already marked by a strong cultural heterogeneity; its political identity ought to be capable to accommodating different religious groups. The EU might be at the fulcrum of a new supranational political structure. But it is wary of claiming a one-size fits all identity. Along with Nelson⁵⁵, we would argue that the “clash of civilizations” thesis occupies the same discourse as religious fundamentalists who posit a similar us/them duality. It adds little, conceptually, and introduces a strongly normative dimension into the debate.

Indeed in the case of Turkey and the EU it is important not to overemphasise cultural divisions, though they do exist and will continue to do so. One well-informed journalist (Gwynne Dyer⁵⁶) expressed the essential compatibility between Turkey and the EU in the following terms:

⁵² Bernard Lewis. 1990. “The Roots of Muslim Rage”. *Atlantic Monthly* 226:3. Available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/4643/> [Accessed November 7th, 2010]

⁵³ Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

⁵⁴ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. “Revisiting Anderson’s ‘Imagined Communities’ Almost 25 Years Later”, Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

⁵⁵ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. “Revisiting Anderson’s ‘Imagined Communities’ Almost 25 Years Later”, Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

There is an attractive symbolism in the idea that Turkish membership in the EU would finally begin to repair the split that tore the old classical Mediterranean civilisation in two with the rise of Islam fourteen centuries ago, but it is not really about an “alliance” between Christianity and Islam. On the contrary, it has become possible only because both Western Europeans and Turks have ceased to define themselves solely or even mainly in religious terms. Many people in Western Europe and most people in Turkey are still believers, but it doesn't swallow up their whole identity.⁵⁷

This is highly pertinent. We might refer to ontological constants, as we have done in the course of this chapter. We might accept that nations, or other social groups, espouse specific cultures, beliefs, values, symbols, norms, customs and traditions. But cultures interact with each other and can change over time. National cultures are not closed to each other. They want peace and, especially in times of war, mass communication tools reduce the impact of world culture and cultural exchange and in some of the other elements of national culture, the transition can be seen. In the transfer of value from these cultures, elements can be adopted by the recipient culture and culture can be built at a cost which is related to the viability of the culture. This preserves the viability of national culture, and their own non-saving and more elements with the role of donors arise. The financial viability of culture, rather than those related to the size of the civilization, may lead to opportunities to make meaningful contributions.

Western Culture is the cradle of European civilisation. It has its contemporary roots in the Renaissance (14th -16th century), the Reformation (16th century), the English Revolution (17th century), the U.S. Revolution (18th century), the French Revolution (18th Century) and

⁵⁶ Dyer, Gwynne. 2005. *Turkey, Europe and the clash of civilizations*. October 6, 2005. Jordan Times. Available from < <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=1127&lan=en&sp=0>> [Accessed November 23th, 2010]

⁵⁷ Dyer, Gwynne. 2005. *Turkey, Europe and the clash of civilizations*. October 6, 2005. Jordan Times. Available from < <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=1127&lan=en&sp=0>> [Accessed November 23th, 2010]

the Industrial Revolution (19th century). Together these developments re-created formed Western culture⁵⁸, which was expressed through art and the development of science, the church in renewal, beliefs and thoughts in progress, people's participation in management of growth, constitutional monarchies and the move from feudalism to capitalism, passing through various stages⁵⁹. European imagined communities draw heavily on this legacy.

At the same time as Western culture emerged, a Turkish culture that is completely independent of it also developed. European civilization and history from the Ottoman Empire are different cultures and different civilizations. In other words, the EU outside of Christian culture or multiculturalism is not cosmopolitan, however; with common values and accepting of elements of integration is increasing. As a result, EU states were formed only in the Christian culture. According to Mathew Nelson⁶⁰, Islam might be perceived in a negative way as follows:

The colonial-historical chain of events continues today with American orientalism pursuing its own "civilizing missions" under the guise of democracy. Capitalizing on the rhetoric of Islamic-fundamentalists; billions of people are homogenized under the headlines of the 'Islamic threat' and terrorism. American hegemony repositions itself in opposition to a monolithic 'fundamentalism'.⁶¹

The framing of Islam in terms of the Islamic threat or terrorism is likely to produce divisions between the Muslims and the Christian world, and these tensions can spill over into EU-Turkish relations. On the other hand, there is also strong evidence of attempts to building

⁵⁸ Turkey's Institute of 21st Century. 2007. "The Reports of Strategic Research: *The impossibility of Turkey and EU*". Archive: 15 June 2007. Available from < <http://www.21yyte.org/tr/raporlar.html> > [accessed September 5th, 2010]

⁵⁹ Turkey's Institute of 21st Century. 2007. "The Reports of Strategic Research: *The impossibility of Turkey and EU*". Archive: 15 June 2007. Available from < <http://www.21yyte.org/tr/raporlar.html> > [accessed September 5th, 2010]

⁶⁰ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

⁶¹ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

bridges between the two, between European Union member states and the Islamic countries. In one such example, the EU and the Islamic Conference Organization countries met on 12 February 2002 in Istanbul for a major conference. The main topic was ‘Civilization and Harmony: Political Dimensions’. At this conference 44 foreign ministers attended with representatives of 89 countries. The 2002 Conference was a major international gathering, taken under the initiative of Turkey. It reflected the drive in Turkish foreign policy since the Cold War to build powerful bridges with the EU and the US. This Turkish foreign policy initiative was a sign of the openness of Turkey’s rulers to engage constructively with the EU, including on broader cultural issues. The constructive engagement has continued; rather than a clash of civilisations, engagement between Turkey and the EU demonstrates a process of inter-cultural exchange that is not fundamentally dissimilar to that which occurs with all EU member-states and the EU itself. The real obstacle to Turkey’s EU membership has, arguably, been the difficulty with which the country has had in reforming its political, legal and military structures; this will form the object of the Part three. The next chapter will provide an evaluation of the Turkey’s history and accession negotiations with European Union in order to illustrate national identity and religious influences.

Chapter 5

TURKEY'S POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE CHALLENGE OF EU ACCESSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Historical analyses are key to understanding the national and political contexts that shape the nature of debate between EU and Turkey. I have argued that the religion is the main cultural issue involved in the accession of European Union; though it ought not to play a role directly or formally, there are informal barriers to Turkey's entry on account of its religious identity. Indeed, my argument is that Turkish religious identity plays an indirect role in the difficult Turkish accession to the European Union. By necessity, any attempt to discuss what is meant by European identity requires us to take into account traditional and contemporary ways of self-identification, such as a national or local sense of belonging. To be British or to be French is to be conscious of different historical, cultural, economic and political processes

which, with the European concept, have become increasingly relevant and also problematic, as national and political contexts shape the nature of debate. In the case of Turkey, the Islamic identity has always been criticised by Europeans throughout history. Because Turks are culturally and historically Muslim, it still seems too difficult to imagine Turkey with western values by EU politicians.

Islam promotes strong ties between Islamic countries, of which Turkey is one. The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is the best example of this tie, because it is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations. It is the collective voice of the Muslim world, aiming to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among nations. Every decision taken by the OIC organisation is giving a voice to the Muslim world. As Secretary General Ihsanoglu's states: "the notion of a "European Identity" had never been raised as a political, cultural or academic issue of any importance"¹. This notion gained prominence as a subject of debate among politicians, scholars, as well as among the public in a broader sense, when a considerable number of Muslim immigrants mainly from North Africa and Sub-Saharan African countries started to pour into Europe, to help in the construction of the continent which was devastated by the ravages of two world wars. As Ihsanoglu argued, the history of Islam and Europe are closely intertwined:

Hardly had Islamic rule faded in Spain and Western Europe when the lantern of Islam started to shine in Eastern Europe under the Ottomans. Cordoba's role was replaced by Sarajevo which was the most liberal and tolerant city in Europe, according to Prince Charles of Wales, in a speech delivered at the Oxford Centre on Islamic Culture in 1991. This was possible because Islam tapped on the rich

¹ Centre for Dialogues, Islamic Worlds, US –The West. 2006. "Europe and Islam: Shared History, Shared Identity". Available from http://islamwest.org/events_Islam_and_the_West/europe_islam_shared_identity/europe_islam_shared_identity_speech.html [Accesses December 23rd, 2011].

resources of diversity which earned it instant acceptance by the indigenous populations.²

In his speech, Ihsanoglu also stated his ideas about European identity and Islam, which have a 'shared identity' through a common history. The West can not forget the role of Muslim in European history:

Islam was at the doors of Europe. Merely twelve years after the death of the prophet Muhammad, Muslims were in Armenia, Georgia, Dagestan and elsewhere, including parts of the Byzantine Empire. Less than eighty years later, Muslims were in Spain. Twelve years later, they were in the southern parts of France, and in almost all the islands of the Mediterranean Sea from Cyprus to Sicily to Majorca to Rhodes to Malta and others. Vast territories in Eastern and Southern Europe came under Islamic rule for over 500 years, ending only at the beginning of the 20th Century.³

In order to investigate Islam's role in the political process, some scholars are asking whether or not Islamic revivalism constitutes a political threat to the Republic and may lead to an Islamic revolution. These scholars are voicing the concerns of the Turkish elites, which are similar to those held in the West's due to the age-old fear of Islam. Both EU politicians and some Islamic leaders share the view that it is essential to understand Turkish history in order to elucidate the subject of EU accession. This is the task of the next section.

² Centre for Dialogues, Islamic Worlds, US –The West. 2006. "Europe and Islam: Shared History, Shared Identity". Available from http://islamwest.org/events_Islam_and_the_West/europe_islam_shared_identity/europe_islam_shared_identity_speech.html [Accesses December 23rd, 2011].

³ Ibid.

5.2. A Historical Perspective: The Role of Religion

Historical research can suggest why an Islamic expansion occurred after the Ataturk period, and illuminate the consequences of this for contemporary Turkey's politics, administration, model of citizenship and also EU relations. We begin by capturing the appeal of political Islam, as expressed by Binnaz Toprak in her book *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*:

The Islamic emphasis on the merging of religion and society found its ultimate expression in the social structure and the political organization of the Ottoman Empire in its classical period. Combining the dual functions of the temporal ruler and the spiritual leader of the most powerful Muslim state, the sultan-caliph symbolized the Islamic ideal of a political community based on religious legitimacy. That ideal was elevated into a political doctrine through the ottoman concept of *din u devlet*, that is to say, the unity of the religion and the state⁴.

The remainder of this chapter mainly describes the historical design of Political Islam in the Ottoman Empire and later the Republic of Turkey. This exercise is necessary in order to emphasise the importance of Turkey's *permanent data* (in this case religious identity) in terms of its difficulties in acceding to the European Union.

⁴ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

The historical perspective on religion in Turkey will be analysed under five main sections in this chapter which are:

Ottoman Empire Period				
Religion could perform their functions in ottoman society because of its entrenchment within the administrative structure of the Empire.	Kemalist Period			
	Ataturk reforms and revolutions were a series of social, cultural, legal and economic arrangements led by the establishers of the Republic of Turkey.	Islamic Initiatives		
		Islamic Social and Political initiative movements during single-party period between 1928 and 1950.	Islamic Expansions	
			Islamic Social and Political expansions after transition to multi-party period between 1970 and 2001.	Islamic Power
				Islamic Power and Political Islam period by AKP after year 2001.

5.2.1. The Ottoman Empire Period

The Islamic movements in Turkey aim to reclaim their Muslim heritage from the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman sovereignty continued for about 500 years and has always influenced Turkey's development. It was also influenced by its own religious, ethnic, economic and cultural structures. When we look at the Balkan people, it can be seen that non-Muslims in the region developed negative economic, cultural, political and religious symbols about Muslims during the Ottoman Empire period. People originating from the Orthodox-Slav culture described the Ottoman sovereignty as a period of political, economic and cultural

pressure.⁵ They attributed most of their problems and their economic-political underdevelopment, until now, to this factor by arguing that they remained backward due to Renaissance-Enlightenment processes experienced in Western Europe during the period they were under Ottoman administration.⁶ According to Binnaz Toprak, religion could perform their functions in Ottoman society because of its entrenchment within the administrative structure of the Empire⁷.

There are multiple levels involved in the formation of Islamic identity in Turkey during the last century. Another negative impact of the Ottoman administration for the Orthodox Balkan people in this area was when Islam was brought into the region. Ethnic and religious groups selected Islam wholly or partially, like the Albanians, Bosnians, Pomaks and Torbesh. For Balkan heritage, this was seen as a negative factor generated from the Ottoman period. Another indicator of this negative impact is the fact that Muslims were remembered as “Turks”, regardless of their ethnic identity or language, especially in former Yugoslavia. There were not only human factors but also material factors that show the negativity that existed in the region, for example there were attempts to destroy mosques and bridges that were associated with the Ottoman Empire period.

The Ottoman Empire prevented the emergence of a new caliph from the Abbasid Dynasty after the death of the last Abbasid Caliph and ensured the transition of the caliphate itself. Even though Western sources mention that the Ottoman Empire did not have a

⁵ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

⁶ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

⁷ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

caliphate position⁸ because they did not want to damage the legitimacy of the Ottoman foreign policy in the 2nd Abdulhamit period (especially in the 19th century), this is a misconception resulting from conditions of the time. Moreover, the reason why Ottoman sultans did not benefit from the caliphate position, which they possessed until 19th century, is not that they did not possess the caliphate but that they considered the Ottoman sultanate position more important.⁹

The Ottomanism concept incurred the resistance of the sovereign Islamic community and Christian components of the Empire. Under the leadership of Namık Kemal, Young Ottomans defended the type of nationalism concept repelling the share of traditional privileges of Islamic nations with non-Muslims. The view supporting the formation of separate national entities by separating from the Ottoman Empire gained power within non-Muslim communities.

During the period when the decline of the Ottoman Empire was perceived by Turkish intellectuals, Turkish nationalism was appearing as a solution preventing this decline and it was defined under the name of “Turkism”¹⁰. During the Westernization period starting with Tanzimat (Reforms of Ottomans), the cultural and intellectual basis of Turkish nationalism was shaped with “turn oneself” and “search oneself” concepts which arose with the effect of Western ideas¹¹.

⁸ A Caliphate is the traditional Islamic form of government, presided over by a caliph, either appointed or elected, who is considered the political leader of all Muslims. The caliphate also incorporates a *shura*, a body similar to a parliament that represents the will of the people and may elect and/or advise the caliph. Available from <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-caliphate.htm> [Accessed October 7th, 2011]

⁹ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

¹⁰ Oba, Ali Engin. 1995. *Rising of Turkish Nationalism*, Ankara: Imge Inc.

¹¹ Tanzimat, meaning reorganization of the Ottoman Empire, was a period of reformation that began in 1839 and ended with the First Constitutional Era in 1876. The modernization processes of the Ottoman Empire (and that of the Republic of Turkey which succeeded the Ottoman state) were effectively associated with the Tanzimat reforms. The reforms aimed to encourage Ottomanism among the many ethnic groups that had secessionist goals and stop the rise of nationalist movements within the Ottoman Empire.

5.2.2. Secular Turkey in Ataturk's Period

What would become Turkey was reformed during with *Tanzimat* period (1839-1876) which is also known as *Ottoman reforms* period in western countries. Ottoman reforms attempted to integrate non-Muslims and non-Turks more thoroughly into Ottoman society by enhancing their civil liberties and granting them equality throughout the Empire.¹²

Binnaz Toprak describes political Islam in her book *Islam and Political Development in Turkey* as follows:

It is difficult of limiting Islam's influence on socio-political processes through formal secularization. The history of the secularization movement in both Ottoman and republican Turkey is, in a sense, the history of the attempt to cope precisely with this problem of limiting Islam's influence in a predominantly Muslim society where the beliefs system considers it heretical to separate the religious realm from the secular.¹³

While this multi-national and multi-religious situation continued, the Ottoman Empire disintegrated and the intelligentsia advocated a return to Islam. However, while the Empire disintegrated, various regimes and many nation states emerged. Even though Turkey started to modernize, the Ottoman Empire reforms were ended again with *first constitutional era* by Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 2nd Abdulhamid. Comparison between Ottoman Empire and Young Republic of Turkey, Turkey met the secularism and western revolution with founder of the republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. The Mustafa Kemal Ataturk Revolutions or Ataturk Reforms¹⁴ are all revolutions led by the establishers of the republic of Turkey.

¹² Hussain, Ishtiaq. "The Tanzimat: Secular reforms in the Ottoman Empire: The adoptions of Secular Laws in the Ottoman Empire with a particular focus on the Tanzimat reforms (1839-1876)". UK: Faith Matters. Available from < <http://faith-matters.org/images/stories/fm-publications/the-tanzimat-final-web.pdf> > [Accessed December 2nd, 2011].

¹³ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

¹⁴ Kemal Revolution, Turkish Revolution, and the Republic of Turkey Revolution.eg.

These revolutions were a series of social, cultural, legal and economic arrangements. The first significant nationwide party, the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi-CHP), was organized by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923. Strong, centralized authority and state economic planning marked its 27 years of power (1923-50). It de-emphasized everything religious to the point of subordinating religious activity and organization to state control.¹⁵

According to Donald Everett Webster in his book "The Turkey of Ataturk; Social Process in the Turkish Reformation" in 1973, the fundamental reasons for the Ataturk revolutions are as follows¹⁶:

- According to Ataturk, the aim of these revolutions was to abolish all institutions that caused the backwardness of the Turkish Nation in the last centuries and to establish new institutions, which were appropriate to the character of the nation, its conditions and requirements and which would ensure progress in lieu of them; they aimed to raise Turkey on to the stage of modern civilizations.
- Wars and revolts regularly occurred and they harassed people and disturbed the order of society. Taxes were unjust. No-one was treated equally before the laws and people were gradually becoming poorer.
- When the Ottoman State was defeated in the 1st World War, the country was occupied by other states. The Ottoman State collapsed, de facto, and sustained its existence only in name. The Sultan was anxious about his life and throne, and was working in cooperation with occupying states. The nation and the country had to be rescued. This was only possible by establishing a new state and regime.
- The Grand National Assembly of Turkey opened on April 23, 1920, in Ankara and a new Turkish State, the Republic of Turkey was established. This new state started a great fight against the Sultan at home and against occupying enemies abroad.

¹⁵ Nations encyclopedia. "Political parties - Turkey - system, power, policy". Available from <<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Asia-and-Oceania/Turkey-POLITICAL-PARTIES.html#ixzz0zh0QJJ6>> [Accessed October 5th, 2011].

¹⁶ Webster, Donald Everett. 1973. *The Turkey of Ataturk; Social Process in the Turkish Reformation*. New York: AMS Press.

As seen above, the new reformation of the social process in the Republic of Turkey was a huge step for modernisation of new Turkish-state. On the one hand, some practices, according to Islamic religious requirements, were carried out; on the other hand, affairs were carried out according to Western ideas to modernization. This binary effect became more distinct especially in the 19th century.

A rationalist, realistic, progressive administration was established in lieu of a religious one. Modern Turkey's social order still bears the hallmarks of the revolutions led by Ataturk.

During the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan had both the position of being Caliph over all Muslims and the ruler of citizens who had other religions and lived on the borders of the Ottoman State. This binary situation continued until the end of the War of Independence in Turkey. The Sultan's *administration* was abolished. The first President of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, continued by abolishing the Sultanate in 1922 (after the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey - TBMM) and concluded in 1933 with the conversion of the theocratic and multi-national Ottoman State into a democratic nation state of Turkey. *Schools* were established according to modern education concepts and were opened in addition to medresses (religious schools), which carried out education in accordance with the requirements of the Islamic religion. *Judgements* were held according to Islamic law, but also through the secular courts, which were established according to modern legal concepts.

Webster describes Ataturk's revolutions as follows:

Table 5.1: Ataturk's revolutions by Donald Everett Webster:

Political Revolutions
Abolition of Sultanate (November 1, 1923) and Making Ankara capital city (October, 1923)
Administrative reorganization of Turkey (1921, 1924, 1930)
Proclamation of the Republic (October 29, 1923)
Abolition of Caliphate (March, 1924)
Multi-party regime experiments (Free Republic Party, 1930)
Social Revolutions
Grant of equal rights to men and women (1934)
Hat and Clothing Revolution (Hat Act, November 28, 1925)
Abolition of Epithets and Titles (November 26, 1934)
Surname Act (June 21, 1934)
National Holidays and General Holidays (May 27, 1935)
Acceptance of International Calendar and Time, Acceptance of New Numbers and Change in Measurements (December 26, 1925-March 26, 1931)
Educational and Cultural Revolutions
Opening of Nation Schools (1920)
Combining the Education (March 3, 1924)
Closure of Medresses (1926)
Act on Education Organization (1926)
Alphabet Revolution (November 1, 1928)
Innovations in Fine Arts (1928)
Establishment of Turkish Historical and Linguistic Societies (1931 and 1932)
University Reform (1933)
Arrangement of University Education (May 31, 1933)
Village Institutes (April 17, 1940)
Legal Revolutions
Abolition of Ottoman Code of Civil Law (1924–1937)
Civil Law (1924–1937)
Turkish Criminal Law (1926)
Acceptance of New Constitution (1924)
Constitution Act (1921)
Closure of Shari' a Courts (1924)

The next two sections give more details about the abolition of caliphate and the abolition of Sultanate which were key revolutions of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk after he found a new Republic of Turkey.

5.2.2.1. Abolition of the Caliphate

By the abolition of the sultanate on November 1, 1922, sovereignty rights and state authorities were taken away from the Ottoman sultan and developed into a dual task, like a sultan-caliph. Former Ottoman sultans were only granted presidential authority over religion.¹⁷

Some politicians wanted to keep the caliph as a sultan, saying that the “Caliphate is the same in government, cancellation of law and the duty of the caliphate is beyond the power of any person, any assembly”. This situation required immediate measures to be taken about the caliphate institution. However, the significant reason forcing Mustafa Kemal Pasha Ataturk to abolish the caliphate was that revolutions of a social and secular nature could not have been performed in Turkey as long as the caliph existed.¹⁸

The word caliph originates from the Arabic and means the representation of world affairs by a Prophet. Caliphate (or Caliphship) is the name attached to the Islamic, political and legal administration body and government.¹⁹ The abolition of the position of caliphate was a political revolution intended to secularize the state. Revolutions with a social and secular nature could not have been performed in Turkey as long as the caliphate existed. The “religion of the Turkish State is Islam” statement was removed with an amendment in 1928; oath-taking forms for presidents and members of parliament were readjusted.²⁰

Secularism means that the state equally respects all beliefs and impartially protects freedom of conscience and belief for all citizens. Secularism keeps its citizens away from

¹⁷ Arcayurek,Cuneyt. 2008. *How we come today after Ataturk* (4th edition). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Inc.

¹⁸ Arcayurek,Cuneyt. 2008. *How we come today after Ataturk* (4th edition). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Inc.

¹⁹ Arcayurek,Cuneyt. 2008. *How we come today after Ataturk* (4th edition). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Inc.

²⁰ Arcayurek,Cuneyt. 2008. *How we come today after Ataturk* (4th edition). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Inc.

religious constraints and was included in the Constitution as one of the fundamental principles of the Republic of Turkey and turned into a state policy in February, 1937.

5.2.2.2. **Abolition of Sultanate**

The abolition of the sultanate and the cancellation of the reign was set out using decree number 308, concerning the “Ottoman Empire’s collapse” and was agreed by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on November 1, 1922.²¹

The Turkish leader, founder and the 1st President of Republic of Turkey Mustafa Kemal Atatürk presented the case as a daring power struggle in his famous speech, which ended the negotiations relating to the abolition of the sultanate:²²

Effendis! (Gentleman!) I see that we spend our time with fallacy, discussion and theories in spite of the conditions we experience. Sovereignty and sultanate is not given to anyone with discussion and arguments concerning that this is a matter of science. Sovereignty and sultanate is taken with power, ability and by force. Turkish people have also handled the sovereignty and sultanate by actually revolting. This is an occurred and completed situation. This is not the matter of ‘whether or not we will leave the sovereignty and sultanate’. This is the matter of an occurred and completed situation. This will be probably and definitely realized. I think it will be appropriate if people, the assembly and everyone met here consider the issue in this sense. Otherwise, reality will be expressed again. However, probably some people will be beheaded.

One of pro-sultanates there said: “Sorry my effendi. We were scrutinizing the matter in a different form. We now became aware.”

Historically, the rulers of Ottoman Empire were called Sultans in Turkey. However, like a monarchy, a sultanate is a government in which supreme power resides in one person. In fact, the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire claimed to exercise absolute power, though the

²¹ Arcayurek, Cuneyt. 2008. *How we come today after Atatürk* (4th edition). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Inc.

²² Mango, Andrew. 2002. *Atatürk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (Paperback ed.). Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, Peter Mayer Publishers, Inc.

reality differed from this.²³ Hence, the abolition of the Sultanate signified the end of the Ottoman Empire and their Sultanates. According to the statement of new Turkish Republic's founder Mustafa Kemal, most of the Members of Turkish Parliament became supporters of the decision for abolition of the Sultanate when they listened to his speech in favour of abolition on October 29, 1923.²⁴

5.3. Turkey: Between Ataturk's Secularism and Political Islam

In the previous section, we described the Islamic face of the Ottoman Empire, and we saw how Mustafa Kemal Ataturk formed the secular Turkish state following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Much has been written about these seismic events. Part of the Kemalist message was the need for a new relationship between State and Religion. Binnaz Toprak, Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Bahcesehir University, explains political Islam in her book *Islam and Political Development in Turkey* as follows:

The Kemalist version of separating church and state, therefore, took a different form from what is generally understood by the term. In a certain sense, Mustafa Kemal's program of secularisation defeated its own purpose. The question as to whether this rigid implementation of secularism during the one-party period (1923-1946) was necessary for transforming Turkey into modern nation-state has been major issue of controversy among Turkish intellectuals, politicians and the public in general.²⁵

²³ Available from <<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-sultanate.htm>> [Accessed March 2nd, 2012].

²⁴ Mango, Andrew. 2002. *Ataturk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (Paperback ed.). Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, Peter Mayer Publishers, Inc.

²⁵ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

According to Binnaz Toprak, if modernity defined in terms of westernization, as the Kemalist elite defined it, it was probably inevitable that a frontal attack be launched against Islam. Islam created a distinct set of legal procedures, a system of education, and codes of social conduct, all of which conflicted with western versions.²⁶

Richard Tapper's *Islam in Modern Turkey* describes Islam's dual function in Turkey as 'the private one of giving intellectual and emotional meaning to life, an ethics, an eschatology and the promise of salvation; and the public function of providing a political ideology, a cultural and communal identity and social solidarity'.²⁷

Studies of Islamic movements have previously concentrated on their social and political aspects in an attempt to distinguish between groups with political agendas and those of a purely spiritual nature. This chapter will present the history which has guided this work's methodology, and will then discuss the literature's thematic core and analyse the conceptual ambiguities therein. When Europeanization emerged as a leading approach in political science, cultural identity was also affected. The table (6.2) shows a brief summary of the Islamic Social and Political Movements (ISPM) in Turkey after the Kemalist reforms. In this respect, this section will evaluate the Islamic movements which arose between the establishment of Turkey and the formation of the modern Turkish administration. The aim will be to find out how the Turkish social and political spheres interact with one another, and whether these movements have affected the relations between the EU and Turkey.

²⁶ Toprak, Binnaz. 1981. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden.

²⁷ Tapper, Richard. 1991. *Islam in modern Turkey: religion, politics and literature in a secular state*. Edited by Richard Tapper. London: I.B. Tauris.

Table 5.2.: Islamic Expansion in Turkey

1923	The Islamist movement emerged soon after the founding of the secular republic. It was led by tarikat (religious order) sheikhs and professional men of religion, who lost their status and economic power when secular reforms abolished religious institutions.
1920s -1930s	Tarikat (religious order) sheikhs and professional men of religion have trying to stage revolts against the secular state in the 1920s and 1930s, it failed to gain wide support and was crushed by the authorities.
1923 - 1946	The Islamist groups stayed underground during the era of one-party rule.
1946	Transition to a multi-party system.
1950-1960	The Islamist groups formed covert and overt alliances with the ruling center-right Democratic Party.
1959	After the Democratic Party won the 1959 elections, it softened secularist policies.
1961	With the provision of civil liberties by the 1961 constitution,
1970	Until Necmettin Erbakan established the National Order Party (NOP), the predecessor of the three succeeding Islamist parties, Islamists had either formed conservative factions in a center-right party or had remained underground. With the NOP, however, the Islamists for the first time had an autonomous party organization through which they could campaign for their agenda. Since the NOP's founding, the same Islamist party has endured, albeit under different names
1970-1971	National Order Party
1972-1981	National Salvation Party
1983-1998	Welfare Party
1997-2001	Virtue Party
2001	Justice and Development Party (AKP)

The following sections will provide a brief outline of how Islamist parties started to interact with the Turkish administration, and how these transitions have affected Turkey's relations with the EU.

5.3.1. Islamic Initiatives (1923-1950)

The majority of the scholars who have studied Islamic Social and Political Movements (ISPMs) in Turkey have based their arguments on a discussion of the role of Kemalist ideology, particularly secularist ideology, alongside the causes advocated by the ISPMs, their nature, and how influential these movements have been in society. Scholars mostly agree that Kemalism, and particularly the Kemalist version of secularism, have shaped religious life and ISPMs. However, they have different views as to how exactly this interaction unfolded. Tapper²⁸ argues that Ataturk 'was not content with separating Islam from politics,' but that he also wanted to replace religion with a modern secular ideology: 'His reforms even further restricted Islam to the private, personal sphere: individuals should worship alone'. These views drove religious movements underground during the 1920s and 1930s.

Religion was seen as backward, and the reason behind Turkey's underdevelopment. The dichotomy that emerged from this is still extremely strong in society: republicans who are modern, secular, and Western oppose Muslims or other religious person who they see as backward, decadent, and decidedly Ottoman. This cultural cleavage resulted from Ataturk's secular social engineering project and is seen as the basis for the irresolvable paradox that is causing the continuous domestic tension that is weakening Turkey.

The religious segments of society became more and more marginalised as a result of Kemalism, and ISPMs were seen as an outlet for them to assert themselves. Furthermore, Mardin claims that these Kemalist reforms were intended to change society's values (not only their institutions and structures) but were not successful, for Kemalism paradoxically strengthened Islamic identity. This was the exact opposite of what it was originally intended

²⁸ Tapper, Richard. 1991. *Islam in modern Turkey: religion, politics and literature in a secular state*. Edited by Richard Tapper. London: I.B. Tauris.

to do. According to Tapper, the Kemalists could not replace Islam's multi-level appeal, which encompassed citizens' personal and social lives.

Islamism was dominant in the rural areas against the secular revolt of the Young Turks. Kemalism attempted to make secularism established from the period when it was a single party until 1950. However, the religious lifestyle in the rural areas continued as a fundamental problem. Antagonism between modernization and secular revolutions in the rural areas was sharpened. Secular, military education and modernization shifted to a structure in which the rural areas were seen as reactionary. The rural areas were setting Islamic patterns against secularism.²⁹

In the first elections of the Second Republic (October 1961), none of the four competing parties won a controlling majority in both chamber, and a coalition government was formed for the first time in 1962. The coalition, however, was short-lived, for the newly formed Justice Party (Adalet Partisi - AP) withdrew from the governing group of parties and became the chief political opposition. The AP, which became the main political force in the country after the 1965 elections, favoured private enterprise (in this respect it can be considered the successor of the DP, which was banned in 1960). Organized originally by local Democrat leaders, the AP came to reflect the views of modernization minded professionals as well as workers and villagers. In the 1965 elections, the AP won 53.8 *percent* of the seats in the House of Representatives and 61 *percent* of the Senate seats. The elections of October 1969 confirmed its legislative predominance.³⁰

²⁹ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

³⁰ Nations encyclopedia. "Political parties - Turkey - system, power, policy". Available from <<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Asia-and-Oceania/Turkey-POLITICAL-PARTIES.html#ixzz0zh16Rbof>> [Accessed October 5th, 2011].

As seen in the above quotes, the religious element did not impact on policy in the early Republic of Turkey. However, religious initiatives might describe the years between 1961- 69. Political Islam began its key expansion from around 1970s onwards.

5.3.2. Islamic Expansions (1970- 2001)

The main Islamist action began with the establishment of the first Islamist Party in Turkey by Necmettin Erbakan in 1970. The National Order Party (*Milli Nizam Partisi*) was an Islamist political party in Turkey. It was founded on the 26th of January 1970 by Necmettin Erbakan. It was shut down on the 20th of May 1971 by the authorities on the grounds that it violated the constitution, and specifically the articles dealing with secularism.

Activities in the Islam Conference Organization (ICO)³¹ had also increased, in parallel with development in relations between Turkey and other Gulf countries in the 1980s. Turkey attended the 3rd Islam Summit Conference, held in Mecca and Taif, on 25-28 January, 1981. Here, there was a committee led by the Prime Minister, which was, for the first time, seen as legitimate. The use of the phrase, the “Islam community” and the statement that “being loyal to Islam and Islam principles and values definitely as a life style is the most important shield against dangers encountered by Muslims” was contrary to the secular principles of many Turks attending the conference. However, the Turkish committee responded with a speech made by Bulent Ulusu (Prime Minister of Turkey, 1980-83), which implied that Turkey was a

³¹ The Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC); is an international organisation with a permanent delegation to the United Nations. It groups 57 member states, from the Middle East, Africa, Central Asia, Caucasus, Balkans, Southeast Asia, South Asia and South America. Since the nineteenth century, many Muslims had aspired to uniting the Muslim Ummah to serve their common political, economic, and social interests. Despite the presence of secularist, nationalist, and socialist ideologies, in modern Muslim states, King Faysal of Saudi Arabia cooperated with other Muslim leaders to form the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Available from < http://www.oic-oci.org/page_detail.asp?p_id=52> [Accessed November 17th, 2011].

secular country and that its foreign policy would reflect this. Here, Turkey was arguing for the general principle that relations with Israel should not be cut and that there should be the establishment of an Islam Court of Justice.

The next significant Islamic party was the Welfare Party (RP)³² which made the Islamic religion its main policy after the September 12, 1980 military coup and, in this way, turned political Islam into a main determinant in Turkish politics. In the 1994 local elections, political Islam was victorious. Then the Director of the Welfare Party (RP), Necmettin Erbakan, became Prime Minister in the 1995 elections. On February 28³³, the process, which is classified as a post-modern coup, occurred due to the “Jerusalem Night” play, organized by the Sincan District in January, 1997. The military segment applied to the National Security Council (MGK), which met on February 28, 1997, with articles concerning the struggle with reaction and the need for eight years of uninterrupted education. Having rejected setting up the Welfare Party’s own cadre in the state, the Turkish Armed Forces had also continued its insistent attitude around the issue of the need for eight years of primary education.

The Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor opened a closure case against the Islamic Welfare Party (RP) in light of these articles. The group identified with Necmettin Erbakan (Islamist party leader) and started to meet with him again, as a result of the disbanding decision. Recai Kutan (Turkish politician and the former leader of Islamic Virtue Party) was brought to the head of the Virtue Party (some resources call it the Felicity Party), which was

³² The Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*, RP) was an Islamist political party in Turkey. (Founded 1983, Banned 1998).

³³ February 28 Process; the military-dominated National Security Council (NSC) issued the Refahyol coalition government with a list of measures designed to nullify the supposed Islamisation of Turkey and fortify the secular system on February 28, 1997. Subsequent pressure from the NSC, in tandem with the civilian component of the secular establishment, led to the collapse of the coalition government in June 1997. On 28 February 1997, the military presents the NSC with an 18-point package of measures to curb the rise in Islamic fundamentalism. The package is approved. On 28 February 1997, at a meeting of the country’s supreme advisory body, the National Security Council of Turkey, the military presented the government with reforms of the education system that would have led to the closure of many religious schools. While the government prevaricated, the military increased the pressure, discreetly lobbying DYP members to withdraw their support from the government. In May, the Public Prosecutor applied to the Constitutional Court for Refah Party’s (Necmettin Erbakan Islamist Party) closure. In June, his parliamentary majority eroded by defections, Erbakan resigned.

established with the same mission though with a different face. It attempted to oppose the innovative wing within the Party by nominating a traditionalist chairman but the success of Recep Tayyip Erdogan³⁴ within the Party could not be prevented.

The Welfare Party (RP), which defined itself as a conservative democratic party, did not wish to threaten the regime, since it was aware of the sensitivity about secularism that had been around while they had waited for entry into the European Union years before.

It is not so easy to say to what extent a challenge would be created by an Islamist movement rapidly strengthening in Turkey in the democratic-secular administration of the country. While some people consider the strengthening of the Islamist movement only as a cultural and social fact, some others state that the strengthening of this movement would give birth to an unavoidable payoff between seculars and Islamists. However, the secular regime in Turkey has proved a great success, both in terms of the existence of the democratic regime and constituting a model for other Islamic countries that are able to create religious-based conservative, but democrat parties along the lines of the Turkish model later associated with the AKP.

In Turkey, it can be said that the contemporary rise of political Islam occurred after 1980. The Islam Party Chairman, Necmettin Erbakan, who had been prohibited from politics for 10 years (Reason of convicted of anti-secular activities) by the 1982 Constitution³⁵, returned in 1987 when he was elected as General Chairman in the Welfare Party, which had been established on July 19th, 1983. He became Member of Parliament for

³⁴ Erdogan , Recep Tayyip (February 26, 1954); he is a Turkish politician, a former mayor of Istanbul and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey since 14 March 2003. He is also the chairman of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which holds a majority of the seats in the Turkish Parliament.

³⁵ *Constitution of Turkey*; the current Constitution of Turkey was ratified in 1982 by popular referendum during the military junta of 1980-1983. Since its ratification in 1982, the Constitution of 1982 has overseen many important events and changes in the Republic of Turkey, and it has been modified many times to keep up with global and regional geopolitical conjunctures.

Konya in the 1991 elections.³⁶ A movement towards Islam began due to economic crisis, fraud, bribes and favouritism in Turkey during the last decade. The most significant evidence for this is the formation of the Welfare Party in 1994. The new military government banned all political parties and, under the 1982 constitution, forbade the leaders of the Justice Party (AP) and the CHP from actively participating in politics for 10 years. After the new constitution was approved, however, the government allowed the formation of new political groups.³⁷ The Welfare Party became the leading party in the 1995 elections, with 158 members of parliament. When The True Path Party (DYP)-The Motherland Party (ANAP) coalition failed, he took office as Prime Minister on June 28, 1996, in Welfare Islamist Party (RP) government.³⁸ Necmettin Erbakan led an organization named D-8³⁹ during this period. He started the “Pool System”, which removed the necessity of borrowing in the domestic market. He started to implement an “s.mobile” system, which meant giving the pay rise in inflation and growth rate for civil servants. Erbakan made 110 *percent* and 200 *percent* rate

³⁶ Gençkaya, Ömer Faruk. 1999. “Recent Constitutional Amendments to the 1982 Constitution of Turkey” in Gisbert H. Flanz (ed.). “Constitutions of the Countries of the World”. Release 99-7. Dobbs Ferry. New York: Oceana Publications, Inc.

³⁷ Available in Chapter Eight: Military inventions and political movements.

³⁸ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

³⁹ *The Developing 8 (D-8 or Developing Eight)*; are a group of developing countries with large Muslim populations that have formed an economic development alliance. Combined, the countries made up 13.5*percent* of the global population in 1997. It consists of Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Turkey. The group was established after an announcement in Istanbul, Turkey on June 15, 1997. Membership is open to countries other than the current member-states, though no expansion is currently planned. As stated by the D8 Facts and Figures Publication: “The objectives of D-8 are to improve developing countries’ positions in the world economy, diversify and create new opportunities in trade relations, enhance participation in decision-making at the international level, and provide better standards of living”. The main areas of cooperation include finance, banking, rural development, science and technology, humanitarian development, agriculture, energy, environment, and health. Necmettin Erbakan’s foreign policy had two main pillars: Close cooperation and unity among Muslim countries and struggle against Zionism. Necmettin Erbakan created “D-8” or The Developing Eight, to achieve a strong economic and political unity among Muslim countries.

rises, successively, for civil servants, retirees and labourers. He provided a rush of credit possibilities for artisans.⁴⁰

The Erbakan government lasted for barely a year and a half. While popular in rural areas, it faced strong opposition from the business elite which tended to be pro-Western and supportive of the military. At its inception in 1997, the military let it be known that if Erbakan did not uphold Turkey's secular traditions, it would overthrow the government and return it to secular parties. Decisions taken in the National Security Council (NSC) on February 28, 1997, led Necmettin Erbakan to resign from the office of Prime Minister on June 18, 1997. The Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor applied to the Constitutional Court for closure of the Welfare Party (RP) on May 21, 1997 and the Welfare Party was thus disbanded.⁴¹ The history of the Welfare Party concluded with the establishment of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which took the political arm of Islam to power on November 3, 2002.

5.3.3. Islamic Power (Since 2001)

The arrival of a democratic Islamic Party into power in Turkey in 2002 did not signify that Turkey's suddenly started to live according to the rules of Islam, nor that there was a sudden shift of the state's identity. But the AKP has come to symbolise a largely democratic and peaceful Islamic power in Turkey that appears to have reconciled religion with the structures of the secular Turkish state. Let us look at this party in some more detail.

⁴⁰ International Institute for Strategic Studies. 1998. "Any Future for Political Islam in Turkey". 4th Volume, 1st Issue. Turkey: International Institute for Strategic Studies.

⁴¹ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

The Justice and Development Party (AKP) is the political party formed by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Abdullah Gul, Idris Naim Sahin, Binali Yıldırım and Bülent Arınc on August 14, 2001. These politicians originated from former movements such as the National Salvation Party/Welfare Party/Virtue Party (Islamic view), Motherland Party and Justice Party/Right Way Party (central Right).⁴² But this was a new political force and the AKP political party severely objected to being displayed as an extension of the Virtue Party (or stemming from the same political tradition).⁴³

The AKP became the party that obtained the highest rate of votes in the elections of November 3, 2002 and established the 58th Republic Government under the chair of Abdullah Gul. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who could not sit in the cabinet or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) due to his original prohibition from politics, was allowed to return with a constitutional amendment supported by the Republican Peoples Party (CHP). Erdogan entered the Assembly having been elected as a Member of Parliament in the renewal elections held in Siirt on March 8, 2003.

In the 2002 elections in Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which had recently formed from a previously banned Islamic movement, took control of parliament with a two-thirds majority. The people's democratically elected choice in 2002 was confirmed once again at the polls five years later. The AKP took 47 percent of the vote. Over 80 percent of eligible voters cast ballots in the election.

The outside world was not sure what to make of the new Turkish government. Some criticised Turkey's new administration in 2002. On the other hand, a popular newspaper organisation in Brussels named the AKP founder Erdogan as 'The European of the Year

⁴² Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

⁴³ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

2004'⁴⁴ for the reforms which he instigated in Turkey. Erdogan stated that 'Turkey's accession shows that Europe is a continent where civilisations can be reconciled and not clash'.⁴⁵

Following the resignation of the 58th Republic Government under the chair of Abdullah Gul on March 11, 2003, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who had the task of establishing the government after the 10th President of Republic of Turkey Ahmet Necdet Sezer, established the 59th Republican Government on March 15, 2003. Even though the Party was blamed for being a part of the National View movement, leading names of the party severely refused this accusation. The most distinctive example of this is reflected in a speech of Recep Tayyip Erdogan: "We have taken off the National View shirt".⁴⁶

Leading news agencies and televisions throughout the world announced that the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which was of "Islamic origin", only came to power by winning a great victory in the general elections of Turkey. While the overwhelming pre-eminence of the AKP was generally classified as an "earthquake" in Turkish politics, it caused the interpretation that Turkey had encountered a radical change. Leading representatives of the world's press pointed out that EU worries about the election results provided interpretations that this election result would increase secular-Islamic tensions in Turkey. The foreign press suggested, however, that the AKP party leader, Erdogan, supported a moderate and secular Turkey.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ NTV News. Article available from < <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/298717.asp?cp1=1> > [Accessed March 9th, 2009].

⁴⁵ NTV News. 2004. "Erdogan named European of the Year". Available from <<http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/298717.asp?cp1=1>. Retrieved 2004-12-02> [Accessed April 2nd, 2009].

⁴⁶ Dumanli, Ekrem. 2008. "AK Party closure defeat of democracy in Islamic world". March 25, 2008. UK: Today's Newspaper.

⁴⁷ Wendy Kristiansen. 2003. "Turkey re-elects governing party" by Mark Mardell (July 2007); *Le Monde diplomatique*, "Turkey: post-Islamists in power". UK: BBS News.

If we assume that Turkey holds common cultural values under their religion that are the same all over Europe, this might be not correct approach to describe the European Identity because, Europe is already very much diversified in its cultural aspects as Filori⁴⁸ and Emschermann⁴⁹ said, but they have one official religion which is “Christians” as EU member state country.

5.4. Religious Tensions between Turkey and the EU

The factor of religion can be identified in negative statements made by various politicians, with which we are familiar from examples in the various European presses. The research study now turns to explore whether religion really plays a very important role in Turkey's membership of the European Union. Does Turkey's Muslim religion have a positive or negative impact on the negotiation process? For the European Union, “freedom of religion” in Turkey is more important than the fact that the majority religion in Turkey is Islam. The report, *Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda 2009-2010*, stated:

“As regards *freedom of religion*, implementation of the law on foundations has been smooth. The Government has undertaken a dialogue with the Alevi and non-Muslim religious communities. However, their specific problems still have to be addressed.

⁴⁸ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁴⁹ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

Attacks against minority religions still occur. Further efforts are needed to create an environment conducive to full respect of freedom of religion in practice”.⁵⁰

Turkey is the first Islamic country to become a negotiation country. Addressing the topic of religious issues, in my primary research interviews conducted for this study, I asked the following question: “Can we say that Turkish religious identity is not an element in Turkey’s accession to the European Union?” In response, Jean-Christophe Filori⁵¹ stated that there are two layers in the Turkish accession and Turkish religion. The first is that the religion of the majority of the people in the country in itself is not a criterion because there are 15 million Muslims living in the European Union.

Filori additionally emphasized:

“Besides I don’t think we can qualify Turkey as an Islamic country, it is a secular country. Secularism is a co-principle of the Turkish constitution. It remains that the majority of the people are Muslims and our answer is what as long as those accession criteria are met, which includes those I mentioned to you; political criteria, economic criteria, membership obligation criteria. Religion doesn’t play a role and is not a criterion in EU accession! This is the line taken by the European Union in its decision towards Turkey. Islam can be compatible with tolerance, respect for differences, women’s rights”.

In addition to the interview response of Jean-Christophe Filori⁵², the report, *Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda 2009-2010*, specified requirements for women’s rights and gender equality:

⁵⁰ Europeaid. 2009. Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009. Brussels: European Commission. Available from < http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/infopoint/publications/enlargement/43f_en.htm> [Accessed May 5th, 2009].

⁵¹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁵² FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

“The overall legal framework guaranteeing women’s rights and gender equality is broadly in place. However, further significant efforts are needed to turn the legal framework into reality and to narrow the gap between men and women in economic participation and opportunity, political empowerment, and access to education. Domestic violence, honour killings and early and forced marriages remain serious problems in some areas of the country. There is a need for further training and awareness-raising on women’s rights and gender equality, for both men and women”.⁵³

Still on religious issues, I asked Jean-Christophe Filori the interview question: “Will Turkish accession form a bridge between the European Union and the Muslim world?” Filori stated:

“Yes, absolutely! It will be a very powerful sign to the Muslim world that, irrespective of religion, any country that respects a number of values such as human rights, the rule of law and democracy can become part of Europe”⁵⁴.

Filori has suggested that Europe is not an entity which is hostile per se to the Muslim world or to the outside world. In his view this will be a very powerful signal to the Muslim world that democracy and the rule of law is the way out of the current difficulties and that this can be perfectly compatible with religious belief.

In order to investigate more the role of religious identity in accession of the European Union, I asked a similar interview question on religious issues to Professor Laurent Van Depoele⁵⁵. “Can we say Turkish religious identity is not an element in Turkey’s accession to

⁵³ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁵⁴ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁵⁵ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

the European Union?” His response was ‘that the European Union is not a Christian club’, hence the religious dimension, per se, was of limited importance and religion should not play a role when talking with people of other religions. The key belief of the EU, for Van Depoele, is in the rule of law, which should respect diverse religious practices. There is a degree of blurriness between respect for religious traditions and the neutrality of the public sphere. He gave an example about the AKP (Justice and Development Party) party closure case that happened with the issue of whether headscarves should be allowed in university or not. The rule in Turkey is that ladies are not accepted in universities when they are wearing a scarf. This contentious issue has produced jurisprudence, commented upon by Hilal Elver in the Middle East Report:

In its first decision, the Court ruled in 2005 that medical school student Leyla Şahin’s (Turkish women) education could indeed be obstructed in Turkish universities because she wears the headscarf. The decision came as a surprise to many liberal legal scholars and human rights organizations in Turkey, Europe and the United States. The Court’s basic argument was that the headscarf ban is not necessarily against freedom of religion and could be justified on grounds of “protecting the rights and freedoms of others and maintaining public order.”⁵⁶

According to Van Depoele, the situation example mentioned above is a paradoxical situation. He thinks this case involves discrimination between men and women, because the idea of ladies wearing a scarf and going to universities is fundamentalism. Consequently if she does wear a headscarf she is not allowed to go to university. The high court said, ‘No way, you have to maintain the basic rules in the constitution’. Van Depoele further stated:

“Maybe it is even more fundamentalist. I say the discrimination to wear the lady’s headscarf is because of discrimination between men and women”.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Elver, Hilal. 2008. “Lawfare and Wearfare in Turkey”. Middle East Report, Online Feature, April 2008. Available from <<http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/elverINT.html>> [Accessed Mar 9th, 2009].

⁵⁷ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

Under existing law, women are prohibited from wearing headscarves in state-controlled areas such as schools, universities or government offices regarded as having founded the modern Turkish state in the 1920s by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.⁵⁸

Laurent Van Depoele proposed a second argument about the role of religion in Turkish accession: that there is a danger that Turkey will become more religious because of the power of the Turkish governing party, the AKP. Thus, if the Turkish administration moves towards a more Muslim identity, then indeed European Union will have a problem with that, according to Van Depoele. If it is true that the AKP party (Justice and Development Party) has an agenda to move slowly towards a more religious identity, according to van Depoele, the problem will create a paradoxical situation with the military as well. If that happens and the military intervene, then Turkey will be a non-democratic state. If Turkey is no longer a democracy it cannot become a member of the European Union.

In order to avoid the situation of Turkey slowly moving towards becoming more and more Muslim, Turkey should have the prospect of becoming a member of the European Union in the near future, as this would constrain the country to keep an open mind on religion. If the Turkish administration is looking for alternatives for religious influence and if the European Union were to close the door on Turkey, then the European Union would be encouraging the religious-oriented people to become more fundamentalist. According to Van Depoele, if the European Union says “We don’t want Turkey”, the reaction will be that the Turkish people will become more Islam-oriented. Professor Van Depoele argues that if Turkey comes on board, it will consequently become more Europeanized and it will be a bridge between Christianity and Islam.⁵⁹ Hence, Van Depoele commented:

⁵⁸ Elver, Hilal. 2008. “Lawfare and Wearfare in Turkey”. Middle East Report, Online Feature, April 2008. Available from <<http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/elverINT.html>> [Accessed Mar 9th, 2009].

⁵⁹ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

“The European Union needs Turkey as the bridge between the Christian world and the Islamic world. If the European Union does not go that way, and Turkey becomes indeed more Islam-oriented, then van Depoele argues a linked approach that may involve military intervention in Turkey. If it this were to happen, there would be no democracy and no further negotiations for Turkey’s accession.”

Van Depoele⁶⁰ compared the history of the religions of Christianity and Islam. Europe is built on the basic ideas of Christianity, Roman law and Greek democracy, which are the basis of European civilization. Turkey is certainly not a Christian state. He stated: “Turkey does not follow the basic principles of Roman law”, but then neither does England. There are, however, key features of a modern secular tradition within Turkey. The first is the separation of church and state, which has been accepted in Turkey as the legacy of Ataturk, but it is a principle with which many people still have a problem. Much more than the country’s secular tradition is the lack of equality between men and women in Turkey; gender equality would be better embedded within the EU.

How were these issues considered by those close to the Turkish regime? According to the Turkish diplomat Engin Arikan⁶¹, Turkey’s religion did not give rise to any challenge by the European Commission. The European Commission is interested in monitoring the process of translating the *acquis communautaire* into domestic institutions, but religion in general falls outside of this. Arikan stated that it was only in 2004 that Dutch commissioner Frederik Bolkestein gave a speech to the effect that:

⁶⁰ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

⁶¹ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for “Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods” in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

“If we allow Turkey into the European Union, then Turkey’s Vienna victory was in vain. That’s why Turkey’s membership cannot be EU membership.”⁶²

Arikan said that individual political leaders could specify their own comments for Turkey’s membership, and they made them too. Turkey has some commitments prepared by the EU relating to the 3 October 2005 negotiating framework document of which the common goal is accession, according to Arikan.

5.5. *Islam towards Europe*

A sense of belonging to the European Union has its source in ideals such as democracy, peace and prosperity, but not nationalism. European Union identity has been forged due to hard experiences gained from the Second World War in the twentieth century, as well as the will to prevent similar experiences. Lessons learnt from the destruction of war lie at the base of the Union, instead of military victories. Hence the suspicion to the role of the armed forces, or the celebration of the military values of conquest.

I developed these themes in further interviews. For one interviewee, Rainer Emchermann⁶³, European Union culture does not exist. However, those desiring to see the European Union under a *common cultural model* do exist, although this model is rejected by the majority of people. Hence, cultural union does not lie at the base of the foundation of the European Union. There are some dissenting views to this standpoint. The German-British political scientist and former commissioner in European commission, Lord Ralf

⁶² Bolkestein, Frederik; (born 4 April 1933) is a Dutch politician and former European Commissioner. He was the leader of the market liberal People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy.

⁶³ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

Dahrendorf⁶⁴, in his book *Reflections on the Revolutions in Europe*⁶⁵, stated that the Roman Catholic Church had, in fact, a European identity, and he claimed that the depth of common cultural belonging could be traced to the influence of Catholicism and the Catholic Church. For Dahrendorf, three elements determine identity and must be advocated together absolutely. These are *shared values*, a *sense of belonging* and *common political institutions*. Western values still dominate the world today, but this identity mix might equally be valid in countries such as Iraq, or China. The other two components of identity, identified by Dahrendorf as belonging and common political institutions across Europe, have failed to have the desired success. Dahrendorf draws attention to the fact that in surveys this people define themselves, in an unwavering way, as German or French, not European. The success of the European Union's was expected to create identity by promoting a convergence between the three criteria, rather than merely "a functioning internal market". While the creation of the Copenhagen Criteria highlighted the amount of common ground reached, this is in no sense akin to a common identity.

So, what about the role of Turkey in the European Union? What perspectives are adopted by those close to power? In order to investigate more about the place of Turkey inside of Europe, I pursued my interviews by meeting with Turkish diplomat and Turkish permanent representative Engin Arikan⁶⁶ in Brussels. Arikan responded that, for Europeans, Turkey still represents the image of the man with a fez on his head. However, in order to counter this image, Turkey is trying to establish a communication strategy between EU citizens and Turkish citizens, and is currently implementing this communication strategy.

⁶⁴ Ralf Gustav Dahrendorf, Baron Dahrendorf, (May 1929-June 2009) was a German-British Sociologist, political scientist and economist; He was a member of the House of Lords, Professor in Berlin University, Faculty of Social Science, and Former Commissioner in the European Commission.

⁶⁵ Dahrendorf, Ralf Gustav. 1990. *Reflections on the Revolutions in Europe*. New York, Times Books.

⁶⁶ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

Arikan further stated: European people are not even sure about Turkey's history, culture, and religion, which cause doubts. According to Arikan, European people visit Turkey only for holidays or leisure opportunities. Thus they are barely able to recognize Turkey's culture at all. Integration between peoples in this area is weak.

In sum, Turkey's religious identity does not play a formal role in the history of the bid to join the European Union. But Turkey's bid for membership might require more effort - compared with other member and candidate states - because, Islam and Christianity are constructed by different beliefs and imagination by communities.

PART III

MILITARY ISSUE

Chapter 6

ONTOLOGICAL ANALYSIS of TURKEY: The Political Dimension

6.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the role of Turkey's administrative identity in the accession of the European Union is investigated. The thesis investigates how and whether the European Union Copenhagen Political criteria have had a political influence driving the reform of the Turkish administration. At the same time, we consider the relevance of *Benedict Anderson's* nationalism approaches for researching Turkish national and military identity. The research strategy, and the rationale for the research strategy, is then established from the premise of theory development. The thesis process traces the evolution of general political discourse, a process it gauges by studying the evolution of the main Turkish political party identities and their ideologies. It then links party political discourses to the issue of how the Turkish administration has evolved as a result of the pressure to join the European Union. It attempts an empirical validation of the argument through using primary interview research. It is argued that the Turkish military and military administrations are main issues of the heart of Turkey's

effort to join the European Union. The formal criteria for entry have had a major impact in accelerating the ‘normalisation’ of the role of the Army in Turkish society and politics.

The Copenhagen political criteria have had a major impact upon the variables (‘alterable data’) of Turkish identity. The EU dimension has been key to understanding the pressures for the evolution of Turkey to becoming a democratic state. The ‘**military issue**’ is the key dimension of this change. The chapter will show how the variables of Turkish identity (or the *alterable data*) have changed under the impact of Europeanization. It is necessary provide a discussion of what constitute the main formal criteria for Turkish accession into the EU according to the formal negotiations between EU member states and Turkey. This issue is illustrated by looking at the evolution of the Turkish military and the key political parties in this chapter. In order to investigate Turkey’s contribution to the EU, the *Copenhagen political criteria* insist on factors such as democracy and the need for a democratic administration in Turkey; this chapter describes the factors which have been preventing Turkey from attaining EU membership.

It is important to understand the history of the integration process between Turkey and the EU. There are two important points in this chapter: first, this chapter reinforces the details of the relations between Turkey and the EU in order to show how EU relations froze when the military coups took place in Turkey. Second, this chapter also shows that democratic government constitutes *alterable data*: that is, that governmental form can change easier than core values of identity such as religion. History shows that Turkish administrative and legislative powers can change, most recently with the adoption of Turkey’s new constitution, which approved a process of democratisation in 2010.

The concept of Alterable data is key to our argument. By alterable data, it is argued that countries can change in the short and medium term, and even in the long term; the challenge is to identify the drivers of change. As Turkey has changed (its *Alterable data*) this

has had a direct impact on the EU accession process. In this respect, this chapter will analyze the details of the *Copenhagen political criteria*, in light of the ‘**democracy rule**’ between Turkey and the EU. This chapter will also help the reader to understand more about the formal criteria for Turkey’s accession to the European Union. The next chapter will focus on military issues in light of this ruling.

The method used in this study was structured interviews with responsible decision making commissioners. Key interviews took place with a panel of actors in Brussels in late 2009. The interview schedule is included as an appendix. The interviews set out to capture perspectives on Turkey’s formal accession bid from key actors within the European Commission, as well as with other relevant members of the policy community. The elite interviews were undertaken in full cognisance of the limitations of this type of method; hence, a triangulation strategy also involved mapping closely the key documents published in relation to Turkey’s accession by the European Commission. The interviews contained sufficient variety to inform us about different perspectives on Turkey’s EU bid. Interviews took place notably with Engin Arıkan, the senior Turkish representative in the accession negotiations; Jean-Christophe Filori, the head of the Turkey team of the Directorate-General Enlargement; Riccardo Serri, the official responsible for civil-military relations in DG Enlargement; Professor Laurent van Depoele, a former Director of the DG Agriculture, and special adviser on socio-economic and political changes in European Union rural areas. Evidence from these interviews will be introduced at various stages throughout the chapter; they help to capture the complexity of the accession negotiations. In the next section the core features of Turkish political identity are outlined in order to facilitate a comparison with the EU.

6.2. Variables of Turkish Identity

The concept of *alterable data* signifies that countries can change, in the short and medium term, and even in the long term. Alterable data are variables in the process of identity formation; they might refer to strong held beliefs, arrangements or attitudes. But the key is that these types of identity markers are rather more permeable than holistic traits such as religion and religious identity. They are more consistent with the economic, social and political changes that need to be made in order to accede to the EU, than deeper held core ontological beliefs.

This chapter identifies a number of these alterable data to describe how the obligations of membership, and respect for the EU *acquis communautaire*, can enforce compliance, even in areas that were previously considered to be germane to discussions of Turkey's political and administrative system.

This discussion is framed within the broader context of analyzing of the European Union accession process. Discussions opened in 2005 and they are still continuing. The Foreign Ministers of the EU and the Turkish Foreign Minister opened the Intergovernmental Conference negotiations in 2005. These negotiations included the following stages:

- 1 → Notification of the opening of the formal negotiations,
- 2 → Disclosure of the negotiations which will start in chapters,
- 3 → Negotiations to settle the issues discussed as of the beginning.

The actual negotiations were headed by the EU member states' permanent representatives in Brussels and the Chief Negotiator of Turkey for negotiations between the

delegations. At this stage, negotiations with the European Commission Delegation of Turkish officials and working groups of informal contacts between members were very busy.

The screening process started on 20 October 2005. On 13 October 2006 the screening had been completed smoothly, sticking to the pre-determined schedule. Detailed introductory chapters were prepared before each screening meeting was held. Introductory chapters gave the Commission officials information about the EU *acquis*.

In this chapter, Turkey's *alterable* data are investigated to order to understand how they are compatible with the EU *acquis*. Respecting the *acquis*, in each detailed chapter, is necessary to allow Turkey's admission into the Union. The core areas are those such as the rule of law, respect for human rights, settled politics, stable democracy and so on. Turkey needs to demonstrate conformity to be able to join the EU.

With respect to the *acquis communautaire*, details of the accession process were provided in the Progress Report for 2009¹. While this recognised progress, the EU negotiators insisted on a number of reforms that Turkey still needed to make; most notably to reform the 1980 Constitution and assure more respect for democratic criteria. Approximately one month after the introductory meeting, there were moves to introduce more comprehensive screening. Turkey was asked some tough questions about the following topics²:

- Can the candidate countries be accepted if relevant chapters of the *acquis* apply?
- Which relevant chapters of the *acquis* can be adopted in accordance with the law? If not, how is it envisaged in the calendar?
- Which relevant chapters of the *acquis* are necessary to implement in the existing administrative structures? If so, what timetable will be set up?

¹ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

² Economic Development Foundation in Turkey, Istanbul. June 08, 2010. Available from <www.ikv.org.tr. <http://www.ikv.org.tr/icerik.asp?konu=katilimmuzakereleri&baslik=KatpercentFDlpercentFDmpercent20MpercentFCzakereleri>> [Accessed July 15th, 2009].

- Which relevant chapters of the transitional measures are being planned? (Transitional arrangements relating to the screening process of the preliminary information are not binding; these claims will take place mainly in the *position papers*).

Detailed negotiations started once that the initial screening had taken place. A Partnership Council Meeting was held on 11 April 2000; this launched ‘a detailed review of the EU *acquis*’ and what this would mean for Turkey. Based on this the European Union General Secretariat of Internal Coordination and Harmonization Committee³ (IKUK) was established with the following functions⁴:

- Compliance with European Union legislation; the IKUK was to monitor and evaluate all activities and ensure the necessary coordination.
- To Review Public institutions and organizations, the private sector, trade unions, civil society organizations and academic circles which focus on the harmonization of legislation with the European Union to review and evaluate the proposals.
- Set priorities regarding necessary legislative changes.
- This priorities’ information is required to serve on boards and committees.

At least a clear process was established. The interviews carried out in Brussels sought to develop aspects of these negotiations. In respect to the adoption of the *acquis*, Van Depoele⁵ specified that Turkey has to have a free democracy, a free market system and the capacity to implement the *acquis communautaire*. “These are the three basic conditions to become a member of European Union,” he says, ‘A Democratic state, free market economy and the ability to imply the *acquis communautaire*’.

³ Internal Coordination and Harmonization Committee (IKUK) was created within Prime Ministry of Turkey, Secretariat General for EU Affairs; in order to study on required legislative changes, monitoring European Union integration process and to ensure coordination between EU and Turkey in August 2005, Ankara.

⁴ Economic Development Foundation in Turkey, Istanbul. June 08, 2010. Available from <www.ikv.org.tr. <http://www.ikv.org.tr/icerik.asp?konu=katilimmuzakereleri&baslik=KatpercentFDlpercentFDmpercent20MpercentFCzakereleri>> [Accessed July 15th, 2009].

⁵ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

Within the broad frame of the IKUK, the main topics of the EU *acquis* were considered by nine sub-committees, in which representatives from the European Commission met with Turkish officials. Other ad hoc committees were also created. In addition to the main committee (IKUK), the State Planning Organization (SPO) in Turkey and other relevant ministries and public institutions created their own study groups in preparation for the negotiation process to continue. In particular the SPO's 9th Development Plan (2007–2013)⁶, was created in the framework of these preparations, and 57 Special Commissions considered specific aspects of the accession challenge and thereby contributed to the process of EU integration.

The Commission submitted a report to member countries after investigation of each chapter of negotiations. The assessment and recommendations formed a basis for open negotiations on the various chapters. Commissions and reports, detailed during the scan by Turkey, had information given on the basis of whether to propose that the negotiations were ready to evaluate the results section or that the chapter of the negotiations be opened, or must be completed in comparable conditions (benchmarks). Screening of the chapters was completed and the 27 members of the Commission's recommendation with the consent of the country moved on to the actual negotiations. The Commission was to prepare recommendations for each chapter and its closing chapter and (where necessary) to determine the criteria for opening. The actual start of any negotiations on chapters was expected to complete the screening process for all on the one hand, while the screening process on the other hand meant that some chapters would be made in the actual negotiations.

The actual negotiations passed through the drop-down chapters, the relevant legislation was reviewed, the legislation of the EU *acquires*, which calendar and what types of

⁶ Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013) is originally prepared in Turkish and approved by Turkish Grand National Assembly on 28.06.2006 with Law No: 877. Available from <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/ix/9developmentplan.pdf>. [Accessed July 22th, 2010].

changes were necessary and to apply that to a ‘*Position Paper*’ of the preparation that would be needed. A Negotiations Committee, formed to draft the negotiating position, would be presented to the Council of Ministers.

The evidence from the Commission was that progress on the various chapters was fairly slow. This sentiment was expressed, for example, in the Commission’s *Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda 2009-2010* report⁷:

“The Government reiterated its commitment to European Union related reforms, appointed a full-time Chief Negotiator and approved the National Programme for the Adoption of the *acquis*. However, the lack of dialogue and spirit of compromise between political parties is detrimental to the pursuit of reforms. Turkey still needs to bring its legislation on political parties in line with European standards.”⁸

The Commission would seek the advice of relevant public institutions, the private sector, civil society organizations and university representatives. The negotiating *position paper*’s approval by the Council of Ministers and the EU was required to be certain for it to progress. It included the negotiating position, distance travelled in compliance with the EU *acquis* in the header, the proposed timetable for harmonization, alignment studies, the defining of financing needs in order to achieve full compliance on certain issues before membership could take place. Undertaking to implement the *acquis* in some areas during the economic and social aspects could harm the transition period. This demanded strong, legitimate and convincing reasons, and most importantly, must be implemented within a reasonable time. Preparing ‘impact analysis’ reports would be use to strengthen Turkey’s position. Mainly at which stage of the negotiations this would be done should be taken into consideration.

The main objective of the negotiations is Turkey’s accession to the European Union. In these negotiations, the outcome is an open-ended process that cannot be guaranteed

⁷ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

⁸ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

beforehand. The next section will provide a brief analysis of the *Copenhagen criteria* and outline the issues which may occur during Turkey's bid for EU membership as a result.

How are these criteria interpreted by the well placed advisors who were interviewed in 2009? For *political integration*, according to Jean-Christophe Filori⁹: "If Turkey fully meets those criteria, if Turkey carries out all the necessary reforms in this respect, we (the European Commission) are all convinced the perception of Turkey will be different in Europe, and Turkey will be accepted as a member state like any other'. In this respect, the protection of human rights, the rule of law, and an independent judiciary provide the basic elements of democracy; these criteria are essential for full membership. The Commission official was of the opinion that these had not yet been met – but this is the basic condition. In this respect, to reach full membership, a country must comply with the universal respect for the rights and freedoms. The Commission was determined to ensure that Turkey agreed to the basic conventions and respected the provisions outlined in the agreement. The key demands centred on the measures that were needed to implement the *acquis*; these fell into the 'alterable data' of Turkey's administration, politics, democracy, secularism, rule of law and respect for human rights.

⁹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

6.3. Turkey and the Formal EU Accession Criteria

For Turkey to have EU membership, there are some *sine qua non*¹⁰ conditions to be fulfilled, such as the Copenhagen and Maastricht criteria. In order to find formal criteria information on the *accession criteria*, the thesis engaged in primary research by means of analysing Turkey's progress reports and collecting testimony from leading officials who were involved in the negotiations. In addition, extensive secondary research data was collected, mainly in the form of articles, book, and published or unpublished reports.

The agenda for European Union enlargement¹¹ assumes the soundness of the EU to assume any new commitments; existing commitments have to be borne in mind before the Union makes any new engagements. This is why existing members have a strong say in who should join the EU club. When the European Union began accession negotiations with Turkey and Croatia and other countries in the Western Balkans, a European perspective was

¹⁰ *Sine qua non* (pronounced "seenay kwaa non") or *conditio sine qua non* (plural *sine quibus non*) was originally a Latin legal term for "(a condition) without which it could not be" or "but for..." or "without which (there is) nothing." It refers to an indispensable and essential action, condition, or ingredient.

¹¹ On 1 January 1995 Sweden, Finland and Austria, with the participation of four, completed the process of enlargement of the EU. Between 1990 and 1996 the majority of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, 12 countries in all, represented the full membership application the EU has been faced with. In 1987, these applied for full membership in the EU together with Turkey, making a total of 13 countries in the enlargement process, which thus gained an important dimension. In 1995, Slovenia started accession negotiations, followed by; in 1996, the Czech Republic, in 1998, Estonia, Poland, Hungary and Cyprus and Malta, in 2000, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Bulgaria. First, the European Council held the Brussels Summit on 24–25 October 2002. The applications of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia were considered at the Copenhagen Summit on 12–13 December 2002. The signing of the Accession Treaty was decided in April 2003 in Athens. Indeed, the Copenhagen Summit and then the Treaty of Athens (16 April 2003), and the acceptance of these 10 candidate countries for EU accession on 1 May 2004 occurred, and these countries have become full members of the EU. As to the ongoing accession negotiations for Bulgaria and Romania, at the Copenhagen Summit it was indicated that after further negotiations they could join the EU in 2007. At the December 2004 summit, according to the Council's 2004 Progress Report, and in the framework of the Commission's view, Turkey met the Copenhagen political criteria in the form of a decision in the case, it was decided to start accession negotiations without delay. Indeed, such a positive opinion of the Commission's progress report shortly after the start of the negotiations can be reported as indicative.

presented. The European Union enlargement policy as of today is proceeding on three basic principles; commitment to enhance soundness, conditionality and communication.

Rigorous but fair conditionality is applied to all candidate and potential candidate countries. The accession of each country will depend on it fulfilling the necessary conditions at each step forward that is taken at all stages of the accession process. The 2009 Turkey progress report summed up the challenge:

“Regarding the accession negotiations, additional chapters have been opened. Turkey adopted a National Programme for the adoption of the *acquis*. The appointment of a full-time Chief Negotiator should help streamline the efforts of the government in the context of EU-related reforms. The EU accession process provides a strong incentive for Turkey to pursue reforms, strengthen democracy and human rights and further modernise the country. The pace of reforms in Turkey continues to be the key consideration in taking forward this process.”¹²

The pace of negotiations in the appropriate field depends on the pace of the reforms. Accession negotiations demand above all that candidate countries adopt the *acquis communautaire* of the European Union; this involves a massive overhaul of many core aspects of domestic legislation, policy and, in the case of Turkey, political and legal structures. In the case of Turkey, negotiations took place according to the planned procedure. Since October 2005 a “screening process” has been taking place, to assess what is required of Turkey in the whole range of chapters to be negotiated. The screening process examines the *acquis* and assesses levels of compliance to it. Screening identifies the precise measures that need to be implemented to have any chance of membership entry. In the case of Turkey, as explained in the 2009 Progress Report:

“Turkey needs to build on the renewed political reform efforts which have begun. The accession negotiations have reached a more demanding stage requiring Turkey to step up its efforts in meeting relevant conditions. The EU accession process provides a strong incentive for Turkey to strengthen democracy and human rights, further modernise the country and bring the country closer to the EU.”¹³

¹² Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

¹³ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

Unresolved issues for Turkey's accession have been raised in both published and unpublished sources. This research study has investigated issues on the military factor, which is concerned with the democratization of Turkey. In fact, this chapter aims to find the current situation of Turkey's progress towards EU membership. The question was asked to the head of the DG Enlargement Turkey team, Jean-Christophe Filori, who is monitoring Turkey's situation very closely and whose knowledge is up-to-date.

The research study has examined the issues of the military and religion under the broader topic of political and cultural issues in Turkish accession. On this topic, I asked the interview question: "What is the relationship between the European Union and Turkey today, especially after the negotiation decision (since October 2005)?" The head of the DG Enlargement Turkey team, Jean-Christophe Filori¹⁴, gave the following response.

"The relations are based on two agreements. The first agreement is the Association Agreement of 1963 which was completed by the Customs Union Agreement of 1995; this agreement was completed with a number of protocols regarding a number of different issues. This is the first pillar for relations. The second pillar is the accession negotiations, which is called the negotiation framework. The negotiation framework is a document approved by the then 25 member states in 2005, which sets out the rules, principles and procedures of the negotiations. European Union and Turkey relations are based on these pillars, which are very important agreements".

Following, Filori remarked that relations between the European Union and Turkey have gained in quality and momentum since Turkey became a negotiating country in 2005, and not just an association country to the European Union. At the same time, it is a difficult process as: all enlargements in the accession processes are always demanding, is always difficult, and in the case of Turkey it is a difficult process. Filori explained that the

¹⁴ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

negotiations in the case of turkey were especially difficult because of the very slow pace of domestic reforms; and the hostility of a large part of public opinion in Europe to Turkish entry. Most importantly for Turkey's bid, on 22 June 1993 at the *Copenhagen European Summit*, the European Council noted the criteria for the European Union's enlargement of the Central Eastern European countries which would be adopted and also those for candidate countries applying for full membership¹⁵. These criteria are political, economic and community legislation. They apply to all new candidate countries and were collectively adopted.¹⁶ New candidates for membership (and Turkey) have conditions which must be fulfilled; this is known as the *acquis* compliance and consists of specific criteria and requirements.

The basis of the *Copenhagen political criteria* is based on Article 6 of the EU Treaty¹⁷.

Article 6, Treaty on European Union;¹⁸

1. The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States.
2. The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950 and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, as general principles of Community law.
3. The Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States.
4. The Union shall provide itself with the means necessary to attain its objectives and carry through its policy.

¹⁵ The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Ankara. Available from <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/pdf01/437-438.pdf> [Accessed August 5th, 2010].

¹⁶ Emerson, Michael. 2004. "Has Turkey Fulfilled the Copenhagen Political Criteria". Brussels: The Centre for European Policy Studies CEPS Policy Brief, no.48.

¹⁷ The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Ankara. Available from <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/pdf01/437-438.pdf> [Accessed August 5th, 2010].

¹⁸ The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Ankara. Available from <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/pdf01/437-438.pdf> [Accessed August 5th, 2010].

As outlined above, Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union directly addresses the issue of national identities and the respect for minorities:

“3. The Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States.”

The meaning of the Article 6 of Treaty on European Union is clear: the European Union is able to enforce respect for core values on EU member states and to ensure that candidate countries respect the principles of liberty, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. These criteria involve adopting policies designed at the Protection of Human Rights and the respect for Fundamental Freedoms. At the same time, the Union has to be respectful of the *national identities* of its member states.

The question of identity in Turkey’s application for EU membership was explored further in interviews with both Turkish and EU senior staff. The research first examined Turkey’s accession and negotiation process in the interview with Engin Arikan¹⁹, who is the senior Turkish representative for the Turkish and European Union negotiations, based in Brussels. According to Arikan, the negotiation criteria should not apply only to Turkey; rather all European countries should be forced to submit themselves to additional criteria (of the type that turkey had to meet): in short all old *and* new Member states should undergo a verification process. This statement from Turkey’s chief negotiator betrayed a degree of exasperation with the demands placed on Turkey. Arikan pointed out the political criteria that made it necessary to impose harsh conditions on Turkish entry. Arikan made the point forcefully that the other states in the EU ought also to be judged according to whether they still met the Copenhagen criteria.

¹⁹ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for “Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods” in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

In terms of the *Copenhagen political criteria* regarding democracy, rule of law, human rights, respect for minorities and the guaranteed protection of institutions, candidate countries who wish to join the EU must have:

- **The existence of a stable and institutionalized democracy**
- **Rule of law**
- **Respect for human rights**

Three main criteria had to be evaluated in such terms. In general, the country's multi-party democratic system ruled that the rule of law, and respect for human rights must be observed.

In this respect, this part (Part III, Chapter 7 and 8) will analyse what are the critical formal criteria for Turkey's accession. Is Turkey fulfilling these democratic norms? Does it have a robust and democratically compatible system of public administration? Does it abide by the rule of law? Does it respect human rights? The difficulty that Turkey has had - and continues to have – lay in the perception that legal standards still fall short of the demanding rules required by Europe. There are too many exceptional legal procedures and the army continues to have a role that appears as too important for a democratic European post-authoritarian country. One of the key questions raised by the thesis is whether the Turkish Army Force is an obstacle for Turkey's bid under the formal accession criteria of the EU. There is a deeper question about whether Turkey's military past can be construed as an identity marker that is as difficult to alter as its religious identity. In order to explain concisely the current situation of Turkey's accession to the European Union, this chapter will now explicitly draw on primary analysis based on interviews to ascertain the role of Turkish national *identity* from the perspective of senior EU staff.

6.3.1. The Existence of a Stable and Institutionalised Democracy

Democracy, respect for human rights and values such as freedom of the individual have guided the relationship with the EU's integration of Turkey's foreign policy and, inevitability for any democratic country, have shaped the contours in areas such as foreign policy. In recent years in Turkey, the Democratic Peace Theory was accepted in a manner consistent with democratic nations and solving problems in peaceful ways.

The first of the *Copenhagen political criteria*, 'stable democracy' stems from this understanding. The EU's 'stable democracy' has the concept of political stability and pluralism at its core. The EU is determined to ensure that the normal functions of government are fulfilled by democratic institutions, preferably at various levels (hence the need for an effective system of local government). The criteria also point to the need for an effective party system with the prospect of a variety of political parties alternately supplying power. The criteria insist, moreover, on the need to respect the general opposition, and on the role of free and fair elections. These core values are non-negotiable and they explain why the case of Turkey has been so difficult. The objective is to meet the challenge of democracy is within the EU. Turkey has to change and reform to create the conditions that will fulfil the criteria of democratic conditionality.

The most sensitive discussions have focused on differences in religion and culture. The European Union itself is committed to diversity, respecting different cultures and religions. It was created as a cultural mosaic. Turkey's potential membership ought to be able to fit within this cultural mosaic, if the EU really does support religious and cultural difference. In practice, however, important forces within the existing EU, both governments

and amongst public opinion, have cast doubt upon the cultural, or specifically religious pluralism of the EU by contesting the Muslim character of Turkey.

After the Copenhagen summit, Turkey was called upon to provide a stable democracy through introducing new reforms and overhauling its political system. The following points specific points were raised as being necessary to ensure that Turkey met the standards of a European democracy:

- Increasing the civilian presence on the National Security Council (NSC).
- Subjecting the NSC to executive authority.
- Limiting the executive powers and areas of responsibility of the NSC.

In order to research the main challenges for Turkish accession, I interviewed the head of the DG Enlargement Turkey team, Jean-Christophe Filori²⁰. In the case of Turkey, according to Filori, there are two types of challenges. First, Turkey has difficulties carrying out the necessary political reforms to meet fully the political criteria for accession. However, the European Union understands that there is a situation of intense domestic political competition, and that the domestic situation is characterized by very strong mutual suspicion between the ruling party and its supporters, on the one hand, and the opposition and the more secular part of society, on the other. Though the EU wants a functioning democracy, it also insists on respects for the rights of opposition and the possibility of democratic transition. The result of this mutual suspicion is a lack of consensus in the dialogue which makes it very difficult to adopt necessary reforms such as the constitutional reform, for instance, that is needed for Turkey to advance on the way towards democracy.

²⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

The interview question: “How should Turkey make a more democratic state?” was put to the former Director of the DG Agriculture, Laurent van Depoele²¹. Professor Van Depoele stated:

“Today, I can’t say Turkey is not a democratic state. I was only saying that if the present government will move towards the religionist position then that will implicitly invite military people to interfere”.

The military in Turkey, in Van Depoele’s opinion, has a kind of holy engagement towards the memory of Ataturk to keep Turkey a secular state. According to Van Depoele, it would only be if the government should move in a more religious direction and no longer accept the separation between mosque and state that the military would intervene. If that were to happen, according to him, Turkey would not be a democratic state. But turkey has made considerable progress. Today, however, the role of the military being under the control of a civilian government is like every state in Europe, and we can say it is a democracy. Van Depoele continued:

“As long as Turkey has a minister and a civil government saying what the military has to do, I don’t see the problem with the military, because they have to behave in the democratic system where the decisions are taken by government majority in the parliament. It is when the military intervene, then become the rulers of the country, that you don’t have a democracy.”

Van Depoele made a footnote here to say that the basic principle for membership of the European Union is to be a democratic state and to meet the Copenhagen Criteria. According to Van Depoele, the problem will be a paradoxical situation with the military as well. If that happens and the military intervene, then Turkey will be a non-secular state and

²¹ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

no longer a democracy. If Turkey is no longer a democracy it cannot become a member of the European Union.

As Van Depoele suggested, the military's dominance as a power holder in the Turkish political system is undisputed. The Army has had a direct influence on the Republic of Turkey (the military coups of 1960, 1971 and 1980) as well as indirect influence (the army forced the withdrawal of the Erbakan government in 1997). Similarly, after the Islamic President Abdullah Gul's election in April 2007, the General Staff published a "memorandum" on an internet site that was widely interpreted by many media outlets as a coup threat. There have been reforms, but the Commission has remained critical. The signs, duties and functions of the State Security Courts (DGM) were removed, in a concession to the drive for EU harmonization, but the High Criminal Court remains dominated by the same (military?) staff

The latest developments in Turkey are linked by the media and political observers in terms of the military's political influence, and will be discussed later. This was especially the case in the months of presidential elections in the spring of 2007, and in relation to the crises in the summer of 2008. The role of the military as a potential obstacle to democracy was illustrated in the "Ergenekon" case that will now be considered.

6.3.1.1. The Ergenekon Case

The EU Commission country reports have persistently identified the Turkish military as a potential barrier to EU entry. They have insisted on progress being made before Turkey can become a democratic state. But does the military in fact play a very important role in Turkey's political life and thereby have consequences for potential membership?

As Turkish author Hilal Elyer suggested in her report about Turkey's democracy (2008) "*Lawfare and Warfare in Turkey*";

The capture of Ergenekon was the most important proof in years of the existence of a "deep state," a nexus of elites and far-right nationalists willing to kill to preserve its dated and purblind vision of what Turkey should be.²²

The Ergenekon case²³ refers to the terrorist Ergenekon organization, which was established by clandestine military groups with links to the Army hierarchy. The Ergenekon case has demonstrated the existing of a deep military nexus determined to preserve the position of the army in Turkey's society. But it also provided an opportunity for Turkey to strengthen confidence in the proper functioning of its democratic institutions and the rule of

²² Elver, Hilal. 2008. "Lawfare and Warfare in Turkey". Middle East Report. Online Feature. April 2008. Available from <http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/elverINT.html> [Accessed May 10th, 2009].

²³ Ergenekon, Ergenekon Operations or Ergenekon Terror Organization; which is aimed at paving the way for a military coup against the government. Ergenekon operation intensified after the closure case was filed against the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). The operation was not limited to retired army members or ultra-nationalists, but widened to prominent opponents of the AKP. Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan has previously said the closure case was a response to the government's determination in the Ergenekon operation. However some observers say the wider Ergenekon operation could be seen as an instrument to suppress the opponents of the government. Available from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/domestic/10165767.asp?gid=244&sz=22787> [Accessed August 5th, 2009].

Ergenekon is launching by Turkish prosecutors of a far-reaching investigation into the "deep state" activities in 2007, therefore, seemed to present a historic opportunity to unearth the truth about the less flattering aspects of the country's recent past. The investigation, soon dubbed "Ergenekon" after the alleged name of the network being investigated, appeared to provide a major chance for Turkey to take a major leap forward in its democratization process. Available from <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/silkroadpapers/0908Ergenekon.pdf> [Accessed August 5th, 2009].

law. The 2009 Progress report (*Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda 2009-2010*) was clear in this respect:

“The investigation of the alleged criminal network Ergenekon has led to serious criminal charges, involving military officers and nationalist circles. This case is an opportunity for Turkey to strengthen confidence in the proper functioning of its democratic institutions and the rule of law. It is important that proceedings in this context fully respect the due process of law, in particular the rights of defendants. Turkey plays a key role in regional security and the promotion of dialogue between civilisations.”²⁴

The Ergenekon terrorist group describes itself as guardians of the secular tradition against the AKP (Justice and Development Party), which it portrays as an anti-secular movement. If Ergenekon really does offer protection against hidden religious movements by the AKP government, who will offer guardianship of the current situation of Turkey, and who will stop the anti-democratic movement caused by Ergenekon terrorism?

The interviews carried out in Brussels included a precise line of questioning about the role of the military in Turkish politics; what follows thereby gives the EU perspective about the progress made by Turkey and the obstacles that remain on the way to EU entry. In response to the question: “How best can the EU control Turkey to ensure a long-term sustainable secular state?” Jean-Christophe Filori²⁵ stated that the European Union can monitor Turkey very closely because there is an European Union delegation in Turkey. The European Union has contact with all parts of Turkish society. Filori stated:

²⁴ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

²⁵ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

“The European Union is observing very closely the Turkish laws taken by the Turkish government and local authorities and we make an overall assessment in the progress report which we publish every year. The European Union has just published the progress report for 2009. In our (European Commission) view, the European Union must follow the Ergenekon case very closely. The European Union follows, as I said, all the policies taken by the government. European Union assesses them, and so far European Union has not been in a position to conclude that this country is becoming Islamist or fundamentalist. At the same time, regarding the Ergenekon trial, we watch very closely as obviously it is a long, ongoing case; the whole truth has not been unveiled”.

As indicated above, the Ergenekon case strongly proves the existence of strong military networks in Turkey; these have negatively affected the accession process. The negotiation process of Turkey has run up against the continuing influence of the Turkish military power and the influence exercised by the military administration on the State as a whole. This needs to be changed. The argument presented here is that change is possible, as the military presents one of those areas where change has already been considerable. The next chapter will examine in more details the military coups and armed interventions that have peppered Turkish history.

6.3.2. Rule of Law

Turkey has been moving towards the European Union for 40 years. This is a journey and a new beginning is its destination. The end of the journey will be Turkey's full membership of the EU. "Peace, Equality, Unity, Solidarity, Liberty, Security, the Rule of Law, Human Rights and Democracy" are the adopted principles to be able to participate in the EU, and Turkey has an intense period of work in front of it. As Jean-Christophe Filori stated below;

"The pace of reforms now needs to be significantly stepped up. Concerns remain in a number of areas, including freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, trade union rights, civilian oversight of the military and women's rights and gender equality."²⁶

In order to find the answer to the question "What is the first priority for Turkey's political administration to be a democratic state?" the Head of the DG Enlargement Turkey team, Jean- Christophe Filori²⁷ considered that there are a number of issues in the reports that need to be addressed. Turkey needs to reform the way the judiciary functions (the justice system) and also Turkey needs to be more tolerant towards freedom of speech. Turkish writers, academics, journalists and human rights activists have been prosecuted because of what they have said or written, and this is not up to the standards of a fully democratic society.

Filori also defined this as the expression of a key fundamental pillar of any full democracy, so there is more that Turkey needs to do in this respect. Filori stated:

"It needs to revise, for instance, a number of legal provisions in the Turkish penal code, in the anti-terror law, and other pieces of legislation which will then allow totally open and free debate in the country, even on issues that are sensitive, even on

²⁶ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

²⁷ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

issues that were seen as taboo some years ago. This debate needs to flourish unhindered”.²⁸

Jean-Christophe Filori²⁹ additionally raised the question: what should the Turkish do now? He stated that it is a fulfilling accession criterion among the accession criteria for Turkey to have political criteria which include respect for democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and respect for protection of minorities. Filori³⁰ continued with the important statement with his quotes below:

“If Turkey fully meets those political criteria, if Turkey carries out all the necessary reforms in this respect, we (the European Commission) are all convinced the perception of Turkey will be different in Europe and Turkey will be accepted as a member state like any other”.

In this respect, what does Filori suggest Turkey to do? Turkey should fulfil the political criteria and the other accession criteria. In negotiations between the European Union and candidate countries, the measures that may be necessary to facilitate the integration are decided individually. Each country is considered on its own merits: the negotiations with the country encourage it to complete the necessary reforms and meet all the obligations of membership, which provides the opportunity to display its talents. Candidate countries must accept the *acquis*, and must connect with the practical and political objectives of the Copenhagen criteria.

The European Commission’s progress reports have recognised progress towards democracy. The Commission insisted that the constitution be changed (removing reference to

²⁸ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

²⁹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

³⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

support for the 1980 military intervention) and this was altered on request. In the progress report (2009)³¹ on the draft, the Commission drew a positive conclusion from the *Ergenekon* case in Turkey, admitting that this had represented an attempted coup d'Etat, but drawing the ultimate conclusion that Turkish democracy has responded well: 'This case is the correct functioning of democratic institutions and the rule of law to Turkey offers an opportunity to enhance confidence'.

In another interview, Ricardo Serri³² pointed out that the civilian power should have control over the army in the institutional setting of the European Union.

"In Turkey's situation it wasn't like that, but Turkey is trying to achieve this. However, the transition in Turkey is a very long process. Clear understanding of the balance of power between the civilian administration and the Turkish army is very important. National security power should be in the hands of civilians."

Following, Serri further stated that the achievement of balance is a very positive advance. He stated that military courts have a very strong power in Turkey and this power is slowly being reduced. It is a long process which is going in the right direction. Riccardo said the European Union has no clear recipe for this transition process. It is up to Turkish society to reform itself slowly. But Serri pointed out here that the European Union has very clear guidelines on what should be done to meet EU standards. There is a list of things to be done for Turkey³³, according to Serri.

³¹ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

³² SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

³³ SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

According to the *Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda 2009-2010* report³⁴:

“The Government reiterated its commitment to European Union related reforms, appointed a full-time Chief Negotiator and approved the National Programme for the Adoption of the *acquis*. However, the lack of dialogue and spirit of compromise between political parties is detrimental to the pursuit of reforms. Turkey still needs to bring its legislation on political parties in line with European standards.”³⁵

According Van Depoele, the European Union believes in the rule of law. If Turkey should move into a more religious situation, then Turkey always have the possibility of going to the high court to intervene, he said. He gave the example of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) party closure case the AKP has attempted to soften the law on wearing religious clothing. The rule is that ladies are not accepted in universities when they are wearing a scarf.

In its first decision, the Court ruled in 2005 that medical school student Leyla Şahin’s (Turkish women) education could indeed be obstructed in Turkish universities because she wears the headscarf. The decision came as a surprise to many liberal legal scholars and human rights organizations in Turkey, Europe and the United States. The Court’s basic argument was that the headscarf ban is not necessarily against freedom of religion and could be justified on grounds of “protecting the rights and freedoms of others and maintaining public order.”³⁶

According to Van Depoele, the situation example mentioned above is a paradoxical one. According to Van Depoele, this is discrimination of men and women, because the idea of ladies wearing a scarf and going to universities is fundamentalism. Consequently if she does not wear a headscarf she is not allowed to go to university. The high court said, ‘No way, you have to maintain the basic rules in the constitution’. Van Depoele further state:

³⁴ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

³⁵ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

³⁶ Elver, Hilal. 2008. “Lawfare and Wearfare in Turkey”. Middle East Report. Online Feature. April 2008. Available from <http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/elverINT.html> [Accessed May 10th, 2009].

“Maybe it is even more fundamentalist. I say the discrimination to wear the lady’s headscarf is because of discrimination between men and women”.³⁷

Under existing law, women are prohibited from wearing headscarves in state-controlled areas such as schools, universities or government offices regarded as having founded the modern Turkish state in the 1920s by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.³⁸

As seen on this section, in order to conclude under multiple dimensions on rule of law on Turkey’s case, Turkey must accept the *acquis*, and must connect with the practical and political objectives which have been seen in Copenhagen criteria.

6.3.3. Respect for Human Rights

All candidate countries and potential candidate countries for European Union membership must be wary of the conditionality applied. At any new step in the accession process, each country’s political and economic reforms are assessed as to their progress. The accession process is a long-term effort in which the motivation for carrying on the domestic reforms required must be kept high. The European Union, however, also needs to increase transparency in this process.

Obviously, to become a full member of the European Union, the Copenhagen criteria, and in parallel with that, the Turkish National Programme, must be taken into account with a range of initiatives including; the undertaking of the European Union legal *acquis*, which includes new adjustments to be made in Turkish legislation to harmonize with the *acquis*; and the human and financial resources required for harmonization.

³⁷ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

³⁸ Elver, Hilal. 2008. “Lawfare and Wearfare in Turkey”. Middle East Report. Online Feature. April 2008. Available from <http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/elverINT.html> [Accessed May 10th, 2009].

EU member countries looked at Turkey's human rights record, particularly on issues related to global and regional security. This problem also extends to Turkey's membership application process and is also among the major issues. The strength of anti-turkey sentiment was demonstrated in the Dutch and French rejection of the draft EU Constitutional Treaty in referendums in 2005. Let us recall that this rejection occurred shortly before the start of the Turkish accession negotiations (in October 2005). The No votes betrayed opposition to the overall expansion of the EU in general, and the opening to Turkey in particular. Many EU members continue to be sceptical about Turkey's European prospects.³⁹

How can we explain this? According to Filori⁴⁰, the only things that actually keep Europe as a community are the political values and the overall human values such as fundamental rights, human rights, etc. This is the basis of the European Union. Scepticism about whether Turkey could respect democratic standards was one dimension of the anti-Turkish sentiment. The most important mechanism in the protection of human rights in Turkey is the main function of the judiciary, human rights and security is to protect the interests of many regimes. In addition, the exceptional jurisdiction in Turkey has been constantly in use.

Turkey, for security reasons, has for years been ruled by an emergency regime. In this extraordinary regime, human rights violations are more intense. However, the emergency regime in Turkey has been largely transformed into an ordinary regime; hence a measure of reform has already taken place.

³⁹ Bilgiç, Tolga and Karatzas, Petros. 2004. "The Contraction in Greece, Turkey and EU Triangle". Turkey: Econturk. March 3rd, 2004, p.12. Available from <<http://www.econturk.org/Turkischeconomy/turkeygreece.pdf>> [Accessed June 7th, 2009].

⁴⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

Freedom, which threatens the privileged position of cutting as a principle, this administration is perceived as the enemies of tradition and refers to a principle. In opposition, while there is a difference between political parties, for each job which arrives, they build their own (or each other) compared to the election programme, the person relating to the rights promises the government they are 'state facts' that are subordinate. Therefore, politics and government efforts are based on human rights both in the ownership, which must be representing of an institution.

Is there a prospect that bureaucratic politics, terror and violence might once again be able to overshadow Turkey's freedom and security, human rights and justice that the country of Turkey has been building. Most of the Turkey's accession issues related to liberty and security tensions, security, bureaucracy and judiciary do not originate from the courts. Dominated by bureaucratic politics in Turkey, the relationship between tradition and human rights is affected significantly.

Civil society is fundamental to creating a European *identity* and enhancing different shapes of the various aspects of belonging to a community. If we assume that Turkey holds common values under its history and culture and religion that are the same all over Europe, this might not be the correct approach to describe the European *Identity* because, as Filori⁴¹ and Emschermann⁴² said, Europe is already very much diversified in its cultural aspects and each of the member states has a different history. The one thing they share is common values of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights; cultural diversity, tolerance and solidarity. Project promoters are invited to consider how those values can be reflected in their projects.

⁴¹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁴² EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

6.4. **Military *towards* Democracy**

Turkey's accession to the EU is a complicated and multi-faceted issue. The Turkish military is a unique institution. The Turkish Army is not only charged with the defence of Turkey, but also the defence of the Turkish constitution. The army is therefore the guardian of Turkish democracy, secularism, and national unity against Islamist provocation.

The factor of the Turkish military has imposed barriers both related to country reports and to observations on Turkey's progress towards becoming a democratic state ahead of Turkey's candidature. In fact, does the military really play a very important role in Turkey's potential membership? Does the accession process positively or negatively affect Turkey's military power and state pressure by the military administration for the negotiation process of Turkey?

In order to investigate current issue under creating a democratic Turkish-state, the section has been analysed by **primary research** data through interviews in Brussels with *Engin Arikan*, the senior Turkish representative in the accession negotiations, whose formal title is Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary), Representative for the Turkish and European Union Negotiations Period in the Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels. I also interviewed the following senior members of the Turkey team of the Directorate-General Enlargement, in Brussels: *Jean-Christophe Filori*, the head of the team; *Riccardo Serri*, responsible for civil-military relations; and Professor *Laurent van Depoele*, a former Director of the DG Agriculture, and special adviser on socio-economic and political changes in European Union rural areas at the Institute for European Policy, Department of Political Science, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

As described before, in Van Depoele's opinion, has a kind of holy engagement towards the memory of Ataturk to keep Turkey a secular state. Depoele made a footnote to

say that the basic principle for membership of the European Union is to be a democratic state and to meet the Copenhagen Criteria. Finally, Van Depoele⁴³ specified that Turkey has to have a free democracy, a free market system and the capacity to implement the *acquis communautaire*. “These are the basic three conditions to become a member of European Union,” he says. Democratic state, free market economy, ability to imply the *acquis communautaire*.

According to Serri, civilian power should have control over the army on the institutional setting in the European Union. Riccardo Serri explained:

“In Turkey’s situation it wasn’t like that, but Turkey is trying to achieve this. However, the transition in Turkey is a very long process. Clear understanding of the balance of power between the civilian administration and the Turkish army is very important. National security power should be in the hands of civilians.”

Following, Ricardo Serri further stated that the achievement of balance is a very positive advance. He stated that military courts have a very strong power in Turkey and this power is slowly being reduced. It is a long process which is going in the right direction. Riccardo said the European Union has no clear recipe for this transition process. It is up to Turkish society to reform itself slowly. But Serri pointed out here that the European Union has very clear guidelines on what should be done to meet EU standards. There is a list of things to be done for Turkey⁴⁴, according to Serri.

In addition, in the opinion of Engin Arıkan⁴⁵ about military role in Turkish accession, the 1980 intervention is a very important dimension of Turkey’s military reform in recent

⁴³ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

⁴⁴ SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

⁴⁵ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for “Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods” in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

history. According to Arikan, top-level leaders for the most part were coming from the army, as was Franco's in Spain, but Turkey is trying to minimize this. Military administration minimizes democratic standards and he stated that the issue of restricting the jurisdiction of military courts needs to be addressed. In short, Turkey is trying to take positive steps and making progress on military issues, as in all areas, by going slowly. These steps will take time, but this path has been taken by each country that became a member of the European Union, according to Engin Arikan.⁴⁶

In respect of Filori arguments about Ergenekon Case, only the trial will be able to unveil the truth of what really happened and for European Union it is nevertheless an opportunity for Turkey to clean the state from all the undesirable elements that were active, indeed within the state, in situations in the past which created networks and which probably had some agenda. According to Filori, it is an opportunity for Turkey to conduct the trial and this has to be done in a way that fully guarantees due traditional process, it has to be done in a way that fully guarantees the rights of defendants and it has to be fair.

Turning to the interview question on military issues, Riccardo Serri⁴⁷, the DG Enlargement Turkey Team specialist on military issues, stated the following opinions about achievements on military issues in Turkey. According to Serri, a measure of reform is how Turkey and Turkish society has dramatically changed within 10 years. Dramatic changes have occurred on Kurdish issues, and further democratizing Turkish society. Serri concluded:

“I think reform is happening to a large extent, but reform is never ending. There is a long list to be done”⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for “Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods” in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

⁴⁷ SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

⁴⁸ SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

According to Turkey Progress Report (2009)⁴⁹, some progress has been made on cultural rights, especially in the form of starting a national television channel broadcasting in Kurdish. However, restrictions remain, particularly on the use of languages other than Turkish in private television and radio broadcasting, in political life, education, and contacts with public services. The legal framework on the use of languages other than Turkish gives room for restrictive interpretations, and implementation is inconsistent.

Legislation is still needed to ensure that trade union rights are fully respected in line with European Union standards and the relevant International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions, in particular the rights to organize, to strike and to bargain collectively. In respect to answers by the member states and the European Council in the decision towards Turkey, is that the European Union is a community of values based on the European Convention on Human Rights, based on democracy, tolerance, respect for individual freedoms. This is what the European Union is based on. However, if Turkey manages to fully respect those standards, then Turkey should become a member state like any other member states. According to Filori, this so far was the line followed by the member states of the European Union and this is why Turkey started accession negotiations.⁵⁰

In addition to the interview with Ricardo Serri, the report, *Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda 2009-2010*, specified the following for the sufficient fulfilment of the political criteria for Turkey's accession:

“The government has begun a process of broad consultation with political parties and civil society with a view to addressing the Kurdish issue. However, significant further efforts are needed in most areas related to the political criteria in particular fundamental rights and as regards constitutional reforms.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

⁵⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁵¹ SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

For full membership of the European Union, the authorities have said that even beyond the important criteria are various other factors. People's language or their religion, their culture, of course, is not something the EU has the right to change, and cannot expect from Turkey as well. However, beyond that, people have the right to "Peace, Justice, Freedom and Security", to live within the established universal values of every human being. Every country is required to respect these values and to institutionalize reforms to accomplish these values.

"Turkey has continued to express its commitment to the EU accession process. Free and fair local elections have been held. Positive steps have been taken in the areas of the judiciary, with the adoption of the judiciary reform strategy and action plan, civil-military relations and cultural rights. In particular, parliament amended legislation to allow civilian courts to try military personnel in peace time. The government has opened a wide-ranging public debate with a view to addressing the Kurdish issue, and the public television started operating a channel which broadcasts entirely in the Kurdish language."⁵²

Human rights problems in Turkey, largely as a product of the structure and function are emerging. Claims relating to civil and political rights cannot exceed the framework of bureaucracy. This management policy in the shadow of tradition means that this framework cannot be broken. In order to conclude this section by *Turkey 2009 Progress Report*, "efforts need to be stepped up in all areas related to children's rights, including administrative capacity, health, education, the juvenile justice system and child labour in Turkey. However, cases of juveniles tried as adults under the anti-terror law, and facing disproportionate sentences, raise serious concerns"⁵³.

In the next section is considered the very specific case of the Kurdish identity and identity claims within the broader Turkish state.

⁵² Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

⁵³ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

6.5. Identity and the Kurdish Issue

The Kurdish issue might be described in terms of human rights, the rule of law and democratization. In order to understand the importance of the Kurdish issue on the accession process to the European Union, this special case study also contains strategic importance for both analysing *Benedict Anderson* “Imagined Communities” approaches and the formal criteria of the European Union.

This is to say, the Kurdish issue is an issue that has to be taken seriously by the Turkish government because of the EU Copenhagen criteria. Candidate countries who desire to join the European Union have to meet with Copenhagen political criteria, which require stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.

In order to describe Kurdish Issue under *Copenhagen Political Criteria*, Kurdish Issue can be evaluated under reasons-effects relations on behalf of European Commission’s Turkey Progress Reports as;

- Freedom of expression,
- Freedom of assembly,
- Freedom of association,
- Freedom of religion,
- Respect for cultural rights,
- Respect to anti-corruption,
- Respect for fundamental rights,
- Anti- Terror Law for terrorist attacks.

Shortly, Kurdish issue is relevant within subject above which has to be fulfilled by Turkey. Kurdish Issue must also be evaluated by various researcher, journalist and authors.

Dilek Kurban in her work, stated Kurdish Issue below in her article:

One of the most positive developments motivated by the accession process has been the rise in the number of minority organizations demanding recognition of their distinct identities. Minorities are speaking out in the national courts and the European Court of Human Rights; they are beginning to claim their rights for themselves. In order for minorities to continue this work without fear of imprisonment and murder, the EU should put more pressure on the state to tackle minority rights violations at every level of society⁹⁴.

Kurban involved EU as a whole who should assist minorities to understand and access the accession process; should set out clear benchmarks for Turkey to achieve, based on European law and standards using Council of Europe; should fully support and contribute to the EU's work in Turkey on minority rights⁹⁵.

While doing research on Kurdish Issue, I used both *Turkey Progress Reports* and **KONDA Research Centre Survey**⁹⁶ about Kurdish Issue as secondary resources. The survey that I have used for my research has been held in 59 different cities and 10393 people in Turkey by KONDA Research Centre in May 2011. It means that it is latest survey in Turkey made under upon Kurdish Issue.

⁹⁴ Kurban, Dilek. 2007. "A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey". Minority Rights Group Report. London: Minority Rights Group International.

⁹⁵ Kurban, Dilek. 2007. "A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey". Minority Rights Group Report. London: Minority Rights Group International.

⁹⁶ KONDA Research Centre, *Who we are?*, "Kurt Meselesinde Algi ve Beklentiler Meselesi", May 2011.

Over 1500 people were employed for the most comprehensive nongovernment survey ever conducted in Turkey and 47,958 randomly chosen people were interviewed face to face.

The sample distribution based on interviews
 Province 79
 District 488
 Number of neighbourhood and villages 2.685
 Urban 2.286
 Rural 399
 Number of interviews 47.958

While Thesis identifying *identity* issues under Turkey's bid for EU Membership, Kurdish Issue might be defined that is a matter of the demands of the Kurdish *identity*. This might be described as a matter of living their own *identity*, culture of living, developing, language learning and language education is a matter of getting for Kurds in Turkey which are all directly related with reasons-effects relations is behalf of European Commission's *Turkey Progress Reports*⁹⁷ above.

In respect to *Benedict Anderson* approaches⁹⁸, national structure is a social structure neither based fully on blood relationship as is the case in sub-national social groups like clans and tribes, nor completely on the lack of this relationship. According to *Benedict Anderson*, national structure is a complex and stable social synergy including ethnic and historical experiences. In this respect, it might be possible that many of the cultural and identical definitions can be understood from different perspective. Replacing the imposition of uniform definition of *identity* by live in people choice of different identities is important to be democratic and pluralistic society subject by combining an understanding of human rights and demands of *identity* in Turkey. Kurdish Issue might not be solved without ignoring the political and cultural demands, or try to figure out categorical rejection of the law or by banning pressing environmental pressures.

Dilek Kurban argues; Turkish government should adopt a positive approach to all minorities in their public statements. However, criminal law should be used for prosecuting actual violence and racial hatred, according to international laws against racial discrimination

⁹⁷ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

⁹⁸ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

and freedom of expression. It should not be used to limit freedom of expression, the use of minority languages or peaceful activism on behalf of minorities, speech, in her report⁹⁹.

The most important sides of these findings **where** the dominant Kurdish ethnic *identity* as relatively experiencing problems are;

- In the rural and under-developed regions (Eastern , North-eastern and South-eastern Anatolia)
- Outweigh on the religious *identity* regions,
- Varieties of ethnic tension in areas where background identities differ.

Table 6.1: Percentage of Kurds who live in Turkey's Regions¹⁰⁰

Central-East Anatolia	79.1
Southern-East Anatolia	64.1
Northern-East Anatolia	32.0
Istanbul	14.8
West Anatolia	7.7
Aegean	6.1
East Marmara	4.9
Mediterranean	4.9
Central Anatolia	1.3
West Marmara	0.9
West Black Sea	0.3
East Black Sea	0.1

⁹⁹ Kurban, Dilek. 2007. "A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey". Minority Rights Group Report. London: Minority Rights Group International.

¹⁰⁰ KONDA Research Centre, *Who we are? "Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi"*, May 2011.

In respect of *Benedict Anderson* approaches, national structure is a social structure neither based fully on blood relationship as is the case in sub-national social groups like clans and tribes, nor completely on the lack of this relationship¹⁰¹. This is main arguments of this section to be analysed on Kurdish issue.

National structure is a complex and stable social synergy including ethnic and historical experiences, according to *Benedict Anderson*.¹⁰² Overall the reasons where the dominant ethnic *identity* as a relatively “experiencing problems” because of the presence of tension in the region. However in a respect of *Progress Report (2010)*, demonstrations in the South-East of the country continued to be marked by violence. Investigation and video-taping of NGOs’ activities by security forces are still being reported, especially in the East and South-East of the country. Difficulties with the implementation of the Law on the duties and legal powers of the police, adopted in 2007, are still being reported, especially in the south-east¹⁰³.

However in the *respect of language*, there have been improvements in use of the Kurdish language in prisons. However, this is still restricted because of security concerns and implementation varies between prison administrations.

*Turkey’s Progress Report (2010)*¹⁰⁴ states that;

“The legislation on use of languages other than Turkish is open to restrictive interpretations and implementation is inconsistent”.

¹⁰¹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

¹⁰² Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

¹⁰³ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

Similar as respect of language, awareness of the problem of *identity* may be connected to the same ratio to be higher in Central Anatolia is the reason “to think that religious *identity* is under pressure” can be connected to the issue.¹⁰⁵

In the respect of *Turkey’s Progress Report*, concerning *freedom of religion*, freedom of worship continues to be generally respected¹⁰⁶. *2009 Progress Report* is concerning on *Newroz* (the Kurdish New Year) and 1 May demonstrations, which were marred by police violence in previous years, took place peacefully in most places during the reporting period. This means that a positive development took place for *freedom of religion and* as regards *freedom of assembly* since 2009. However *Progress Report (2010)* stated under concern on respect of religion¹⁰⁷;

“The Turkish authorities, including the State Minister for EU Affairs, the EU Secretariat- General and relevant line ministries, have had frequent meetings with the religious leaders of non-Muslim communities.”

The results of KONDA Research Centre Survey¹⁰⁸ on identities concerns on whose living their identities freely through different ethnic background living in Turkey, resulting comments quite predictably differ. Turks living in their own *identity* defines itself as a more comfortable (88.6 percent says “yes”) as well as this idea more than an average who attend this survey. Therefore, Kurdish ethnic identities has slightly lower rate with 50.9 percent “yes” who think can live their own *identity*. In other words, Kurds participating more than the average of Turkey are living their own identities and the identities of others with obstacles.

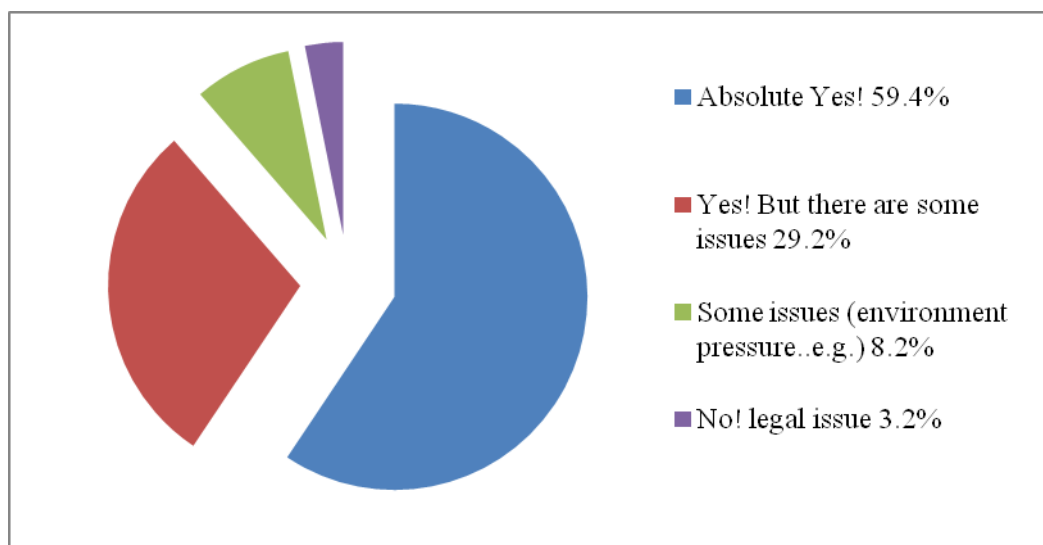
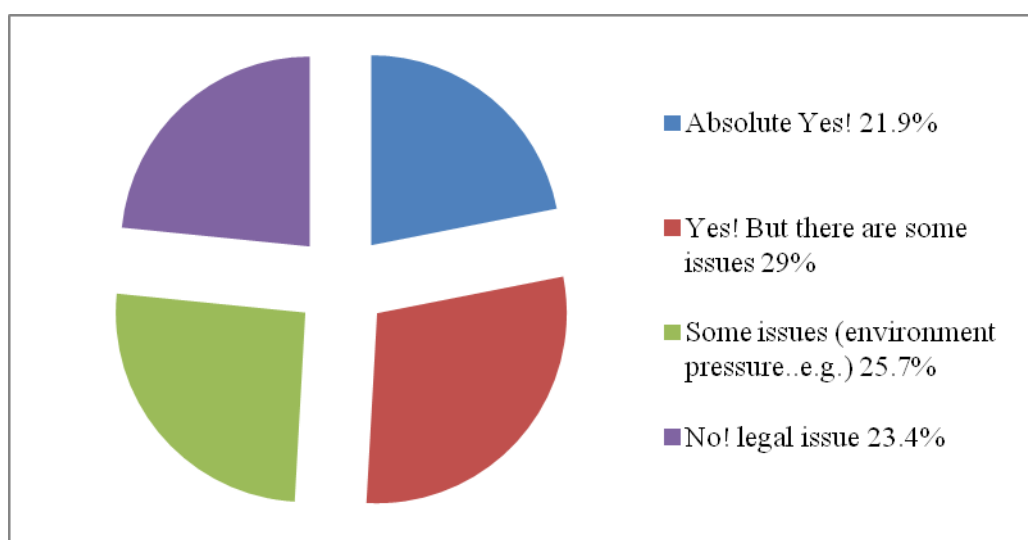
¹⁰⁵ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹⁰⁶ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

¹⁰⁷ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹⁰⁸ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*”, May 2011.

In the survey which approximately 50.000 people were interviewed face-to-face, instead of commonly used labels, people’s own terms and definitions of themselves were emphasized.

Graph 6.1: Survey¹⁰⁹ - Can **Turks** live their own *identity* in Turkey?Graph 6.2: Survey¹¹⁰ - Can **Kurds** live their own *identity* in Turkey?

According to KONDA Research Centre, the survey shows that people have no restraints in expressing their ethnic identity. Of the total population of 73 million, 55 million

¹⁰⁹ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*”, May 2011.

¹¹⁰ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*”, May 2011.

In the survey which approximately 50.000 people were interviewed face-to-face, instead of commonly used labels, people’s own terms and definitions of themselves were emphasized.

484 thousand are ethnically Turkish. There are 11 million 445 thousand Kurds living in Turkey¹¹¹.

In respect of the survey above, despite 59.4 *percent* Turks answered “Absolute Yes” to the survey and 3.2 *percent* answered “No! legal issue” to live their own *identity*. In respect of survey below, despite 21.9 *percent* Kurds answered “Absolute Yes” to the survey and 23.9 *percent* answered “No! It’s because legal issue” ” to live their own *identity* in Turkey.

In the respect of survey, despite **only** 21.9 *percent* Kurds living freely their own *identity* while this average 59.4 *percent* could freely live in Turkey, by “absolute yes”.¹¹²

Table 6.2: Survey¹¹³ – Do you live your own *identity* under freedom and peace?

	Yes	Not really	Legal Issue	Environmental Issue	Total
Turks	86.8	9.7	2.2	1.3	100
Turkish Origins	81.1	12.2	3.8	2.9	100
Kurds	39.1	33.4	23.4	4.1	100
Arabs	77.6	17.2	2.6	2.6	100
Other Origins	74.6	20.7	3.6	1.2	100
Turkey	82.5	11.9	3.9	1.6	100

The structure described above (Table 6.2) is thought to indicate how public opinion affects and how information is to be determined in this study. At this point, the issue of ethnic *identity* becomes more than “the Southeast and the Kurdish problem” should deserve special

¹¹¹ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi”, May 2011.

¹¹² KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi”, May 2011.

¹¹³ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi”, May 2011.

attention. However, following the debate on the government's democratic opening to address notably the Kurdish issue, "some restrictions on the use of the Kurdish language in broadcasting and the use of pasture land in the region have been removed. In a number of cases original place names have been restored in response to public demand", stated in Turkey Progress Report 2010. Furthermore Progress Report (2010)¹¹⁴ concerned as;

As regards *cultural rights*, the Regulation on the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTUK) was amended in November, removing all restrictions on broadcasting in Kurdish and other languages by private and public channels at local level. Fourteen radio stations and TV channels have been given permission to broadcast in Kurdish and Arabic. Restrictions have been lifted.

Consequently, a University established the first Kurdish language departments, and started to accept students to post-graduate programmes organised by these departments¹¹⁵ in City of Mardin in the South-East region in Turkey.

After all, there has been some progress in the situation of the Roma, as their issues have become more publicly debated, and implementation is underway. As Progress Report (2010) stated as "Turkey's approach on minorities remains restrictive. In accordance with European standards, full respect for and protection of language, culture and fundamental rights, have yet to be fully achieved. Turkey needs to make further efforts to enhance tolerance or promote inclusiveness vis-à-vis minorities"¹¹⁶.

Dilek Kurban argues Turkey should develop and adopt a comprehensive policy on minorities to be in accordance with contemporary international standards. She argues that all

¹¹⁴ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹¹⁵ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹¹⁶ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

ethnic, linguistic and religious groups should be recognized as minorities in accordance with international standards¹¹⁷.

On the Turkey's side, the most important sides of these findings by KONDA Research Centre¹¹⁸ in 2011 about **what are the reasons of problems** on Kurdish ethnic *identity* as relatively experiencing problems with Kurdish, because;

- Cause of the problem reasons of provocation of foreign countries (87.03 percent) is observed.
- Kurdish wants to establish separate state that they could live their identities freely (74.53percent) is observed.
- Lack of the region's economic development and social modernization (3.7 percent out of 10) is observed.

The Kurdish issue also includes the subject on lack of the region's economic development and social modernization. According to *Benedict Anderson*¹¹⁹, political regimes, economies, and social structures should analyse under process of modulation and adaptation, according to different eras. In this respect, three-east of Turkey's regions' economic problems are not short-term daily problems such as other regions and only can be solved by short-and long-term active region development plans.

A matter of priority by political initiative on Kurdish issue needs to address the *economic and social opportunities* for citizens of Kurdish origin.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Kurban, Dilek. 2007. "A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey". Minority Rights Group Report. London: Minority Rights Group International.

¹¹⁸ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? "*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*", May 2011.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

¹²⁰ Turkey 2008 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2008.

A key project for *socio-economic development* of the region is implementation of South-East Anatolia project (GAP) by 2012. According to official statistics through Turkey's Progress report (2010), GAP's share of total public investment increased to 14.4 *percent* in 2009 (from 12 *percent* in 2008).

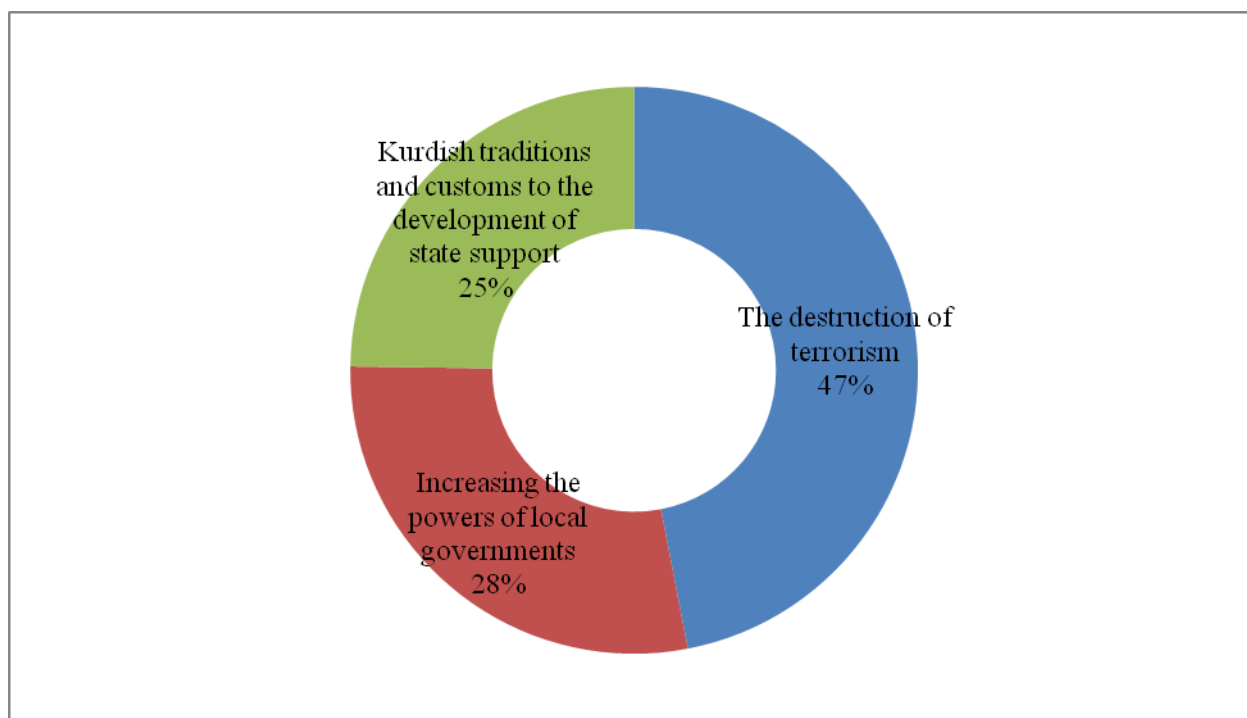
Progress Report¹²¹ states opportunities' on investments on irrigation, road transport; health and education continued along with special programmes on business development, human resources development and empowerment of women by South-East Anatolia project (GAP). The main needs for this plan can be economic development and social transformation within people in the region, civil society organizations, local governments and the role of the central government in East regions.

The most important sides of these findings **how to solve Kurdish issue** answers to all of Turkey was evaluated as¹²², if;

- The destruction of terrorism (80.30 *percent*) is observed.
- Increasing the powers of local governments as a solution to the problem (48.33 *percent*) is observed.
- Kurdish traditions and customs to the development of state support (42.37 *percent*) are observed.

¹²¹ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹²² KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? "*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*", May 2011.

Graph 6.3: Survey¹²³ - How to solve Kurdish issue?

In the respect of survey¹²⁴, the results shows that more than half of the population in all regions has found the right solution is “to destroy terrorism” in Turkey. It is to say, the Kurdish issue is a problem on Turkish foreign and security policy, public order and terrorism. However, Turkey has strengthened its diplomatic relations with Iraq, including contacts with the Kurdish regional government.¹²⁵

About *Anti-Terrorism*, the European Union reaffirmed¹²⁶ its support to Turkey in the fight against terrorism, which must be conducted with due regard for human rights, fundamental freedoms and international law in 2008. However, terrorist attacks continued to claim many lives, not only in the south-east but also throughout Turkey.

¹²³ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*”, May 2011.

¹²⁴ KONDA Research Centre, Who we are? “*Kurt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Meselesi*”, May 2011.

¹²⁵ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹²⁶ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

In the respect of Progress Report (2010), “Turkey conducted air strikes against terrorist hideouts in northern Iraq in May, following parliament’s decision to extend its 2007 motion authorising the government to order cross-border operations. At the same time, temporary security zones were established in several provinces, restricting access by civilians”¹²⁷.

Overall, the democratic opening announced to address notably the Kurdish issue by increasing Terrorist attacks in 2009. The *Anti-Terror Legislation* needs to be amended to improve the human rights in the region and to reduce the terrorist acts. The Anti-Terror Law provides that children accused of committing terror-related crimes will be tried at juvenile courts by amending a Law of July 2010¹²⁸.

This means that Turkey has progressed in the area of the *judiciary*. The adoption of the constitutional amendments on the structure of the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors along with the limitation of the competence of military courts is a positive step, by Progress Report (2010)¹²⁹ expression.

After all above, while giving a support to **solve these main issues** it might be possible design some desired solution of the problem areas as;

- Accept the Kurdish rights to educate in their own language,
- The Kurdish rights to broadcast and copyright in their language (book, newspaper, article.e.g.),
- Increase the powers of local authorities,
- The development of traditions and customs of the state support to the Kurds.

¹²⁷ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹²⁸ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹²⁹ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

In relation to the use of language Turkey already has made progress on *cultural rights and freedom of use their own language*, especially by further relaxing use of the Kurdish language in private TV and radio broadcasts and in prisons.¹³⁰ However, the review carried out by the Ministry of Justice on the legal framework on *freedom of expression* was not finalised by Turkish Republic. The Council of Europe¹³¹ recommended Turkey to encourage the media to develop a code of ethics on respect for religious minorities and to prosecute incitement to hatred passed on by the media as Kurdish wants. However, as regards freedom of assembly, there has been progress on the ground. However, “some demonstrations in the South-East related to the Kurdish issue continued to be marked by police violence”.¹³²

Following with regard to *fundamental rights*, progress has been made. Constitutional amendments bring important changes in the area of data protection, trade union rights, women and children’s rights. However, further significant efforts are needed in most areas, in particular freedom of expression and freedom of religion.

As regards *freedom of association*, there is no progress on amendment of the legal provisions on the closure of political parties but restrains the full exercise of freedom of association.

The solution of the Kurdish Issue is inevitable due to the social consensus. It is necessarily to do political reconciliation. Debate should discuss both on political floor and must function and compromise under sustainable process for sustainable solution. As the starting point of this process, it is important to create a trustable climate and intend to plant social and political peace between Kurds and Turks in order to solve Kurdish issue in Turkey.

¹³⁰ Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

¹³¹ European Council Resolution - CoE Resolution 1704 (2010). Available from <<http://assembly.coe.int/Mainf.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta10/ERES1704.htm>> [Accessed June 7th, 2009].

¹³² Turkey 2010 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, November 2010.

This chapter has described *acquis communautaire* and **formal criteria** of the accession to the European Union. While having described this criteria's alterable data of Turkey have been used an order to fulfil during negotiation for Turkey's bid. While doing investigating this chapter I have used my primary research interview in Brussels, as well as Turkey progress reports. Ergenekon case and Kurdish issue have been used as main issue regarding Stable Democracy and Institutionalized, Rule of law and Respect for Human Rights that need to be done by Turkey. Next chapter is more descriptive about historical concept on military policy in order to understand effects of Military power and military coups which directly plays a negative role in relations between Turkey and European Union.

Chapter 7

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS of TURKEY'S MILITARY POWER

7.1. INTRODUCTION

Revolutions are the locomotives of history. “Political” and “historical” revolutions have been based on certain denominational and communal bases for over 7000 years, from the time before the Sumerians. A certain force exists as the driver of each revolution. This force should be analysed with its historical roots in terms of alliances formed and its characteristics after leadership. Any action performed throughout history has a base. Problems may only be explained by the position of the relevant social classes and their production relations.

In this chapter, I argue that Turkish military and military administration is an alterable data of Turkey; the role of the military can change in order to adapt to the EU Copenhagen Criteria. Administrative reforms can make Turkey more democratic. In my argument, historical analyses have become increasingly relevant, but also problematic, as national and

political contexts shape the nature of debates between EU and Turkey. I argue that the military is the main political issue in the accession of Turkey to the European Union; or rather, under the formal accession criteria, the main obstacle to a smooth Turkish entry. Nevertheless, my argument is that Turkish military identity plays a role at the accession of the European Union directly at the European level

In fact, the armed forces have always occupied a central place in Turkey's political agenda. The EU reform process is contributing to a more democratic framework of civil-military relations. The military has long enjoyed the privilege of an autonomous position because of its role as guardian of the unitary Republic, secularism and Kemalism.

“The conventional view in Turkey is that the country's army has been a bulwark of Westernization and democracy. The army has intervened in politics, but never questioned democracy. For the EU, however, there is only one way a country that aspires for membership can organize the relationship between its government and the army. The country's civilian government must be in full, undisputed control of its military, with the army at the receiving end of a strictly one-way chain of command”.¹

As the key factor of *political integration* in connection with making of a democratic state; Riccardo Serri² is the European Union representative concerned with military issues in Turkey. In my interview with him, he expressed the view that military power has a very important place in the history of Turkey. Each member state of the European Union has different powers in different areas of defence; however, the civilian power must have control over the military in the institutional setting of the European Union.

Ricardo Serri pointed out that in Turkey that situation does not exist, but Turkey is trying to achieve it. However, the transition in Turkey is a very long-term affair. A clear understanding of the balance of power between the civilian administration and the Turkish

¹ Lobjakas, Ahto. 2006. “Turkey `Unique` Army Complicates EU Membership Bid”. Issued March 31, 2006. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Available from < <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1067297.html>> [Accessed Juny5th, 2009].

² SERRI, Riccardo; Civil Military Relations Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, 26 November, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

army is very important, as military integration is a third key factor as a future goal within the European Union. Along with economic and monetary union, defence cooperation in the field, aiming to implement joint strategies and policies, is a community goal. In this respect, any country wishing to join the European Union needs a complete defence policy that is able to accept decisions made in the direction of unity.

It is important to research the history of the military issue but we must understand the power of Turkish Army Forces on Turkey's administration after the Ataturk period. The key role of the Turkish military in society has helped to shape Turkey's politics, but has complicated EU accession negotiations.

This study has examined recent challenges in the negotiation process between the European Union and Turkey, in terms of important key factors like political and military to integration for Turkey and Turkish citizens. According to the DG Enlargement's progress report, *Enlargement Turkey 2009*, there is some prospect for the democratic state of Turkey to continue towards fulfilling the political criteria, as mentioned in the interviews with Engin Arikan, Jean-Christophe Filori and Riccardo Serri.

7.2. **A Historical Perspective: The Role of Military Power**

The special role of the military power in politics came from the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman military played decisive roles in the formation and evolution of both European and Middle Eastern military art and science.³ At that time, the Army issued the first reforms that were implemented and the power of the Empire after the destruction of the Turkish Armed Forces of National Liberation War under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and played a determining role in the founding of the Republic of Turkey. The Army of the Republic was a founding and prestigious institution of the Republic since its association with the security of the Republic, and, owing to the important responsibility of the owner of the full-and of the principles of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (Kemalism), is seen as a guardian. This is also to protect the state's secular character in particular.

Despite Ataturk's admonitions against the military's political role, the army is able to legitimize its "guardianship" both through its unique position in society as its most trusted institution. In continuum with its role as guardian of democracy, secularism, and national unity against Islamism, this guardianship role has involved four interventions: two direct ones in 1960 and 1980, two indirect interventions by memorandum in 1971 and 1977.

Following the military coup in Turkey in 1980, the Community decided to freeze its relations with Turkey and block the signing of the fourth Financial Protocol. The collapse of the democratic regime meant that there was no further chance for Turkey to be accepted as a

³ Uyar, Mesut and Erickson, J.Edward. 2009. *A Military History of the Ottomans: From Osman to Ataturk*. California: ABC-Clio, LLC.

candidate for full-membership status in the foreseeable future. Relations were gradually normalised after the restoration of a civilian government in 1983.⁴

Table 7.1: Historical Perspective of Turkish Military's Power

Before Republic	Turkish	
		Period of Ottoman Sovereignty
1923		Establishment of Republic of Turkey
1923-1950		The Period of the Single Party System
1950		Transition of the Multi Party System
1960-1980		Period of Right - Left Conflicts
1960		The 1st Military Coups Actions
1971		The 2nd Military Intervention - Coup by Memorandum
1980		The 3rd Military Coup - Turkish Coup d'état
1980-1989		A Period of Political Taboo
1989-1993		The First Neo- Liberal Government
1997		Military memorandum - 28 February Action
2007		E- Memorandum by Turkish Armed Forces
2010		Referendum for New Constitution

7.2.1. Ottoman Sovereignty Period

In order to analyse Turkish military power, it might be useful starting to investigate the very early historical perspective of Turkey in the Ottoman Empire period. A change in activities was noticed in the Balkans, North Africa, the Middle East, Caucasia and the whole Islamic world, throughout the 21st century. These activities were all related to the original Ottoman State. An examination of Ottoman geography indicates that during the 21st century it has experienced many significant events. For this reason, Ottoman geography must be analysed in detail.

⁴ Annabelle Littoz-Monnet and Beatriz Villanueva Penas. 2005. "Turkey and the European Union the Implications of a Specific Enlargement". Available from < <http://aei.pitt.edu/9307/1/050404Turquie-ALM-BVP.pdf>> [Accessed August 4th, 2009].

Even though Turkish land in the Balkans is small, it has often emphasized its Mediterranean and Balkan *identity* (rather than its Middle Eastern *identity*) as a country facing towards the West since the date it was established. Therefore, the Balkans has always been a significant region for Turkey, reflected both in its foreign policy and in its strategic, humanitarian and cultural dimensions.⁵

According to political scientist and authors Mesut Uyar and Edward Ericson in their book, “*a Military History of the Ottomans: From Osman to Ataturk*”:

Without doubt, the ottoman military remained the backbone of the empire through-out its lifespan. It is very difficult to envisage the empire without taking into consideration its military. However, as a state it neither “*lived for war*” nor for “*a near perfect military society*” as some have suggested. The Ottoman Empire was one of the greatest and long lasting empires of the world.

In respect of above arguments, the power of the army and the *live for war* mentality has persisted since the time of the ancestors of the Ottoman Turks, the Oghuz Turks. Each social layer of the country was armed from the beginning of Turkish history, from the Oghuz⁶ to the Ottomans. The basic axis of the “army-nation” approach of Turks lies on this point. Nobody was at each other’s “beck and call” during the Oghuz periods, because feudalism was not yet initiated. Everybody was armed. The Ottoman State was founded by people having this tradition. As the founders of the Ottoman State were the “army”, “arms” were the first item recognized when talking about Turkey.

⁵ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

⁶ The Oghuz Turks or Oguz Turks are regarded as one of the major branches of the Turks in history. The Oguz Turks are the ancestors of today’s western Turks. During Turkic mass-migrations in the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, the Oguz were among the indigenous Turks of Central Asia who migrated towards western Asia and Eastern Europe via Transoxiana. From the 5th century onwards, the Oguz were the founders and rulers of several important Turkic kingdoms and empires, the most notable of them being the Gokturks, Seljuks, Safavids and Ottomans. Available from <<http://turkmeniya.tripod.com/id35.html>> [Accessed August 17th, 2009].

During the Ottoman Empire period, the Ottoman Army had a significant effect on the history of the modern world and particularly on that of the Middle East and Europe⁷. The Ottoman state had two layers, called the managing and managed layers. The managed layer was called “rayah”. These people were occupied in agricultural-stock breeding activities. The managing layer was the military elites (Seyfiyye), the religious intellectuals (İlmiyye), the civil elite (Mülkiye) and the people of the pen (Kalemiye). All of these managing layers were armed, adhering to their old traditions. The Ottomans developed and founded an empire in this manner. Associated armed units are called the “army” in the modern capitalist era.

However, Mesut Uyar and Edward Ericson have described Ottoman military system in the following terms;

In order to provide high levels of logistical superiority, the empire employed thousands of men and organized them into self-sufficient corps. The system worked well most of the time, thanks to the efficient financial bureaucracy, which managed to extract taxes and resources from the population without provoking opposition and destroying the local economy.

The most fundamental reason underlying this is that the Balkan people have struggled against the Ottoman administration from the beginning of the 19th century and developed an Ottoman/Turk opposition while re-establishing their own history. This has been achieved while forming their nation-state and attempting to purify themselves from Ottoman influence.

During the fall of the Ottoman Empire at the start of the 20th century, the Ottoman military was in the midst of a dramatic transformation in which its frustrated officers dethroned the Sultan and tried to transform completely the empire along modern European lines.⁸

⁷ Uyar, Mesut and Erickson, J.Edward. 2009. *A Military History of the Ottomans: From Osman to Ataturk*. California: ABC-Clio, LLC.

⁸ Uyar, Mesut and Erickson, J.Edward. 2009. *A Military History of the Ottomans: From Osman to Ataturk*. California: ABC-Clio, LLC.

7.2.2. The New Turkish Republic

In order to analyse military power after the Ottoman Empire period, it is necessary to investigate the story of how the Republic of Turkey was established after the independence war. We look once again to the account of authors Mesut Uyar and Edward Ericson in their book *A Military History of the Ottomans: from Osman to Ataturk*⁹. The key driver of change was the Army, being transformed from the Ottoman army to the Turkish nationalist army:

By changing its loyalty from the Sultan to the Turkish nationalist cause, the Ottoman military also transformed itself from the Sultan's army to the new Turkish nationalist army well before the successful end of the independence war.⁹

The founder of the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish nationalist army leader, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, landed at Samsun, and under his leadership, the army launched the War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire. While Mustafa Kemal and his associates were fighting against the enemy forces by the military branch of the society called "Kuvay-i Milliye"; they were also planning a new regime, where the rule of State would be replaced by the rule of its citizens.

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his military branch remained loyal to the rules of a democratic regime, and took the first steps towards establishing a Republic of Turkey. On April 20, 1920, The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) was founded to conduct the War of Independence, despite the presence of the Ottoman parliament in occupied Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk interpreted the expression: "sovereignty rests unconditionally with the nation" as the "the sole authorized body representing the nation will

⁹ Uyar, Mesut and Erickson, J.Edward. 2009. *A Military History of the Ottomans: From Osman to Ataturk*. California: ABC-Clio, LLC.

be, in the name of the nation, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM)¹⁰ and included it in the first articles of the 1921 Constitution.

“The Supreme Court was established in 1868 before the Republic of Turkey, in the context of Ottoman reformation. The formation and manner of working of this Court have been regulated by the special code. This Code which is being enforced is the Code of Supreme Court dated 1983, numbered 2797. According to division of work, the Court is divided into civil and criminal chambers. There are 21 civil and 11 criminal chambers.”¹¹

The 1921 constitution of the Republic of Turkey could be summarized as follows¹²;

1. Sovereignty is vested in the nation without condition. Governmental system is based on the principle of self-determination and government by people.
2. Executive power and legislative responsibility is exercised by and concentrated in the hands of the Grand National Assembly which is the sole and real representative of the nation.
3. The Turkish State is governed by the Grand National Assembly and its government is titled as “the Government of Grand National Assembly.”
4. The Grand National Assembly is composed of members who are elected by people of the provinces.
5. An election to the Grand National Assembly is held every two year. Duration of membership is limited to two years but reselection of a member is possible. The former assembly remains in office until the new assembly convenes. When holding a new election seemed to be impossible legislative period can be extended only one

¹⁰ *The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM)*; is the unicameral parliament of Turkey which is the sole body given the legislative prerogatives by the Turkish Constitution. It was founded in Ankara on 23 April 1920 in the midst of the Turkish War of Independence. The parliament was fundamental in the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk to found a new state out of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the World War I. Available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_National_Assembly_of_Turkey> [Accessed September 3rd, 2010].

¹¹ Available from <<http://www.yargitay.gov.tr/english/aboutus.php>> [Accessed September 4th, 2010].

¹² Available from <<http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~genckaya/1921C.html>> [Accessed December 5th, 2011].

The 1921 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey: Look Appendix for full text in Turkish and English Language.

year. Each member of the Grand National Assembly is not only representative of the province by which s/he is elected but of the whole nation.

6. General Assembly of the Grand National Assembly convenes of its own accord on the first day of November.
7. The basic rights of the application of the ordinances of the sacred law; the promulgation, amendment, and abrogation of all laws; the concluding of treaties and peace; the promulgation of the defence of the fatherland (i.e., the declaration of war) belong to the Grand National Assembly. The preparation of laws and regulations will be guided by juridical and religious provisions, which best conform to the modus operandi of the people and the needs of the times, as well as established customs. The functions and responsibilities of the Council of Ministers shall be fixed by a special law.
8. The government of the Grand National Assembly exercises the executive function through ministers who were elected according to its special law. The Grand National Assembly directs the ministers on executive affairs and changes them when necessary.
9. The Head of the Grand National Assembly who was elected by the General Assembly is the head of the GNA for one electoral period. With this status, he is entitled to sign on behalf of the Assembly and to approve the decisions of the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers elects one member from among themselves as the head of the Council of Ministers. However, the Head of the GNA is natural head of the Council of Ministers.

The international recognition of the republic of Turkey and the delimitation of new borders started with the Lausanne peace treaty of July 24, 1923. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk became the first President of the new Turkish State, Republic of Turkey. Malatya Deputy

Ismet Inonu Pasha was appointed as Prime Minister by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in October 30, 1923 and the new cabinet was formed. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) proclaimed Turkey a Republic on October 29, 1923.

The Constitution of 1924 was formally titled the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.¹³ The International Organization, the Centre for Administrative Innovation in the Euro-Mediterranean Region, reported on the new Turkish state as follows¹⁴;

Under the government of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and with a different political system, Turkey began a modernisation process starting with administrative and institutional reforms. Thanks to its position at the crossroads of Asia and Europe, and to its mix of European, Balkan, Mediterranean, Middle Easter, Caucasian, and Asian identities, Turkey launched a multi-dimensional foreign policy aiming to establish good relations with countries on both continents and focusing on international co-operation.

The 1924 constitution of the Republic of Turkey was the fundamental law of the Turkey from 1924 to 1961, when it was abandoned after the 1st military intervention in Turkey. The 1924 constitution was then replaced by the constitution of 1961¹⁵.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey was declared by victory of Turkey's liberation War through Ataturk leadership between 1919 and 1923. At that time (1920s), the Turkish government was not managed by the political parties or politicians. Turkey's political base and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), was composed of Turkish Army leaders who were an Ataturk and greatest military leaders of Republic of Turkey. The nationalist movement (nationalism, to be a Turk) was the main principle after the psychological impact of post-war period. The establishment of the Republic did not mean

¹³ The 1924 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey: Look Appendix for full text in Turkish and English Language.

¹⁴ CAIMED. "Summary of Turkey" report. Centre for Administrative Innovation in the Euro-Mediterranean Region. Available from <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/caimed/unpan019347.pdf>> [Accessed December 12th, 2011]

¹⁵ The 1961 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey: Look Appendix for full text in Turkish and English Language.

the end of reform, as Ataturk and his fellow “revolutionaries” continually presented their reform agenda before the Assembly. They had no choice but to subject their proposals to the scrutiny of the Assembly because only that body had authority to approve them.¹⁶

The Republic's founder and first year in the modernization process, “top” realization creator and guarantor as a role, as well as the Army, means that the public is aware of that privileged position and private social functions were still under control, because it still maintains in power. Compulsory military service is seen as an integrative element between the Army and society. Young men have to undertake military service obligations, regardless of their social and economic status. Elimination of social differences and the Turkish national consciousness is considered to be strengthening. Moreover, the military offers training opportunities and technical training is given, even for young men in the regions lagging behind even receive literacy courses. That is why the Turkish Armed Forces is important to all social strata, as it is an institution offering professional upgrade. However, for women with careers in the military, reputation in the community can be seen.

To understand the minds of the Turkish army and the detailed structure of the Turkish army's intervention in politics is to understand the full picture of the legacy of Kemalism, which the Turkish army needed to understand. In Turkey, Ataturk's reforms were undertaken in the 1920s and 1930s and they greatly affected Turkish political culture and even in some cases helped to re-create this culture. In the context of political transformation, the semi-theocratic Ottoman Empire's 600 years of monarchical system was replaced by the nation state that joined the French model. Ataturk changed the structure of the country, i.e. the old institutions and the legal system were re-established in the Western style, the result of which would lead to changes in the political culture of thought.

¹⁶ Kazancigil, Ali and Özbudun, Ergun. 1982. *Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books.

Ataturk's six principles for the young Republic of Turkey when this transformation was proposed were: *nationalism, republicanism, secularism, populism, statism* and *revolutionism*. Ataturk's young democratic republic, which is identified with the concepts of civilization and a liberal economy of Europe, were shown as an example. Ataturk's language reform introduced the Latin alphabet. The transition to THE employment and criminal law of the country from Italy, Switzerland and Germany from the civil law, commercial law, has brought a new legal system from when the foundation began. Together a new national *identity* was emerging.

This new *identity* had Turkish, Arab and Islamic cultural elements (the legacy of the Ottoman Empire), which largely exclude a new national *identity* based on a tradition which was created. The point which should be kept in mind is that the revolutions of Ataturk's Turkish army were prepared as a porter. Starting from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish army was the most powerful and active supporter of the revolution and its political legacy of Ataturk's death, along with a powerful guardian of the respectability.

Turkish army officers themselves were seen as guardians of Kemalism as well as followers. Therefore, the Turkish army is not involved in daily political events; on the contrary, a political revolution of organizations within Turkey and outside of the existing threat of ethnic separatism and religious fundamentalism would be protected. To the present day, cadet training in this direction has continued and apparently will continue to go in the same direction.

7.2.3. The Single Party System Period

The years between **1923** and **1950** represent period of time in which the Republic of Turkey established until transition to the multi party system period. Unlike the religious image of the Ottoman Empire, secularism was included as one of the main principles of new Republic. This was symbolized by six arrows in the new programme of the Republicans Peoples Party (CHP) and as the single party of the regime in 1931. The Republic was managed by the founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk between 1923 and 1938; however this mission then passed from Ataturk to his successor Ismet Inonu who was a head of Republicans Peoples Party (CHP) after Ataturk death on November 10, 1938.

Let us remember the context of the creation of modern Turkey. Fascism and authoritarian regimes were strengthening in the world after the depression and 1st World War. Having failed to develop multiparty democracy in 1924 and 1930, the Republican Peoples Party (CHP), in government at that time, started to identify more with the state, especially after the 1930s. When the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) General Chairman and President Ataturk died in 1938, Ismet İnönü¹⁷ was elected and he prevented the emergence of multi-leadership in the country, in addition to the destructiveness of the war days, by bringing together previously-disaffected political partisans at the start of the Second World War (1939). The transition to multi-party regime in the period between 1945 and 1950 has been studied from various points of view.

¹⁷ İnönü, Mustafa Ismet (1884 - 1973); He was a Turkish Army General, Prime Minister and the second President of the Republic of Turkey. He is widely referred to as “National Chief”, a title he bestowed upon himself when he was elected as the President of Turkey in 1938. He was a Prime Minister of Turkey period between 1923-1924, 1925–1937 and 1961–1965.

7.2.4. The Multi Party System Period

The Multi Party period has started after Democrat Party (DP) claimed that it had won in **1950** elections. This caused the end of the single party rule in Turkey. The Republican Peoples Party (CHP), which had governed the country alone from 1923, was going to transfer the government to the Democrat Party (DP).

Celal Bayar¹⁸, who succeeded Inonu, was the first civilian president of Turkey. However, the 10-year democratic process was interrupted with the May 27, 1960, coup d'état. Almost all of the earlier Presidents of Turkey were from the state's founding fathers and had a military background. Ataturk, the first president, and Ismet Inonu, his successor, each served as president during a consecutive period of four terms within the single-party system. The transition to multi-party regime is an open-ended process which consists of liberalization stage.

The Democrat Party (DP), as the first opposition party, shaped its programme around two principles: Liberalism and Democracy which was founded by Celal Bayar. The Republican Peoples Party (CHP) opposed the liberal economy, and followed the principle of Etatism. When doubts that had been created by previous painful experiences about the Democrat Party (DP) had dispersed, it was seen that the masses supported the DP. This was undoubtedly recognized by the government. The Assembly accepted a single degree election law and held an election on July 21, 1946, after which it fell apart.¹⁹ The Democrat Party (DP) had eventually decided to participate in the election. The Republican Peoples Party

¹⁸ Bayar, Celal (May 16, 1883 – August 22, 1986) was a Turkish politician, statesman and the third President of Turkey. On May 27, 1960 the armed forces staged a coup d'état and sent Celal Bayar along with Adnan Menderes and some other government and party members to a military court on the tiny island Yassiada in the Sea of Marmara on June 10 of the same year.

¹⁹ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

(CHP) claimed that it had won the July 21, 1946 elections, which were held with an “open vote and secret counting” system, which was a practice that had not been implemented in any democracy. A series of negotiations were held between President Ismet Inonu and the Democrat Party's (DP) General Chairman in June and eventually Inonu issued the “July 12 Declaration” on July 12, 1947. Inonu emphasized in the declaration that political parties are indispensable in Turkish democracy. Turkey called the election on May 14, 1950 under these conditions.²⁰

The elections held on May 14, 1950, ended 27 years of single party rule in Turkey. Following public opinion, the Republican Peoples Party (CHP), which had governed the country alone from 1923, was going to transfer the government to the Democrat Party (DP). The DP General Administration Board elected Adnan Menderes²¹ as General Chairman on June 9, 1950.²² Here, a rare event was realized; the government, which had administered the country with its own authority for many years, transferred its position to another party with a completely free, independent, bloodless and guileless election. Therefore, History named the 1950 elections the “White Revolution”.²³

The policy of neutrality was executed successfully during the whole World War II period and developed appropriate foreign trade relations. For this reason, The Democrat Party (DP) Government became successful in finding foreign credit sources and benefited from them in its initial years. Moreover, Central Bank reserves also reached a good level in terms

²⁰ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

²¹ Ali Adnan Ertekin Menderes (1899 - September 17, 1961) was a Turkish liberal statesman and Prime Minister in Turkey. He served as Prime Minister between 1950 -1960. He was one of the founders of the Democratic Party (DP) in 1946, the fourth legal opposition party of Turkey. He was hanged following the 1960 coup d'état (Military intervention), along with two other cabinet members.

²² Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

²³ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

of gold and foreign exchange during the course of the war. Sending soldiers to Korea and entering North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) favourably changed international perceptions of Turkey. During this period, serious economic relief was experienced because of plentiful agricultural produce accompanied by fair prices in the foreign markets with money coming from abroad, within the framework of Marshall Plan.

The Democrat Party (DP) further increased its power in the May 2, 1954 elections. Relations between the Government and the Opposition became tense during the second governmental period (1954-57). Negative developments were experienced in the economy. The Government further increased constraints. Disagreements within the party caused divisions and culminated in the establishment of the Freedom Party “Hurriyet Party” on December 20, 1955. However, the DP brought forward the elections by one year due to the bottleneck experienced in the economy and other political fluctuations. A number of newspapers, particularly the *Ulus* (Nation), which was published by the CHP, were intermittently closed. The Republican Peoples Party (CHP) leader, Ismet İnönü, was attacked in Usak on May, 1959; he was attacked in İzmir, İstanbul and Ankara. Throughout this period of disorder, in July, 1959, Turkey applied for membership to the European Economic Community (an international organization renamed “The European Union”).

7.2.5. The Period of Right - Left Conflicts

The period of activities by right- left views in the years between **1960** and **1980** in Turkey which was a period of political instability in the country and a major contributing factor to the Turkish military coups took place in 1960, 1971 and 1980.

The military coup of May 1960 liberalized political life in Turkey, and a legal leftist movement arose, combining in its ranks social-democratic, trade-unionist and Marxist elements. Many of these were united in the framework of the Turkish Labour Party. The ideological and political struggle within the leftist movement led to a split in the Labour Party and to the formation in the 1970s of several legal socialist parties, each of which adopted its own model of socialism: as to be a “Turkish”. The 1980 military coup terminated the legal activity of the Marxist parties. Some merged with the Communist Party, which operated illegally, others sought ways of legalizing their activity in the new political conditions of Turkey.”²⁴

Turkey's foreign policy also looked to Europe as well as the United States of America (USA) during this period. The Ankara Agreement was signed with the European Economic Community (EEC) on September 12, 1963; this still continues today. At that time, the aim of the protocol signed in Brussels on November 23, 1970, hoped to make Turkey a full member after 22 years; however it could not be fulfilled until now. It is suggested that this was because the modern environment had, to some extent, debased the 1961 Constitution due to the corrupt governments. Instead of moving forward, Turkey had fallen behind the 1960 situation, with regular strikes, and no formal legal structures. The response to Turkey's application to the EEC from the West was an enormous “No”!

²⁴ Lipovsky P. Igor. 1992. *Socialist Movement 1960-1980 in Turkey*. Netherland: Brill.

Youth-driven socialist politics encircled Europe and the United States of America (USA) in 1968. Boycotts and occupations, which had started for academic purposes, increasingly gained a more political context. Conflicts emerged between nationalist, government-supporting groups from the Right and those supporting the Left.

7.2.6. A Period of Political Taboo

The years between **1980** and **1989** represent a time period in which Turkey's foreign policy troubles emerged after the Turkish Military Coup (Turkish Coup d'état). It was during this time that France, Federal Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg had started to apply visa restrictions on Turkish citizens at the beginning of October, 1980. These countries had already planned to start visa restrictions since they did not want Turkish workers in their country, but they avoided a severe response from Turkey by affirming the Partnership Agreement.²⁵ September 12 created an environment in which Turkey could not give a severe response against restrictive visa practices since it required the support of other European countries. Having exploited this environment, some EEC countries rapidly decided to implement visa restrictions to block those escaping from practices of September 12 supporters.²⁶ Ankara immediately called for a meeting of the Partnership Council at the beginning of October. It was decided that a mixed Parliament Commission was going to meet in Izmir on October 22, 1980. However, since membership of this Commission in parliament

²⁵ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

²⁶ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

was abolished by the termination of The National Government of Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), this meeting was not held.²⁷

On December 3, 1980 the Membership Council met to solve the visa problem; but this was an inappropriate meeting because only ambassadors, not ministers, had attended the meeting. While Turkish opinion, regarding the violation of its rights, remained weak, the European Economic Community (EEC) countries underlined the point that such visa practices conformed to international law and did not intend damaging Turkey. Consequently, Turkey returned, empty-handed, from the first Partnership Council after September 12.²⁸ The National Security Council, composed of four force commanders, was established under the presidency of Chief of General Staff, Kenan Evren, just after the coup.²⁹ Evren indicated that they remained loyal to all alliances and agreements, including NATO, as in the case of the May 27, 1960 coup. In the early 1980s, certain United States of America (USA) authorities and strategists, like Richard Perle and Albert Wohlstetter, started to push for the strengthening of the east of Turkey by arguing that there was a defence gap.³⁰ The European Parliament accepted a draft decision of a socialist group in the meeting it held on April 10, 1981. According to this meeting, parliament called in military administration to Turkey in order to respect people's freedom and to set out a detailed schedule for a transition to democracy. At the same time, it asked the Council to suspend the partnership regime

²⁷ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

²⁸ Turkish Republic Prime Ministry and Ministry of Culture. 2006. *Turkeys' Foreign Policy Book* (9th edition), Second volume: 1980-2001, Editor: ORAN, Baskın; Authors: Akdevelioglu Atay; Erhan, Cagrı; Oran, Baskın; Keskin, Funda; Alpkaya, Gokcen; Ulugbay, Hikmet; Ozersay, Kudret; Firat, Melek; Aydın, Mustafa; Kurkuoglu, Omer; Baykal, Sanem; Arat, Tugrul, Iletisim Publication Inc. published, Istanbul.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Manisalı, Erol. 2008. *AKP, Army and America triangles of Turkey* (3rd edition). Istanbul: Truva Publication Inc.

established with the Ankara Agreement, in case any democratic institutions that had existed before September 12, were not reformed within two months.³¹

7.2.7. The First Neo-Liberal Government

The first Neo-Liberal Government in the history of Turkey was established in the period between **1989** and **1993**. Throughout this period, Turgut Ozal³² was the first civilian president of the country. He was the first prime minister elected in Turkey after the violent 1980 military coup. During his term in the prime ministerial office between 1983 and 1989, he implemented a truly liberal economy, which is why he is now remembered for launching the integration of the Turkish economy into global markets. He served as president for four years until he died of a suspicious heart attack in 1993.³³

The Motherland Party (ANAP), established by Turgut Ozal, was a great success and came first in the elections, which had been held on November 6, 1983 after the coup. The

³¹ Turkish Republic Prime Ministry and Ministry of Culture. 2006. *Turkeys' Foreign Policy Book* (9th edition), Second volume: 1980-2001, Editor: ORAN, Baskın; Authors: Akdevelioglu Atay; Erhan, Cagri; Oran, Baskın; Keskin, Funda; Alpkaya, Gokcen; Ulugbay, Hikmet; Ozersay, Kudret; Fırat, Melek; Aydın, Mustafa; Kurkcuoğlu, Omer; Baykal, Sanem; Arat, Tugrul, Iletisim Publication Inc. published, Istanbul.

³² Ozal, Halil Turgut (1927 - 1993). He was Prime Minister of Turkey (1983–1989) and President of Turkey (1989–1993). As Prime Minister, he transformed the economy of Turkey by paving the way for the privatization of many state enterprises. On May 20, 1983 he founded the Motherland Party. In 1987 he again became prime minister after winning elections. On 9 November 1989, Ozal became the eighth President of Turkey elected by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the first president to be born in the Republic of Turkey rather than the Ottoman Empire. Available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turgut_percentC3percent96zal> [Accessed June 7th, 2010].

³³ Kaya Nurullah, Albayrak, Muhremin and Dogan, Aysegul. "Thousands pay tribute to late President Özal". Istanbul: Today's e-Newspaper. 20 April 2009. Available from <<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=172918>> [Accessed October 15th, 2010].

Turkish President Turgut Ozal period, which began when the Motherland Party (ANAP)³⁴ came to power (the party argued that it included four tendencies as central Right, central Left, religious and excessively Right), was going to constitute a breaking point, both in terms of the important changes it created (especially in the economic and social structure of Turkey) and in the differences it brought to the execution of foreign politics. The economic liberalism and political pragmatism of both Turkish President Turgut Ozal and the Motherland Party (ANAP)³⁵, as a reflection of the international environment and extension of internal developments in this new era, became the centre of domestic and foreign politics. Having been successful in revitalizing economic growth and in increasing the real income of wage earners, this Government moved towards democratization. Turkish President Turgut Ozal and the Government established multi-dimensional relations with the Middle Eastern Republics, which gained independence by dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Therefore, new horizons were opened up for Turkey to become a “regional state”. The Black Sea Economic Cooperation, which encircles the whole of the Black Sea basin, including the Caucasian areas and the Balkans, was institutionalized at a Summit meeting in June 1992 and further increased the importance of Turkey in this region. Moreover, Turkey also played an active role in the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somali cases. There were some negative factors which shaped the progress of the Ankara-Brussels relations during this period while Ozal implied

³⁴ The election of Mesut Yılmaz as The Motherland Party (ANAP) General Chairman, instead of Yıldırım Akbulut, in June 1991, also brought about the formation of a new government. The new Government, established under the presidency of Yılmaz, took an early election decision and general elections were to be held on October 21, 1991. The True Path Party (DYP) emphasized the issues of democratization and inflation reduction and won the election, with 27.03percent of the votes. It was followed by The Motherland Party (ANAP), The Felicity Party (SHP), The Welfare Islamist Party (RP) and The Democratic Left Party (DSP). The new Government was established as a DYP-SHP coalition under the Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel on November 20, 1991.

³⁵ The Motherland Party, (abbreviated in Turkish as ANAVATAN and formerly abbreviated as ANAP) was a political party in Turkey. It was founded in 1983 by Turgut Ozal. Part dissolved in and was merged to Democratic Party in October 2009. The ANAP was considered a centre-right nationalist party which supported restrictions on the role that government can play in the economy (liberalism in economy), which favored private capital and enterprise, and which allowed for some public expressions of religion.

that full membership to the European Union was imminent. Timing was one such disagreement. Ankara had not yet made an official application but even the suggestion of such an application caused anxiety in the European Economic Community (EEC). Top level EEC authorities emphasized that acceptance of full membership of Turkey was a weak possibility emphasizing that neither Turkey nor the EEC was ready for full membership. Upon the death of Turgut Ozal on April 17, 1993, Süleyman Demirel was elected President.

The chapter has examined the relationship between civil-military tensions that existed between political parties in Turkey's history. In the next section it considers a more detailed study of the various military coups. By this, the impact on military power and coups will be sought with the European Union and Turkey.

7.3. Historical Analysis of the Turkish Military Coups

In order to investigate the effects of the Turkish Armed Forces on Turkey and its European Union relationships, it is necessary to research and describe the military coups in Turkey. David Capezza argues, in his article *Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform*, that “The increased role of Turkey’s military, both in politics and as a catalyst for reform, has deep historical roots”.³⁶

In fact, the paradox of the situation is that relations between Turkey and the EU started with a first military coup in 1960 and the role of the military continues to provide a bone of contention between the parties. The military still provides obstacles to integration under the *Copenhagen Political criteria*. Being managed by a civilian government is deemed as necessary to - reach democratic nation-state status, along with respect for human rights and respect for minorities in Turkey. Being managed by civilian government is important for the stability of the institutions guaranteeing *democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the protection of minorities*.

The protection of human rights, the rule of law, and an independent judiciary provide the basic elements of democracy such as are required for full membership and this is the basic condition under *Copenhagen Political criteria*. In order to analyse both compatibility of Turkey under concerns mentioned above and causes-effect relations between Turkish administration and European Union, it is necessary to investigate military coups by Turkish

³⁶ Capezza David. 2009. “Turkey’s Military Is a Catalyst for Reform, The Military in Politics”. Middle East Quarterly Summer 2009, pp. 13-23.

Armed Forces in Turkey. However, military interventions led to a disruption of Turkey and EU relations. They are described chronologically below in this section.

7.3.1. The 1st Military Coup (1960)

There was a first military coup in Turkey on **May 27, 1960**. This section aims to explain the military effort to retain a degree of control over the electoral process, both at the national and local levels.

Disagreements between the *Turkish government* and the *opposition* had reached their peak by 1960. According to Turkish political scientist Cahit Goktepe who analysed the 1960 military coup in his article, named the *1960 Revolution in Turkey and the British Policy towards Turkey*³⁷:

The military was another significant factor in Turkish politics, which enjoyed close working relations with the government during the period of single party rule (1923-1950). The officers respected Ataturk and his comrade Inonu, the president and prime minister respectively.

Goktepe then explains that Adnan Menderes, is a founder of the opposition party to the Turkish Army, the Democrat Party (DP), went on to win two further general elections against the opposition party, the Republican Peoples Party (CHP), in 1954 and 1957. Thus the period between 1950 and 1960 came to known as the DP or Menderes era in Turkey.

In respect of Goktepe analyses on 1960 military coup, attempts to prevent the internal movement of the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) General Chairman Ismet Inonu were made and *opposition writers* were arrested and the *press* was censored. Having accused the CHP of

³⁷ Goktepe, Cahit. 2001. "1960 Revolution in Turkey and the British Policy towards Turkey". The Turkish Yearbook, Volume XXX. Ankara: Ankara University Inc.

preparing a coup, the Government established an Inquiries Committee with the aim of examining the *press* and the *opposition*. This Committee's powers could shut down newspapers and arrest people with opposing views. However, the Inquiries Commission was legally established in April of 1960. Inonu was punished for not attending the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) meetings for 12 sessions.

The CHP, which responded to this situation, was forcefully removed from the Assembly. Conflict in the Assembly had overflowed on to the street in a very short time. University students demonstrated in Istanbul and Ankara during the 28-29 April, 1960. These events were tackled using violence. Universities were closed and martial law was proclaimed in both cities.

According to Turkish political scientist Cahit Goktepe;

DP's ideology and programme advocated more freedom for the people, a liberal economic policy with more support for private industry and less for the state sector, together with less restriction on the practice of the Muslim religion. These liberal policies were generally welcomed by the people at large.³⁸

In more details about military coup, on May 5, 1960, young people in the Democrat Party (DP) planned a demonstration in Ankara Kızılay Square in order to express their loyalty to the Democrat Party (DP) leader and to show support for the Government. However, young people from the Opposition organized a 555K³⁹ parole to fill the square. On May 5, 1960 at five o'clock at night, Prime Minister of Turkey Menderes remained among the protesters and was then attacked when he got out of his car; he left the scene with difficulty.⁴⁰ The change

³⁸ Goktepe, Cahit. 2001. "1960 Revolution in Turkey and the British Policy towards Turkey". The Turkish Yearbook, Volume XXX. Ankara: Ankara University Inc.

³⁹ *The 555K Demonstration*; first "Civil Disobedience Action" in Turkey. Young people in Democrat Party planned to organize a demonstration in Ankara Kızılay Square to express their loyalty to DP leader and support the government on May 5 of 1960. However, opposite young people organized with 555K parole filled the square in May 5 five o'clock at night. 555K name came from, 5th day of 5th month, at 5 pm action in Kızılay.

⁴⁰ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

of the government to the Democrat Party (DP) did not immediately lead to tension with the military, according to Turkey political scientist Cahit Goktepe.⁴¹

Increasing chaos in the country, emergence of conflict on streets, harshness between the *government* and the *opposition* eventually came to an end with a morning radio announcement on May 27, 1960. The National Union Committee seized control of the country in the name of Turkish Armed Forces. The Armed Forces Commander, Full General Cemal Gürsel, came to power. The Democrat Party (DP) members, primarily President Celal Bayar, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) Chairman, Refik Koraltan and Prime Minister of Turkey, Adnan Menderes, were arrested. The constitution and parliament was disbanded. Political activities were suspended. A government was established under presidency of Full General, Cemal Gürsel, on May 28, 1960.⁴²

Finally, efforts to establish a new constitution and political institutions were made. The arrested Democrat Party (DP) members were sent to Yassıada (island name in Turkey) to be heard in court. The Democrat Party was disbanded on September, 1960. People under arrest were judged by the Supreme Court of Justice. There were 15 people who were condemned to death, 31 people to life sentence, 418 people to various forms of imprisonment and 123 people were absolved. Disagreement emerged in the National Union Committee regarding issues surrounding the death sentence, the transfer of administration and the election date. There were 14 military officers who were sent abroad with different tasks to undertake. This relegation of 14 officers caused divisions within the army. The National Union Committee approved three death sentences. The Committee arrested the Finance Minister, Hasan Polatkan, the Foreign Minister, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and the Prime Minister,

⁴¹ Goktepe, Cahit. 2001. "1960 Revolution in Turkey and the British Policy towards Turkey". The Turkish Yearbook, Volume XXX. Ankara: Ankara University Inc.

⁴² Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

Adnan Menderes who were all hung on September 16, 1961, on Imralı Island. The death sentences of 11 people, including Celal Bayar and Refik Koraltan, were turned into life sentences.⁴³

Turkish political scientist Cahit Goktepe has indicated military coup in 1960 on his article, *1960 Revolution in Turkey and the British Policy towards Turkey*⁴⁴ with his quotes below:

The military was another significant factor in Turkish politics, which enjoyed close working relations with the government during the period of single party rule (1923-1950). The officers respected Ataturk and his comrade Inonu, the president and prime minister respectively. The change of the government to the DP did not immediately lead to tension with the military, largely because the RPP was willing to respect the result of the elections and to hand over power. Menderes then went on to win two further general elections against the opposition party, the RPP, in 1954 and 1957, thus the period between 1950 and 1960 came to known as the DP or Menderes era in Turkey.

Based on the explanation above the 1960 military intervention has had a negative effect on relations between the EU and Turkey and therefore on Turkey's membership bid. On the 31st of July 1959, Turkey applied to the community council to become an associate member of the EEC. However, Turkey's bid for membership has been frozen from reasons of execution.

⁴³ Kahraman, Hasan Bulent. 2007. *Inter Postmodernism and Modernism of Turkey*. Istanbul: Agora Bookshelf Publication Inc.

⁴⁴ Goktepe, Cahit. 2001. "1960 Revolution in Turkey and the British Policy towards Turkey". The Turkish Yearbook, Volume XXX. Ankara: Ankara University Inc.

7.3.2. The 2nd Military Intervention (1971)

Turkey witnessed a second military intervention from Turkish Armed Forces on March 12, 1971, the so-called military intervention by “**memorandum**”⁴⁵.

The first election was held on October 15, 1961, in accordance with the 1961 Constitution⁴⁶. The result that the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) obtained was not sufficient to establish a government alone and a coalition was formed with the Justice Party (AP), which had been established as an extension of the Democratic Party (DP). The coalition governments had not followed effective policies for a period of four years. The AP won the following elections (1965 and 1969). The Prime Minister of the JP Government was General Chairman, Suleyman Demirel⁴⁷, who wanted to leave his mark on Turkish politics. Cemal Gursel⁴⁸ left the Presidency for health reasons in the same year; the former Chief of General Staff, Cevdet Sunay, took up his office.⁴⁹

This military intervention has had a negative effect on relations between the EU and Turkey and therefore on Turkey's membership bid. The Ankara Agreement was signed on September 12, 1963. However, Turkey froze all of its obligations by unilateral decision in 1976. In 1979, both sides decided to instigate a five-year freeze.

⁴⁵ *Coup by Memorandum*; on the 12 March, 1971, a memorandum from the Turkish Armed Forces was given to President, Cevdet Sunay and his Government was forced to resign. The memorandum had the signatures of the Chief of General Staff, Memduh Tağmaç; Commander of the Land Forces, Faruk Gürler; Commander of the Naval Forces, Celal Eyiceoğlu and Commander of the Air Force, Muhsin Batur.

⁴⁶ Available in Appendix section.

⁴⁷ Demirel, Sami Süleyman Gündoğdu, better known as Süleyman Demirel (born November 1, 1924); he is a Turkish politician who served as prime minister seven times and was the 9th President of Turkey. When he won the 1965 general elections in Turkey, he became the second democratically elected leader in Turkish history, after Adnan Menderes who had won elections three times in the 50s, but was hanged after a military coup d'état in 1960.

⁴⁸ Cemal Gürsel (October 13, 1895- September 14, 1966), he was a Turkish army officer, and the 4th president of Turkey.

⁴⁹ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

7.3.3. The 3rd Military Coup (1980)

This military intervention also known as “**Turkish Coup d'état**” was the September 12 coup or the so-called 1980 Revolution. This intervention was performed by the Turkish Armed Forces within the chain of command on September 12, 1980.

This was the 3rd open intervention of armed forces on the administration following the May 27, 1960 coup and the March 12, 1971 memorandum. This period continued for about nine years. Parties were nullified and party leaders were kept in custody at military bases and then judged after September 12, 1980.⁵⁰ This situation created a **new barrier against the democratization** of political representation in Turkey, which was experiencing historical problems relating to sustainability of political parties and thus, political traditions were being destroyed.

The reasons for the September 12, 1980 military coup were seen as political murders and these types of murders become widespread throughout the country. However, the failure of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) to elect a President as a result of propagandas and Kudüs Meeting⁵¹ held in the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan⁵² and described as a “sheria” was a failed attempt by coup leaders. Six days after this meeting the military coup of 12th September 1980 happened.

⁵⁰ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

⁵¹ Kudüs Konya Meeting; 6th September 1980 Political Party action by Necmettin Erbakan; organised the famous “Jerusalem meeting” in Konya where Erbakan led the demonstrating crowd in which children bearing the banner “Death to the Jew” marched. Six days after this meeting the military coup of 12th September 1980 happened.

⁵² Necmettin Erbakan, (October 29, 1926), was Prime Minister of Turkey between 1996 and 1997. A mainstay of the religious wing of Turkish politics since the 1970s, Erbakan has been the leader of a series of political parties that have risen to prominence only to be banned by Turkey's secular authorities. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Necmettin_Erbakan

Before intervention, the right-left tensions also resulted in individual and mass political murders. Moreover, the Law Enforcement Agency was divided in two: the Pol-Bir and Pol-Der foundations, established by its own staff. Leading representatives of the right and left movements and many famous people were killed by militants belonging to such groups. The number of political murders before the *coup d'etat* was approaching about 30 every day.⁵³

According to Harun Arikan⁵⁴, the EU was even more concerned about the internal and external consequences of the new regime and its likely implication for European security after military coup in Turkey in September 1980.

This military intervention has had a negative effect on relations between the EU and Turkey and therefore on Turkey's membership bid. Turkey announced that it was applying for full membership of the EEC through its Turkey's foreign minister in February 1980, but the EU-TR relationship was frozen for six more years.

⁵³ Perinçek, Dogu. 2008. *Constitution and Political Regimes in Turkey* (4th edition). Istanbul: Kaynak Publication Inc.

⁵⁴ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (Second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

7.3.4. The 4th Military Coup (1997)

The effects of the ‘**Post-Modern**’ coup which took place on February 28, 1997 on the political agenda and on the economic agenda cannot be considered separate the events of February 28th were ostensibly directed against Necmettin Erbakan’s Islamic party (Refah Party⁵⁵). A coup is referred to by Turks as post-modern coup because the military obtained Erbakan’s resignation through legal and political pressure and the implicit threat of force, rather than actual force, according to Michael Goldhaber.⁵⁶

The most recent political intervention by the military in Turkey took place on the 28th of January 1997 when the National Security Council (NSC) meeting was held. The role of the Turkish Army, which was to guard the moderate line (moderate praetorian) was similar, but included more extensive protection (guardianship) of Turkey.

Michael Goldhaber is the American lawyer and the author of *A People’s History of the European Court of Human Rights* refers 28 February action as follows in his quotes⁵⁷:

Religious tensions broke into a storm on Friday, January 31, 1997, when Refah’s Bekir Yildiz, mayor of the Ankara suburb of Sincan, hosted Iran’s Turkish ambassador at an “al Quds night” (al Quds being the Arabic name for Jerusalem). An “al Quds night” is a ritual occasion for anti-Israel protest inaugurated by Ayatollah Khomeini. Actors re-enacted the Palestinian intifada, and, capping a night of hot rhetoric, the Iranian exhorted the crowd, “Do not be afraid to call yourself fundamentalists.”

⁵⁵ Refah Party (Turkish), Welfare Party (English)

⁵⁶ Goldhaber, Michael D. 2007. *A People’s History of the European Court of Human Rights*. USA: Rutgers University Press.

⁵⁷ Goldhaber, Michael D. 2007. *A People’s History of the European Court of Human Rights*. USA: Rutgers University Press.

That day of the coup has earned the title of the *Susurluk* scandal. *Susurluk* means an unexpected accident. A traffic accident on November 3, 1996 and the *Susurluk* gang which emerged from it, the 'Sharia is coming' debate and the resulting discussions in 1997 within the last debate as a present so that falls agenda formed. These were all factors which led to new political and social agendas being formed. Process and the President of Turkey and therefore head of the National Security Council (NSC) was Süleyman Demirel.

According to Michael Goldhaber, The Turkish court attributed to Refah the aim of enacting *sharia*, or Islamic law and declared, "Democracy is the antithesis of *sharia*," Refah and its leaders challenged Turkey in Strasbourg for violating the rights of free assembly and association, guaranteed by Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights.⁵⁸

On the post-modern memorandum day, the National Security Council (NSC) made several decisions during their meeting. The Council, in Resolution No. 406, dated February 28 1997, decided that anti-regime activities against some measures were to be dealt as summarised as follows:

- Principles of secularism should be carefully protected and be assured that the principle of secularism is a great care and precision must be protected. It also states that the existing laws should be protected and enforced without any discrimination, and that if they prove to be inadequate, that new arrangements should be made;
- Any disrespect towards Atatürk should not be tolerated;
- Any damage to the democratic, political or social aspects of the legal system should be avoided;
- Reactionary activities are prohibited by Supreme Military Council and the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) and members against running under control should be taken;

⁵⁸ Goldhaber, Michael D. 2007. *A People's History of the European Court of Human Rights*. USA: Rutgers University Press.

- The country in various parts of the religious facilities, certain environmental messages to give to the agenda by keeping the political abuse issue should not be done, these facilities are needed if these Religious Affairs Chair examining local governments and related authorities in coordinating the needs to be done.

At the end of the February 1997, the Security Council called on the government to resign. The government resigned on Jun22.⁵⁹ However, the Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan from the Refah Party was forced to sign the decisions. The Refah Party was shut down by the Constitutional Court in 1998. Necmettin Erbakan was banned from participating in politics for five years.

This military intervention has had a negative effect on relations between the EU and Turkey and therefore on Turkey's membership bid. A *Turkeys Progress Report*⁶⁰ prepared by the Commission in October 1999 expressed the EU's discontent with the plight of democracy and human rights in Turkey.

7.3.5. The 5th Military Coup (2007)

This military intervention happened as “**E-Memorandum**” model by Turkish Armed Forces' internet site and “**Ergenekon**” is the name used for this military intervention. This military coup is also known as the “**Ergenekon terrorist action**” and also called “**Ergenekon case**” by the European Union's Turkey progress report as a democracy absence for Turkey. The Ergenekon investigation is frequently characterised by its detractors in Turkey as a calculated

⁵⁹ Goldhaber, Michael D. 2007. *A People's History of the European Court of Human Rights*. USA: Rutgers University Press.

⁶⁰ Goldhaber, Michael D. 2007. *A People's History of the European Court of Human Rights*. USA: Rutgers University Press.

ploy to try to weaken secularist opposition to the AKP, particularly by undermining the prestige of the Turkish military.⁶¹

These are the two most important political events: the closure of the Ergenekon investigation by the AKP, and the power struggle between the political forces of secularism and Islamic conservatism. The role of the army and the supporting evidence mentioned this assumption could not be argued.

In Turkish nationalist mythology, Ergenekon is the name of an inaccessible valley in the Altay Mountains of Central Asia where the remnants of a number of Turkic-speaking tribes regrouped after a series of military defeats by the Chinese and other non-Turkic peoples. Under the leadership of Bumin Khan (died c. 552), they expanded their influence and founded what has come to be known as the Göktürk Empire. According to legend, they were able to leave the Ergenekon Valley as a result of being led through a maze of mountain passes by a grey she-wolf named Asena. The legend was vigorously promulgated during the early years of the Turkish Republic as Atatürk sought to create a nation state in which national consciousness rather than religion served as the primary determinant of *identity*. This is the reason that Turkish ultranationalist - activists - particularly those who engaged in the factional fighting of - the 1970s - are often referred to as 'Grey Wolves' and why the symbol of the ultranationalist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) is a wolf's head⁶². Today, 'Ergenekon' is used as a Turkish surname, as a street name (there are at least seven streets named after Ergenekon in Istanbul alone), companies and even a brand of wine. The first

⁶¹ Jenkins, H. Gareth. 2009. "Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey's Ergenekon Investigation". Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Study Programme. August 2009. Singapore: Silk Road Paper.

⁶² Available from <<http://gokturk.org/>> [Accessed June 24th, 2010].

public reference to the possibility of a clandestine organisation called Ergenekon occurred on January 7, 1997.⁶³

Ergenekon created the necessary conditions for the e-memorandum. The response to both democracy and the actors did not change the game. February 28 1997, 'Sharia is coming' said those, 27 April 2007, the 'secular republic goes hand in' the circles were the same environment. CHP, DSP, IP, Republic newspaper, the 'unarmed forces' who are members of the judiciary and military personnel.

In the Progress Report (2008)⁶⁴, a group of civil servants and academics took on the agenda of the draft constitution and proposed amendments to it. The absence of method' in this process has been criticized. The EU draft document prepared by the Commission, the legal regulation of military personnel in peace support given during the trials in civilian courts, issued that have been received in Turkey says the EU standards.

The draft report⁶⁵ prepared by the Commission included regulations for military personnel involved in trials in civilian courts, an issue which is being addressed in Turkey in accordance with EU standards. The regulations which govern the police and gendarmerie in rural and urban areas were also altered.

According to the document⁶⁶, the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) 'continue to influence politics', while 'the senior military members of the ethnicity of many occasions, the Southeast, secularism and political parties, domestic and foreign policy issues such as the description of the opinion'⁶⁷ have been criticized.

On many occasions, the public, politicians and the media commented on the draft: 'the General Staff in April at a press conference, the Ergenekon case and put pressure on the

⁶³ Jenkins, H. Gareth. 2009. "Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey's Ergenekon Investigation". Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Study Programme. August 2009. Singapore: Silk Road Paper.

⁶⁴ Turkey 2008 Progress Report, COM(2008)674, Brussels 05.11.2008.

⁶⁵ Turkey 2008 Progress Report, COM(2008)674, Brussels 05.11.2008.

⁶⁶ Turkey 2008 Progress Report, COM(2008)674, Brussels 05.11.2008.

⁶⁷ Turkey 2008 Progress Report, COM(2008)674, Brussels 05.11.2008.

judiciary by commenting on the indictment was received. Top-level military personnel on trial for some members of the army backed the testimonies⁶⁸. This military intervention has had a negative effect on relations between the EU and Turkey and therefore on Turkey's membership bid. The EU's report in 2009-2010 on democracy in Turkey and the Ergenekon case stated: 'The investigation of the alleged criminal network Ergenekon has led to serious criminal charges, involving military officers and nationalist circles'⁶⁹.

7.4. How Military Coups affected Turkey's bid

An important criterion in the European Union harmonization (or Europeanization) process is transparency. Turkey has entered into the framework of a set of criteria related to the realization of necessary reforms for integration applied to other candidate countries.

Turkey is able to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria for the *acquis communautaire*, in the opinion of the Head of Turkey team in the DG Enlargement. The big challenge is the interference of judicial and military power in Turkish executive and legislative powers.

David Capezza is a senior analyst on national defence and security issues in Washington, DC and author of the Middle East Quarterly. Capezza defines military striking power in Turkey in his article *Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform* as stated below;

From Turkey's founding, the military assumed responsibility for guaranteeing the Republic's constitution. Article 35 of the Turkish Armed Service Internal Service

⁶⁸ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009

⁶⁹ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009

Code of 1961 declared that the “duty of the armed forces is to protect and safeguard Turkish territory and the Turkish Republic as stipulated by the constitution.”⁷⁰

In order to investigate negative effects of military coup in Turkey, it is necessary to make causes-affect analyses of the military intervention on both internal and external relations, and also on European Union relations. British House of Commons, the Committee on Foreign Affairs has reported (2002) military issue as follows;

The EU accession process has driven reforms that have weakened the military's internal role. While many democracy experts and leaders of EU member states argue that the military should not have a role in internal politics, Turkey is different.⁷¹

In fact, the weakness of the boundaries that divide the powers in Turkey seems to be confirmed by the Ergenekon trial (5th Military coup) which is the latest Turkish Armed Forces attacks against for the Turkish government (AKP). In order to analyse more about Ergenekon case I did primary research interview with Head of Turkey team in the DG Enlargement Jean-Christopher Filori. Filori stated⁷²,

The EU is watching Ergenekon trials very closely, but Turkey is still trying to fulfil all the democratic criteria for military issues one by one within the next few years. Military power is problematic if viewed by historical hindsight.

David Capezza evaluates the reasons of the military coups in Turkey in his article *Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform* as below;

The Turkish military has used this sense of constitutional authorization to justify interference in the political realm, on some occasions. It seized power in 1960 and 1980 when polarization and economic instability paralyzed the country's political system, and it also forced the resignation of governments in 1971 and 1997. While the

⁷⁰ Jacoby, Tim. 2004. *Social Power and the Turkish State*. New York: Frank Cass.

⁷¹ Foreign Affairs - Sixth Report, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, British House of Commons, Apr. 23, 2002.

⁷² FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

Turkish constitution certainly does not endorse coups, Turkish popular distrust of politicians has generally led the public to support military action.⁷³

In alignment to the European Union, interviewers vision Turkey issues such as national adjustment to European Union standards in the functioning of public administration. These standards must be rendered compatible with EU norms of quality standards for identifying and auditing of compliance.

As historical hindsight, the Turkish army contains both revolutionary and anti-revolutionary elements due to its roots during the Republic years. The characteristics of the military movement as realized have changed in accordance with which aspect had the most effective power. However, the army traditionally was a “striking power” after establishing Republic of Turkey.

The author of the *Turkish Politics and the Military*, Hale M. Williams argues military involvement in Turkey as follows;

Ataturk did not foresee military involvement in day-to-day politics, and he certainly did not tolerate military interference with his agenda. Rather, having arisen from the military, he used it as a power base from which to enforce his reforms. Under Ataturk's successor, Ismet Inonu, the question over the military's future role in politics gained greater significance. The first question to arise was the role of the chief of staff who, under Ataturk, reported directly to the prime minister rather than the minister of defence. Given Turkey's strong premiership, this made the military a more independent power base, one not subordinate to a civilian defence minister.⁷⁴

The military's dominance as a power holder in the Turkish political system is undisputed. The Army has had direct influence on the Republic of Turkey (1960, 1971 and the military coups in 1980) as well as indirect influence (Erbakan's government in 1997 forced the withdrawal).

⁷³ Capezza David. 2009. “Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform, The Military in Politics”. Middle East Quarterly Summer 2009, pp. 13-23.

⁷⁴ Williams, Hale. 1994. *Turkish Politics and the Military*. UK: Routledge Inc.

Similarly, the General Staff published an “e-memorandum” on the internet site after Islamic leader Abdullah Gul’s Presidential election in April 2007: This has been interpreted by many media outlets as a military coup threat.

However, 1980 military coup during the current post in accordance with EU standards in many areas of the Constitution to allow the further democratisation and fundamental freedoms should be changed to provide stronger guarantees towards increased awareness in Turkey about’ being saved.

The reports by the EU Commission in 2008, 2009, 2010, touch upon the Ergenekon case. In order to make a democratic Turkish-state, important evidence has shown that Ergenekon had a significant effect when ‘civil constitution’ appeared on the agenda in Turkey.

David Capezza argues military coups in Turkey in his article *Turkey’s Military Is a Catalyst for Reform* as below;

The Turkish political system is dynamic and permits a wider range of political views and philosophies to compete on the political stage than many other European states. The system has not always worked well, however; on several occasions, such as that leading to the 1960 coup, politicians consolidating disproportionate control have appeared ready to cast aside the foundational principles of Turkish democracy. In other instances, such as 1971 and 1980, parliamentary fractiousness has impeded coalition formation or effective government. Ordinary democratic processes were unable to resolve the political stalemate. When the Turkish military intervened, it did so to restore democratic stability, not supplant it. From 1923 to the present day, the military has proven its commitment to democracy and constitutionalism and, indeed, only invokes its role as a constitutional check and balance as a last resort.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Capezza David. 2009. “Turkey’s Military Is a Catalyst for Reform, The Military in Politics”. Middle East Quarterly Summer 2009, pp. 13-23.

The most important reasons of the military intervention were threat to secularism and democracy in Turkey. The latest developments in Turkey are linked by the media and political observers on the military's political influence. This was especially the case in the months of presidential elections in the spring of 2007, and in relation to the crises in the summer of 2008. The ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) opted for closure of the case and the "Ergenekon" organization named conspirators against ongoing proceedings in various ways. The context of the possible links with the Turkish Army was emphasized.

A comparison criterion of the military intervention in Turkey with their international and domestic conditions. To review briefly the history of the long path of Turkey's accession to EU membership, negotiations began in 2004 as a result of a deal on the appropriate level of democracy, which is the most considerable problem for Turkey's accession to the EU.

A civil administration replaced the military rule that had prevailed in Turkey in previous years. Democracy was achieved by the civil administration of the AKP (Justice and Development Party); and half of Turkey's population was returning to cast their votes in elections. As regards democracy, Turkey sufficiently fulfils the political criteria and hence it is recommended that accession negotiations should be opened with conditions of political monitoring; and a political and cultural dialogue should be launched.

Turkish diplomat Engin Arikan⁷⁶ considers that Turkey is on the right path to the democratic system with its current government (AKP). Turkey is now experiencing democratic governance as a state for the first time and it can manage the green light to accession when it is given by the European Union. However, some member states argue, additionally, that cultural and religious differences mean that the membership of Turkey should be considered impossible.

⁷⁶ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

David Capezza argues the role of the military in Turkey in his article *Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform* as stated below;

The military has acted as a guide to usher Kemalist principles into full realization. This is not to say that the military should continue to have a dominant role in perpetuity. However, failure to recognize the military's unique and traditional role as the protector of the public from any political party's undemocratic consolidation of power and as the defender of the constitution is dangerous because it creates the possibility that the checks and balances of Turkish society might collapse without creation of a new system of supervision.⁷⁷

In order to make modern and democratic Turkish-state under *Copenhagen Political criteria*, David Capezza further argues, "As Turkey and its people move into the future, the military should move as well. Just as Ataturk modernized Turkey and initiated its drive toward the West, European officials should consider the military a reformist force without which Ankara's movement further to the West might not occur".⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Capezza David. 2009. "Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform, The Military in Politics". Middle East Quarterly Summer 2009, pp. 13-23.

⁷⁸ Capezza David. 2009. "Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform, The Military in Politics". Middle East Quarterly Summer 2009, pp. 13-23.

7.5. How EU Makes Cooperation with Turkish Army

What will be the contributions of Turkey to the military force of the European Union in the event of achieving full membership? In order to respond to this question, the structure of military cooperation in the European Union on the participation date of Turkey should be clearly identified. Constituting the most important items of future oriented studies of the EU, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has caused various problems due to the sensitive nature of security matters. This problem affects Turkey, as well as its ideas and behaviours.

Military cooperation occurs on an intergovernmental level between member states of the European Union. Whether the military structure of European integration will be different in 2015, when Turkey's full membership is scheduled to be approved, is not known yet. Will military cooperation expand beyond peacekeeping missions to include defence functions in the next few years?

On the other side, will the military cooperation that currently occurs on an intergovernmental level continue with its current structure? Or will it be included within the common policy area? Although the participation of all member states cannot be provided for peacekeeping operations, what will be the approaches of members, whether NATO members or not, regarding the restructure of military cooperation within the European Union? And finally, will military cooperation among members of the European Union undertake the responsibilities of NATO by expanding its scope in future years?

The answers to these questions are not known. Military cooperation in the European Union is executed within limits identified by the Maastricht Treaty. Although partial revisions have been applied by the Amsterdam and Nice Treaties, no deviation from the general framework has been observed. In other words, military cooperation is still executed within the limits of the Common External and Security Policy (CESP), constituting the second column of the European Union. The functioning of decision making mechanisms in the second column, reflecting intergovernmental characteristics, is different from the Community column; decisions regarding defence and security issues are taken by unanimity of votes, except in special conditions.

David Capezza is a senior analyst on national defence and security issues in Washington, DC and author of the *Middle East Quarterly*. Capezza defines Turkish military and NATO relations in his article *Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform* as below;

Turkey is the second largest in NATO, and it is the preeminent Western security force in what is considered by many Westerners to be the most volatile region in the world. With Turkey at the doorstep of the European Union, it is ever closer to realizing its movement to the West. Ironically, it may not be able to take this final step without recognition of the domestic role of its military.⁷⁹

The history of military cooperation in the European Union dates back to the foundation of the communities. The European Defence Community, which was brought to the agenda in 1952, could not be put into force due to rejection of the founding pact by France. Thereafter, cooperation in defence has been pending, and NATO filled the gap in European integration during the Cold War period.

The restructured NATO is based on a new security system which validates the superiority of the USA over Western Europe. US leadership within NATO, it may be argued, reflects the political dependency of Western Europe and prevents enhancement of the

⁷⁹ Capezza David. 2009. "Turkey's Military Is a Catalyst for Reform, The Military in Politics". *Middle East Quarterly* Summer 2009.

independence of Western Europe. The interests of the USA are far from Europe in terms of strategic and economic matters. Alliance under the leadership of the USA, and the alliance managing itself and achieving transformation, does not comply with the Western European approach.

NATO suggests a more radical amendment than the NATO scenario regarding the European defence system. This scenario is based on two assumptions. The first assumption suggests a decrease in the importance of NATO as a military-political union, whereas the second assumption supports the formation of a Western European Defence Community in the European Union based on closer alliance politically. Establishment of the Western European Defence Community is based on a mutual security and cooperation agreement with the USA in this model. This new security unit was founded at the beginning of the 1950s and suggests the creation of a Western European Defence Community from the delayed WEU (Western European Union). As is already known, it was decided to end the function of WEU during the Nice Summit of December 2000. The Western Europe Defence Community is the basic guarantee of Western European security in this scenario. This community may achieve a greater European security system. This model regarding European security may provide a more realistic solution to the post-Cold War security problem. Accordingly, the Western Europe Defence Community will be superior in the interstate relations of Western Europe, as well as improving and speeding up Western European integration.

If Western Europe aims to develop a security and cooperation expertise, this should comply with its interests in a multi-centric and changing world. The European Union should have a military potential. The security interests of Western Europe and the USA are not the same, as stated above. This situation was much more obvious in the 1980s. Therefore, Western Europe should improve its independent military capacity in relation to defence and

the projection of international power. This means self-protection against the withdrawal of US military forces from Europe.

Harun Arikan argues Turkey-EU relations under military concerns in his *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership* as below;

In fact despite widespread human rights violations by the military regime, the EU's reaction to the military coup was not severe. The main reasons for this soft policy stance of the EU towards the military coup in Turkey was strategic considerations; the EU and member states were more concerned about Turkey's position on NATO's south-eastern flank and were anxious about not alienating Turkey in the unstable conditions of the region. They seemed to anticipate that strong reaction to the military regime could distance Turkey from the Europe and Western Alliance that would harm the security interest of the EU.⁸⁰

In order to create a security community in Western Europe, the development of a stable structure and the formation of an integrated European security system, would be a more realistic initiative. The Western European Defence Community will be the power ensuring world peace. Europeans show fewer tendencies to perform military interventions in regional conflicts than the USA, and try to find diplomatic and political solutions for these kinds of conflicts. In the future, Europeans will need a peacekeeping force during international crises. These forces could be provided by the Western European Defence Community in a more effective and productive manner. Such a defence organization would be a power within the international system and provide stability in Europe.

The economic prosperity of Europe is not based on the creation of political union by the European Union. According to the EU, the material wellbeing of Europe can be best achieved within free market conditions without mandatory and intervening political structures. The extension of the EU with new members is supported in accordance with an expansionary concept. It is claimed that this scenario is much more appropriate for Europe in

⁸⁰ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

the post-Cold War era due to a more disseminated and changing security agenda. To illustrate, regional problems such as political instability in the Balkans, population increase in North Africa and ethnic conflicts in Eastern Europe affect countries like Ireland, Austria and Norway differently. Therefore, it is not true to expect a common approach to EU and NATO. Accordingly, regional or sub-regional groupings will be more appropriate and supported by temporary structures of intergovernmental cooperation between European states. Similarly, a Europe without super powers and restrictions and the sovereignty of a block system will be more independent in the provision of regional and sub-regional development. New forms of economic, political, security, environmental and cultural cooperation may develop in central Europe, the Balkans, Southern Europe and the Baltic. In addition, each European state will be independent while developing its special relations with the external world. In this respect, relations between Spain and Latin America and Middle America, between France and North Africa, and between England and the Commonwealth of Nations and the USA may serve as illustrations of what could be improved by greater efforts.

Ultra-nationalism and ethnic conflict exist in other regions of Europe. Conflicts between Germany and Poland, Greece and Turkey, Serbia-Montenegro and Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, and Romania and the Russian Federation are the most significant ones. Conflicts in a divided and multi-centric Europe create interstate and inter-societal arguments. The majority of these countries are located in the Balkans. As in the past, Europe-wide conflicts are intense in this region. Instead of the old alliance system, emergence of out of block and multi-centric Europe may increase the complexity of the control of arms and disarmament negotiations.

The security and stability of Europe cannot be distinguished from the development and continuity of security and stability in the North Atlantic Region. Therefore, an ultra-Atlantic relation is an essential security and stability obligation for Europe. The integration of

EU and CIS countries and their cohesion for an independent Europe will be possible with a realization of liberalism, and the political philosophy of capitalism, democracy, human rights, minority rights and right of self determination. Consolidation and protection of democratic communities on the continent and their divestment of any compulsion and witch-hunting is also an important case for NATO and ESDP, like OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), countries in accordance with liabilities under the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris clause.

Therefore, for protection of peace in Europe and to provide its sustainability, international foundations such as the United Nations (UN) and The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which are organized to protect peace, but still have not the required level of sanction power, should be improved to enable them perform their tasks in a more effective manner, and they should benefit from various opportunities and experiences of NATO in this regard. As decided during the NATO Washington Summit on 23-24 April 1999, ESDI (European Security and Defence *Identity*) should take back its effective and significant position in European security to make the European side stronger. As a result, European countries may undertake greater responsibilities regarding their own defence and security. Besides, in accordance with decisions taken during the Nice Summit held on 7-9 December 2000, a period was commenced in 2003 regarding structuring and institutionalism of EDSP to perform the Petersberg Tasks in accordance with the EU Treaty, being evaluated as an essential progression.

The aim of the EU is to obtain a security and defence *identity* that has its own decision making capacity and is supported by an adequate military force in cases such as crisis management, humanitarian aid and peace support operations. Supporting the development of the European defence industry, this approach is based on economic values.

The identification of Turkey's position within the ESDP is clearly and obviously important in terms of European security. In the framework of changing security approaches in the twenty-first century, Turkey should not lose the rights it gained during the structuring of European security.

According to Turkey 2008 Progress Report,⁸¹

Turkey is contributing substantially to ESDP and seeking greater involvement in ESDP activities. However, Turkey objects to EU-NATO co-operation which would involve all EU Member States. Turkey has not aligned with the EU position on membership of the Wassenaar Arrangement⁸².

The concept of "global security" will be much used in the twenty-first century. This concept is the most distinct indication of an approach that should be adopted and applied by institutions concerned with international security. It is not possible to distinguish European security from global security in the twenty-first century. The need for security and peace in Turkey is much more obvious after the crisis regions named by NATO are closely related to Turkey. In this respect, the security approach of Turkey should be handled with ESDP. Security should be established and created as a whole. The effective and productive position of Turkey within the European security system of the twenty-first century will be a guarantee for the future of European security and provide essential contributions and support to European security. The security of Turkey and Europe creates a unity in the twenty-first century. Common security structuring will provide stable global security.

⁸¹ Turkey 2008 Progress Report, COM(2008)674, Brussels 05.11.2008.

⁸² The Wassenaar Arrangement has been established in order to contribute to regional and international security and stability, by promoting transparency and greater responsibility in transfers of conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies, thus preventing destabilising accumulations.

PART IV

**ACCESSION
PROCESS**

Chapter 8

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS

influence on

TURKISH POLITICAL IDENTITY

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to demonstrate the overall process of Turkey's integration into the EU, during which the ideologies of both Turkish political parties and the ideologies of Turkish citizens have changed. This research will evaluate how the Turkish national identity (both religious and military) has affected Turkey's relationships with the EU on the way towards EU membership. The chapter discusses the role of Turkey's religious and administrative identity, and the role of Turkey's political parties in the attempted accession to the European Union. The thesis aims to provide an argument for European integration and to demonstrate negotiations' it's relevance within history. It also attempts to demonstrate the relevance of Benedict Anderson's nationalism approaches as a general framework for observing the progress of Turkey's accession negotiations. These themes have been generally investigated

in Part II and Part III. Part IV forwards the argument that the European integration process has had a direct impact upon what have been labelled earlier on in the thesis as Turkey's alterable data: most especially the military and military administration. The negotiation process has produced pressures that have helped to make the Turkish nation-state a democratic one. The military and its role in society remains a deeply political issue; the European Union formal criteria are clear on this point. Nevertheless, my argument is that Turkish military identity plays a role at the accession of the European Union by directly at European level, but could become positive changes by reforms on democratisation in to join European Union.

Since the Fifth expansion, accomplished in May 2004, the attention of the European Union has focused on the future of integration. The most important case driving this process is negotiation of Turkey achieving full membership. In the framework of the decision taken during the summit on 17 December 2004, full membership negotiations were initiated between Turkey and the European Union on 3 October 2005. These discussions have continued and been disseminated and intensified, and Turkey has been involved with the process. The current progress and the final target of cooperation initiated after the Second World War among the countries of Europe have been queried and, in addition to academics, politicians and intellectuals, a vast number of people question concepts such as "Being European", "European Identity" and "Final Target of Integration".

Although the integration movement started with coal and steel within the specific circumstances of the post-war era in Western Europe, it has achieved essential progress in economic and social areas, although similar achievements could not be accomplished in political and military areas. However, prejudice against Turkey is widespread in Western Europe. Many arguments are forwarded against the accession of Turkey: notably that the membership of Turkey may change the course of the integration movement in Western

Europe; that Europe may be overrun by Turkish workers, and that Turkey possesses Eastern (Asian and oriental) characteristics far from Western values.

This chapter will consider Turkey- EU relations from a historical perspective and will evaluate the state of the negotiations. It will observe whether Turkey has already achieved the “democratic opening” that is necessary for EU accession.

8.2. How History began between the EU and Turkey

In order to investigate Turkey and EU relations, it is necessary to analyse overall interaction and integration history from the beginning, as well as its current development. By this, it is useful to show evidence in respect of Turkey’s permanent and alterable data whether the “**religious issue**” has been playing a role under informal criteria; and the “**military issue**” has been playing a role under formal criteria in Turkey’s bid.

In response to the history of EU- Turkey relations, Turkey actually became a European state in 1856 via the Paris Congress. In this period, Europe wanted the Ottoman Empire to become European with the Paris Agreement made after the Crimean War. Physical geography complies with this situation, as Turkey is like a bridge between the two continents for the European countries. Turkey is the last border of Europe with Asia and is a country which can carry Europe into Asia and can ensure it will benefit from such a connection. With its full EU membership, the contribution of Turkey to the European Union will be structured in relation to fixed and variable items. Turkey’s contribution to the integration will be structured in relation to fixed items such as history, geography, population and religion.

Turkey is at the centre of discussions regarding the future of Europe and is high on the European agenda, in that the EU is discussing issues relating to Turkey's membership process, and problems and issues concerned with expansion. For example, France and the Netherlands have frequently expressed Turkey-EU relations with regard to the referendum on the future of the EU Constitution. However, Angela Merkel¹ is the architect of a policy of giving "special status" to Turkey, while Gerhard Schröder², was a supporter of Turkey's full membership of the EU. The issue of Turkish membership was hotly debated between the two of them during Germany's election in 2005.

In any case, when we examine the debates about Turkey in Europe, will we understand the answers to the question of how the European Union will remain European following Turkey's membership? The European identity within the borders contains insights into Turkey's EU membership discussions. Driving dissemination of future discussions within European Union, Turkey achieved questioning of reality basis of prejudices. Although integration movement started with coal and steel within specific circumstances of post war era in Western Europe has achieved essential progresses in economic and social area, similar achievement could not be accomplished in political and military area.

¹ Angela Dorothea Merkel (born in 17 July 1954) is a German politician. September 27, 2009, Merkel was re-elected to the position of Chancellor with her Christian Democratic Union taking, beating the opposition Social Democrats. She will form a coalition government with the Free Democrats. In 2007, Merkel was also President of the European Council and chaired the G8. She played a central role in the negotiation of the Treaty of Lisbon and the Berlin Declaration.

² Gerhard Fritz Kurt Schröder (born in 7 April 1944) is a German politician, and was Chancellor of Germany from 1998 to 2005. He is a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

Table 8.1: Turkey and European Union Integration Process

Year	EU Integration Process	President	Government Party	Political View
1959	The First application for EU associate membership	Celal Bayar	DP	Liberal democracy
1963	The Ankara Agreement was signed to take Turkey to Customs Union	Cemal Gürsel	CHP	Kemalist-democratic left
1980	Suspension period following the military coup d'etat on 12 September 1980	Kenan Evren	ARMY	military
1982	EU decided to suspense all relation with Turkey	Kenan Evren	ARMY	military
1987	Turkey applied for full EEC membership	Kenan Evren	ANAP	liberal - economic liberal
1989	EC Response to Turkey's EEA application	Turgut Ozal	ANAP	liberal - economic liberal
1993	Copenhagen Criteria agreed by EU. EU set-up to prepare Turkey for Customs Union.	Turgut Ozal	DYP - ANAP	liberal - economic liberal
1995	Turkey-EU Association Council decision on the customs union	Süleyman Demirel	DYP - ANAP	liberal - economic liberal
1997	Luxemburg Summit:	Süleyman Demirel	RP - DYP	religious - economic liberal
1998	Cardiff Summit	Süleyman Demirel	RP - DYP	religious - economic liberal
1999	Helsinki Council decision of the candidate status of Turkey - APD	Süleyman Demirel	DSP-ANAP-MHP	democratic left-liberal
2001	The Council of Ministers of the European Union accepted the APD, for Turkey	Ahmet Necdet Sezer	DSP-ANAP-MHP	democratic left-liberal
2002	The first Reform Package came into force in order to provide cohesion to the Copenhagen Political Criteria	Ahmet Necdet Sezer	DSP-ANAP-MHP	democratic left-liberal
2003	The National Programme for the Adoption of the <i>Acquis</i> by the light of the ADP, came into force.	Ahmet Necdet Sezer	AKP	religious - economic liberalism - right
2004	EU accepted to start negotiation on Turkey EU membership	Ahmet Necdet Sezer	AKP	religious - economic liberalism - right
2005	Council approved a framework for negotiations with Turkey on its accession to the EU	Ahmet Necdet Sezer	AKP	religious - economic liberalism - right
Present	The Council of the European Union adopted a Decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the accession partnership with Turkey	Abdullah Gul	AKP	religious - economic liberalism - right

The table (8.1) shows Turkey's accession activities between 1950 and the current situation. The table shows clearly the EU integration process held with the Turkish President and Turkish Government from year to year, included with their political views and whether they were in coalition or not.

Official relations between Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC) continued from 1959 positively, culminating in the Ankara Agreement, signed with the EEC on September 12, 1963 and enforced in December 1, 1964. During 1963-1973, relations experienced a preparatory period, a transition period and a final period with Turkey's hope that full membership would soon be achieved. The Additional Protocol³, which was signed on November 23, 1970 and enforced on January 23, 1973, arranged for the final transition period. This Protocol prescribed a range of economic factors, which included: the provision of a mutual, free-circulating labour force; implementation of a preferential trade regime to expand in agricultural products; harmonization of regulations and policies between Turkey and the EEC in determined areas and free circulation of services. However, partnership relations did not develop as expected during this transition period and in the 1980s, relations with the European Union froze, due to both internal and external conditions.⁴ The 1980 coup cut short membership negotiations.

The Foreign Affairs Ministers of the European Union decided to initiate full membership negotiations with Turkey on 3 October 2005. Although it was difficult to take this decision, an important aspect is the making of the decision itself. On one side, this decision highlights that Turkey-EEC (European Economic Community) relations, being

³ *The Additional Protocol*; to the Association Agreement was signed between the EEC and Turkey (Brussels, 23 November 1970). On 23 November 1970, Ihsan Sabri Çaglayangil, Turkish Foreign Minister, signs the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement between the European Economic Community and Turkey, in the presence of Maurice Schumann, French Foreign Minister, and Walter Scheel, German Foreign Minister.

⁴ Turkish Republic Prime Ministry and Ministry of Culture. 2006. *Turkeys' Foreign Policy Book* (9th edition), Second volume: 1980-2001, Editor: ORAN, Baskın; Authors: Akdevelioglu Atay; Erhan, Çağrı; Oran, Baskın; Keskin, Funda; Alpkaya, Gökçen; Ulugbay, Hikmet; Ozersay, Kudret; Fırat, Melek; Aydın, Mustafa; Kurkuoğlu, Omer; Baykal, Sanem; Arat, Tugrul, Iletisim Publication Inc. published, Istanbul.

mainly based on the Ankara agreement, focus on the final target, whereas on the other side, it represents the beginning of a new period affecting both for Turkey and the structure of Europe.

Certainly within the EU, there are other thinkers who believe that Turkey might evolve and reform on the direction of democratic and secular Turkish nation-state. One such is Graham Fuller⁵. He has this to say about Turkey's administration after opening negotiations with EU as follows;

“Turkey can demonstrate a positive record on multiple levels: it has managed to enact successful economic policies; it has created a largely stable political order with a tested democracy; it has a vibrant Islamic culture; it has demonstrated an ability to reach some form of reconciliation with political Islam in a way that few other Muslim states have; it has demonstrated a growing realism in the way it treats its own multiethnic problems; it has maintained a close working relationship with the West in the political, economic, and military spheres and continues on a course toward EU membership; and it has a strong military and a powerful sense of sovereignty and independence. These are qualities greatly sought after and critically needed by other Muslim societies. As a result, in its new, more independent mode, Turkey is no longer perceived regionally as a mere Western “wannabe”; it is now for the first time being viewed positively within the Muslim world as a state worth watching and maybe even emulating.”⁶

The following section will describe the most significant steps in the history of Turkey-EU relations. It will explain how Turkey's Foreign policy was conducted before recognition of its EU candidate position, and suggest how to reconcile its internal and external policy challenges. It will address what has changed since the opening negotiations between Turkey and the EU.

⁵ Fuller; Graham; he is a former vice chairman of the National Intelligence Council at the Central Intelligence Agency.

⁶ Fuller; Graham. 2008. *The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

8.2.1. Turkey's Partnership Application to the EEC - 1959

The “Turkish Train for Europe” began with Turkey’s application for Associate Membership in European Economic Community (EEC) in July 31, 1959, just four years before Ankara Agreement for the agreement creating an association between the Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community in 1963. It took 30 years until Turkey was officially declared a candidate country for final membership at the EU Helsinki Summit in December 1999.

The bid for membership was considered significant in terms of protecting and improving the political position of Turkey in the West, but also showed how the young Republic was searching for security in an ever-changing world.

The insecure political climate forced Turkey to apply to become a member of the European Economic Community (EEC). This process was made even more difficult since Turkey was also overcoming economic, political, military and social unrest during this time. Even though the military intervention, held in 1960, slowed this process down, an important step was taken in the process of improving relations between the EEC and Turkey, by the signing of the Ankara Agreement in 1963. While relations with Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC) were significantly developing, the EEC’s relations with other countries were also developing. The Association Agreement came into force on 1 December 1964.

8.2.2. Ankara Agreement with the EEC and Turkey - 1963

The Ankara Agreement, which is an agreement created between Turkey and the EEC, was signed in Ankara on September 12, 1963.⁷ The Ankara agreement was aimed at securing full membership in the EEC for Turkey through the establishment of a customs union in three phases which would serve as an instrument to bring about Turkey's integration into the EEC. This agreement came into force on the 1st of December 1964. This agreement constitutes the legal base of the relationship between Turkey and the EU.

According to Harun Arikan⁸ who is an author of *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* Ankara Agreement should be understood as follows;

The Ankara Agreement provided Turkey with an association structure with the anticipation of full membership; indeed, the content of the Ankara agreement covered not only trade issue but also certain political objectives of the Union.

The Ankara Agreement envisaged the progressive establishment of a customs union which would bring the EU member countries closer together in economic and trade matters. In the meantime, the EEC would offer financial assistance to Turkey through signing an agreement with them.

Arikan⁹ further defines the Ankara Agreement as “the support given by the EC to the efforts of the Turkish people to improve their standards of living that will facilitate the

⁷ The Official Journal of the European Communities. 1964. “Official Journal 217”. 29/12/1964 P. 3685 – 3686. 64/732/EEC: Council Decision of 23 December 1963 on the conclusion of the Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey; 1972. “Official Journal L 293”. 29/12/1972. P. 0063 – 0066. Agreement between the European Coal and Steel Community and the Republic of Turkey on products within the province of the European Coal and Steel Community - Final Act – Declarations.

⁸ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (Second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

⁹ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (Second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

accession of Turkey to the Community at a later date". Arikan points to Article 28 of the Ankara Agreement to make clearer his arguments:

As soon as the operation of this Agreement has advanced far enough to justify envisaging full acceptance by Turkey of the obligations arising out of the Treaty establishing the Community, the contracting parties shall examine the possibility if the accession of Turkey to the Community (Ankara Agreement 1964)¹⁰

Although the Ankara Agreement envisaged the free circulation not only of goods, but of people, services and capital between the Parties, it excluded Turkey from the EEC's decision-making mechanisms and prevented Turkey from appealing to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) for settling disputes.

The Additional Protocol of 13 November 1970 set out in a detailed fashion how the Customs Union would be established. It provided that the EEC would abolish tariff and quantitative barriers to its imports from Turkey (with some exceptions including fabrics) upon the entry into force of the Protocol, whereas Turkey would do the same in accordance with a timetable containing two calendars set for 12 and 22 years, and called for the harmonisation of Turkish legislation with that of the EU in economic matters. Furthermore, the Additional Protocol envisaged the free circulation of natural persons between the Parties in the next 12 to 22 years.¹¹

The Ankara Agreement still constitutes the legal basis of the association between Turkey and the EU.¹² The Agreement aimed at establishing a customs union between the Community and Turkey and made reference to Turkish membership of the Community.

¹⁰ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (Second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

¹¹ Secretariat General for EU Affairs in Turkey. Available from <<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=2>> [Accessed 5th August, 2009].

¹² Secretariat General for EU Affairs in Turkey. Available from <<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=2>> [Accessed 5th August, 2009].

8.2.3. Turkey's Application for Full Membership of the EEC – 1987

1967

The merger took effect on July 1, 1967 with the ECSC Treaty of Executive Bodies combined with the ECC, EurAtom and the three communities.

1968

One of the priorities of the Customs Union has been set. The Customs Union was created in order to reduce tariffs and was completed in 1968.

1979

In 1979, Germany and France adopted the European Monetary System, with the participation of other countries except Britain. They began to develop a common external trade policy and the European Regional Development Fund, and established common development policies.

1973-1986

United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Portuguese and Spain joined the EU.

1985

Early in the 1980s, during the economic crisis, the Community integrated the Common market in 1985, signed the Single European Act in 1987 and the Single Market in 1992, meaning that the decision was agreed in full.

1982

The new constitution of Republic of Turkey was accepted with a large majority in the Turkish referendum held on November 17, 1982. However, some groups in Europe did not believe the voting arrangements were democratic because they were undertaken under emergency measures and martial law. The immediate closure of certain political parties that had been established during 1983 and the veto of some others by the National Security

Council (NSC)¹³, caused negative reflections in Western Europe. The European parliament once more censured Turkey in October 13, 1983 due to anti-democratic practices.

The Secretariat General for EU Affairs in Turkey stated as follows:

The relations between Turkey and the Community, which had come to a virtual freeze following the military intervention of 12 September 1980 in Turkey, began returning to normality. In the light of these positive developments, Turkey applied for full membership in 1987, on the basis of the EEC Treaty's article 237 which gave any European country the right to do so.¹⁴

1987

Turkey applied for full membership of the EU on April 14 1987, but this was postponed due to customs duty compliance and reduction from calendar year 1988 in an accelerated manner has been re-enacted.

In order to explain the story of the full application for the European Union membership by Republic of Turkey, it is necessary to define Turkey's administration during this period. The Motherland Party (ANAP) government programme emphasized that the real aim of Turkey was to become a full member of the European Economic Community (EEC).

¹³ The National Security Council (NSC), Turkey (MGK); comprises the Chief of Staff, select members of the Council of Ministers, and the President of the Republic. Like the national security councils of other countries, the MGK develops the national security policy. Firstly it is underlined that the MGK is a consultative body, now with a civilian majority. The creation of the MGK was an outcome of the military coup in 1960, and has been a part of the constitution since 1961. The role of the MGK was further strengthened with the 1982 constitution, adopted by the military junta in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup, before transferring power to civilian politicians. The MGK is widely perceived as the institutionalisation of the Turkish military's influence over politics. Since Mustafa Kemal Ataturk founded the modern secular republic of Turkey in 1923, the Turkish military has perceived itself as guardian of Kemalism, the official state ideology, even though Ataturk himself insisted separating the military from politics. In order to meet EU's political demands for starting membership negotiations, the Copenhagen criteria, Turkey has passed a number of reforms aiming at strengthening civil control over the military. These reforms have mainly focused on the MGK, its duties, functioning and composition. On 23 July 2003 the Turkish Grand National Assembly passed the "seventh reform package", which aimed at limiting the role of the military, through reforms of the MGK. Available from <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Security_Council_\(Turkey\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Security_Council_(Turkey))> [Accessed 6th August, 2009].

¹⁴ Secretariat General for EU Affairs in Turkey. Available from <<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=2>> [Accessed 5th August, 2009].

Turgut Ozal said that he had not agreed to attempt to enter into the EEC blindly or without resources, and that Turkey would back down from EEC membership if costs were too harsh.¹⁵ The letter requesting full membership was submitted by the State Minister of the time, Ali Bozer¹⁶, to the Community Period Chairman and Belgium Foreign Minister, Leo Tindemans, in Palais D'egmont in Brussels on April 14, 1987. Bozer conveyed one copy of the letter to the EEC Commission Chairman, Jacques Delors. Turkey also indicated that it would participate in the European coal and steel industries and in the European atom-energy industry, in addition to participation in the European Economic Community (EEC).

Arikan¹⁷, the author of the *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?*, explained Turkey's bid for full membership in 1987 as follows;

The EU's response to Turkish application was not encouraging: The Commission opposed Turkey's early application for EU membership on the grounds that Turkey could not easily be integrated into the EU, as the economic and political situation in the country did not warrant membership.¹⁸

The EEC responded to this application of Turkey on December 18, 1989.¹⁹ The letter submitted by the State Minister to Term Chairman, Tindemans²⁰ was as follows:

¹⁵ Crises Group, International. 2007. "*Türkiye ve Avrupa: Geleceğe Doğru*". European Report no: 184. 17 August 2007. Available from < http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/turkey-cyprus/turkey/184-turkey-and-europe-the-way-ahead.aspx?alt_lang=tr > [Accessed August 22th, 2009].

¹⁶ Ali Bozer (1925); he is a Turkish academic of commercial law and politician. He is a member of the Motherland Party (ANAP), he served as Deputy Prime Minister in the Turgut Özal's and Yıldırım Akbulut's cabinets and was Minister of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁷ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (Second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

¹⁸ Arikan, Harun. 2006. *Turkey and the EU: an awkward candidate for EU membership?* (Second edition). United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub Co.

¹⁹ Turkish Republic Prime Ministry and Ministry of Culture. 2006. *Turkeys' Foreign Policy Book* (9th edition), Second volume: 1980-2001, Editor: ORAN, Baskın; Authors: Akdevelioglu Atay; Erhan, Çağrı; Oran, Baskın; Keskin, Funda; Alpkaya, Gökçen; Ulugbay, Hikmet; Ozersay, Kudret; Fırat, Melek; Aydın, Mustafa; Kurkuoğlu, Omer; Baykal, Sanem; Arat, Tugrul, Iletisim Publication Inc. published, Istanbul.

²⁰ Tindemans, Leonard Clemence, (born on 16 April 1922), he was prime minister of two Belgian governments, from 25 April 1974 to 20 October 1978.

Dear Chairman,

I am hereby honoured to declare your majesty that Turkey is officially applying to be member of European Economic Community in accordance with regulations of Article 237 article of the agreement established the European Economic Community with this letter on behalf of the Republic of Turkey. In this framework, I particularly want to state the loyalty of Turkey to European organization and the European Union, and also to the ideals which emerged in the agreements that established the European communities. I kindly ask your majesty to accept my best regards.

The community responded to the application of Turkey on December 18, 1989. The “opinion” prepared by EEC was delivered by the Commission member, Abel Matutes²¹, in Brussels. According to the opinion, Turkey was a country that was welcome to participate in the Community. However, the EEC and Turkey were not ready to formalize this accession due to economic, political and social reasons.²²The EEC Council of Foreign Affairs Minister accepted this opinion prepared by the Commission on February 5, 1990. The Council noted the application of Turkey on April 27 of the same year and demanded the opinion required by the agreements from the Commission. The Community had a fundamental interest to intensify its relations with Turkey and to help it to complete its political and economic modernization process as soon as possible. The establishment of a customs union in relation to industrial products was finally reached between Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC) on March 6, 1995 (Partnership Council Decision number 1/95). The customs union began to be executed between Turkey and the EEC as of January 1, 1996. This

²¹ Matutes M. Abel; he is a Spanish politician who served as Spain’s Minister of Foreign Affairs from May 6, 1996 to 2000.

²² Turkish Republic Prime Ministry and Ministry of Culture. 2006. *Turkeys’ Foreign Policy Book* (9th edition), Second volume: 1980-2001, Editor: ORAN, Baskın; Authors: Akdevelioglu Atay; Erhan, Cagri; Oran, Baskın; Keskin, Funda; Alpkaya, Gokcen; Ulugbay, Hikmet; Ozersay, Kudret; Firat, Melek; Aydın, Mustafa; Kurkcuoglu, Omer; Baykal, Sanem; Arat, Tugrul, Iletisim Publication Inc. published, Istanbul.

was made clear in the Summit Meetings where it was always accepted that Turkey still wanted to be a member of the European Union.²³

In 2000, the National Programme²⁴ must provide a wide political and economic reform agenda. This document is part of a developing process within the pre-accession strategy. The new document to be prepared just after the evaluations of the Turkish authorities in the issue of legal *acquis* must be a planning instrument to sustain future efforts. It is possible to sum up the criteria required in the EU commission 2001 report, regarding the progress of Turkey as an EU candidate, as follows. Positive developments were recorded in the field of economic, social and cultural rights. Provisions which prevented the use of languages prohibited by law in Articles 26 and 28 of the Constitution were abolished.²⁵ This development, which might enable the use of languages other than Turkish, was a positive development. As it was also approved by Turkish authorities, restrictive legislation and practices for implementation of constitutional reform had to be removed. Also, any developments were removed that did not benefit the cultural rights of all Turkish citizens in real terms, regardless of their ethnic origin.²⁶

²³ Turkish Republic Prime Ministry and Ministry of Culture. 2006. *Turkeys' Foreign Policy Book* (9th edition), Second volume: 1980-2001, Editor: ORAN, Baskın; Authors: Akdevelioglu Atay; Erhan, Cagri; Oran, Baskın; Keskin, Funda; Alpkaya, Gokcen; Ulugbay, Hikmet; Ozersay, Kudret; Fırat, Melek; Aydın, Mustafa; Kurkcuoglu, Omer; Baykal, Sanem; Arat, Tugrul, Iletisim Publication Inc. published, Istanbul.

²⁴ The National Programme (NP) outlined political and economic criteria of the *acquis* that will be harmonised with the events which have taken place.

²⁵ European Commission Annual Report. 2001. *Research and technological development activities of the European Union 2001 Annual Report*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

²⁶ *European Commission Annual Report. 2001. Research and technological development activities of the European Union 2001 Annual Report*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

8.3. What are the steps for Accession Procedures and Integration Processes for Turkey's bid?

Turkey could become a member of the European Union by 2015²⁷

Turkey started negotiations after a long waiting period. The Accession Partnership²⁸ is one of the key features of the pre-accession strategy proposed by EC which sets out in a single framework on the basis of the principles, priorities, intermediate objectives and conditions decided by the Council for further work identified in the European Commission's progress report for Turkey's bid. However, Turkey has been receiving pre-accession assistance from the EU to help Turkey to meet the criteria for EU membership since 2001.

These criteria are constantly evolving and includes; *acquis* of the EU (content, principles and political objectives of the Treaties, legislation and decisions adopted pursuant to the Treaties, the case law of the Court of Justice, and adopted frameworks), Copenhagen criteria, which set down the following requirements for membership: the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, (also check annex for preliminary indicative list of chapter headings). In principle, Turkey-EU negotiations need a qualification regarding the Copenhagen political criteria and *acquis communautaire*.

²⁷ Bagis EGEMEN; This quote has taken from a report by Turkish Minister for European Union Affairs Egemen Bağış in Turkey's EU Affairs Minister, Wednesday, October 19, 2011.

²⁸ Available in Appendix section.

This study has followed the methodology of structured interview design with senior staff of the European Union and a senior Turkish diplomat in Brussels. The research study has examined the issues of the military and religion under the broader topic of political and cultural issues in Turkish accession. On this topic, I asked the interview question: “What is the relationship between the European Union and Turkey today, especially after the negotiation decision (since October 2005)?” The head of the DG Enlargement Turkey team, Jean-Christophe Filori²⁹, gave the following response.

“The relations are based on two agreements. The first agreement is the Association Agreement of 1963 which was completed by the Customs Union Agreement of 1995; this agreement was completed with a number of protocols regarding a number of different issues. This is the first pillar for relations. The second pillar is the accession negotiations, which is called the negotiation framework. The negotiation framework is a document approved by the then 25 member states in 2005, which sets out the rules, principles and procedures of the negotiations. European Union and Turkey relations are based on these pillars, which are very important agreements”.

Following this, Filori remarked that relations between the European Union and Turkey have gained in quality and momentum since Turkey became a negotiating country in 2005, and not just an association country to the European Union. At the same time, it is a difficult process as: all enlargements in the accession process is always demanding, is always difficult, and in the case of Turkey it is a difficult process. It faces a number of challenges which we all know, which are the very slow phase reforms for Turkey, and a large part of public opinion in Europe, which translates to negative signals given by some countries, according to Filori.

²⁹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

8.3.1. The National Programme Pockets for the Adoption of the EU

In 2001, Turkey prepared its National Programme document, which sets out how short- and medium-term domestic strategies can be developed to comply with the Accession Partnership Document (APD). A schedule of harmonization with EU *acquis* was also included in the National Programme.

The National Programme was prepared by the European Union General Secretariat (EUGS) and takes into account the Copenhagen criteria, the Helsinki Summit results, the Accession Partnership Document (APD), the 2000 Progress Report and the 8th Five Year Development Plan. The National Programme was completed using contributions from relevant public institutions and enterprises by The State Planning Organisation (SPO) and delivered to EUGS on November 29, 2000. The Programme comprises six main titles and was submitted to the member of the Commission responsible for expansion by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 26, 2001.³⁰ The Programme was accepted on the March 19, 2001 Council of Ministers meeting. It was then published on March 24, 2001 with an Official Gazette number: 24352. It constituted a legal and technical basis for a pre-accession strategy with the APD, with the official name of “Turkey National Programme on Undertaking of EU *Acquis*”.

The Accession Partnership Document (APD) prescribed compliance of Turkey with the membership criteria and the National Programme. This constitutes a pre-accession strategy for Turkey prescribed in the Helsinki Summit, with the “Framework Code”, which forms the grounds for providing financial aid in Turkey during the candidate process have the nature of a unilateral declaration of will legally for The Republic of Turkey. In this

³⁰ Karluk, Rıdvan and Tonus, Ozgur. 2002. *Turkey standing on the European Door*. Istanbul: Turhan Inc.

framework, the National Programme was considered to be a document in which Turkey showed how it would meet its responsibilities and how long it would take to achieve the legislation harmonization and structural change in order to fulfil requirements of EU membership. The relationship of the Programme with the Accession Partnership Document (APD) is stated as follows: the National Programme is an integral part of the Accession Partnership and the priorities contained in the document must firstly comply with the Accession Partnership. Therefore, despite the fact that the National Programme must reflect the Accession Partnership Document (APD) exactly, it is also stated that the main content and schedule must considerably overlap with the Accession Partnership Document (APD); a contrary approach may lead to problems and delays in progressing the candidate process and in the supervision of improvements and provision of financial and technical aids.³¹

The National Programme prescribed that a comprehensive public administration reform would be realized, working towards the formation of a legal and institutional environment to provide public services effectively, transparently and in a participatory way, which is required by this framework. Accordingly, public administration and the realization of a state-staff-regime reform are imperative. Also, there was a requirement that the restructuring of local administrations into modern administrative units took place; where people can make their own decisions to meet local requirements in accordance with principles, standards and plans set out by the central administration and to form their own resources and implement their own projects and establish regional development agencies within the scope of the local administrative reform. It also stated that the restructuring of public, economic enterprises and legal adjustments, relating to the strengthening of governance frameworks, was expected to become law as soon as possible through the Act on Public Financial Administration and Control.

³¹ Karluk, Rıdvan and Tonus, Ozgur. 2002. *Turkey standing on the European Door*. Istanbul: Turhan Inc.

In a comment published in *Der Tagesspiegel* newspaper (31/07) under the title of “Assembly is against the Army”, written by Thomas Seibert, it was stated that Turkey had taken a significant step on the way to EU membership and the Assembly approved a reform law draft restricting the leading role of the army in Turkish politics and the reform package must also be approved by the President, Ahmet Necdet Sezer.

There was a comment that stated that a decision was taken by the assembly in 2007, which indicated that the politicians in Turkey had become ready to restrict the power of the Generals for the first time since 1980. The basis of the “Seventh Harmonization Package” prescribed the strengthening of EU membership of Turkey by reforming the National Security Council (NSC). The army determined the main line to be followed in domestic and foreign policies in the consulting meetings, which have, until now, been held monthly and attended by representatives of the government and the army.³²

The Belgium press stated in *Le Soir* newspaper (31/07) under the title “Reforms are Held, But Constraints Increase More”, written by Veronique Kiesel, that Turkey has started to democratize in order to reach the same standards of other EU-member countries in the issues of justice, human rights and freedom of expression. The article continues that the Turkish Government has adopted a number of reforms in this direction with the aim of possible EU membership.

The International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) closely followed-up the membership process and performed a number of examinations in Turkey. It said that Turkey’s officer of FIDH, Elsa Le Pennec, made a statement as follows:

“We wanted to see the way these reforms are being implemented. Actually, it is observed that judicial constraints are increasing in concerned region. The government seems as determined in the issue of reforms. However, National Security Council, bureaucracy, security forces and a number of judicial bodies are sabotaging the reforms prepared by the political power”. *Le Soir* newspaper (31/07)

³² Karluk, Rıdvan and Tonus, Ozgur. 2002. *Turkey standing on the European Door*. Istanbul: Turhan Inc.

8.3.2. Opening Negotiations between EU and Turkey - 2005

Having summed up the development of the European Union-Turkey relations, we can now analyse the developments that brought Turkey to the point of negotiating full membership to the EU in October 3, 2005. We overlook negotiations steps taken for Turkey's EU bid. This section evaluates important development itself by using sub-points³³ as stated below;

The Luxembourg Summit

Turkey conveyed its desire to be included in the new expansion process, started by the European Union (EU) in 1996, for the first time. The capacity of Turkey for full membership was confirmed one more time in the Luxembourg Summit³⁴ organized on December 12-13, 1997.

Cardiff Summit

Following this, the position of Turkey was brought to the member candidate status in the Cardiff Summit³⁵, held on June 15-16, 1998. Afterwards, Turkey was accepted and unanimously announced as a candidate country in the European Union (EU) and it was clearly stated that it would be in equal position with other candidate countries in the

³³ Sub-points are points that back up the main idea shown in each paragraph.

³⁴ The Luxembourg European Council; European Council meeting in Luxembourg on 12 and 13 December 1997 marks a moment of historic significance for the future of the Union and of Europe as a whole. With the launch of the enlargement process we see the dawn of a new era, finally putting an end to the divisions of the past. Extending the European integration model to encompass the whole of the continent is a pledge of future stability and prosperity.

³⁵ *The Cardiff European Council*; Presidency Conclusions - Cardiff, 15 and 16 June 1998.

European Union (EU) at the Government President's Summit, held on December 10-11, 1999, in Helsinki³⁶.

Helsinki Summit

This Helsinki Summit was considered significant in Turkey-EU relations, as it determined the detailed framework of Turkey's candidacy process. It was not only announced in the Summit's text that Turkey was a candidate country in the framework of the criteria applied by other candidate countries, but it was also stated that a pre-accession strategy was going to be developed for Turkey by the European Union, encouraging the fulfilment of the reforms (which was a requirement for membership). In addition, it was also expressed that Turkey was going to benefit from EU programmes and included meetings that were to be held between the European Union and candidate countries during the accession process. In addition, the preparation of a national programme related to the EU legal *acquis*, was also prescribed. Therefore, the EU Commission was asked to conduct a study relating to the European Union (EU) legislation, which was required to be undertaken and to prepare a framework relating to all financial aids involved in the Summit.

After Turkey was announced as a candidate country at the Helsinki Summit, the Accession Partnership Document (APD), which was prepared by the European Commission and approved by the EU Council (and included short- and medium-term priorities and financial aids to be provided within the framework of harmonization with Copenhagen Criteria) it was published in the European Communities Official Gazette on March 24, 2001. In parallel with this document, the Turkish National Programme was accepted by the Council of Ministers on March 19 of 2001. This related to a range of initiatives including: the

³⁶ The Helsinki European Council; (held on 10 and 11 December 1999) European Council decided to extend the accession negotiations procedure to six applicant countries (Malta, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania) and gives Turkey the status of 'applicant country' without, however, opening accession negotiations or fixing a precise timetable.

Undertaking of the European Union legal *acquis*, which included new adjustments to be made in Turkish legislation to harmonize with the European Union *acquis*; human and financial sources required for harmonization; development of administrative capacity required for the undertaking of EU law and a schedule of short- and medium-term priorities.

As has been stated, the Accession Partnership Document (APD) was first accepted by the European Union Council for Turkey in 2001. Similar documents were also issued over the following years.

Copenhagen Summit

The most significant European Union Summit was held in Copenhagen on December 12-13, 2002. Here, it was stated that progress achieved by Turkey towards harmonization with the Copenhagen criteria was positive. However, implementation was also seen as important. The Summit stated that full membership negotiations would start immediately. Moreover, the Summit agreed that the approach regarding the all-important Accession Partnership Document, should be reviewed for Turkey and financial aid should be provided and increased. Also, the Commission was invited to prepare a new Accession Partnership Document (APD) for Turkey. This document was accepted by the EU Council on April 14, 2003. After this, the National Programme of 2001 was required to be revised in parallel with the new Accession Partnership Document (APD). The National Programme, which was quickly revised by the Government in accordance with the 2003 Accession Partnership Document (APD), was accepted by the European Union Council on June 23, 2003.

Short- and medium-term separation was also included in the new Accession Partnership Document (APD), accepted on May 19, 2003. It was stated separately in the document that certain requirements were to be met in the short and medium term (2003-2004). Significantly, some priorities relating to economic criteria and *acquis*, were divided

into short and medium terms even though all of the political priorities were gathered under the title of short term. These issues were brought onto the agenda in all the EU documents and reports that were later prepared for Turkey, and this continued in 2006-2007 and in 2008, when full membership negotiations were ongoing.

Turkey was determined to respond to the Accession Partnership Document (APD) of 2003. Turkey reviewed its National Programme of July 24, 2003, which was composed of political commitments against the matters included in the APD. Any progress fulfilled within the framework of the 2001 National Programme was firstly included in the chapter reserved for political criteria, and it was emphasized that this process would also continue during the accession negotiations since it would take a long time to change fundamental laws. For this reason, Turkey focussed on fulfilling the priorities relating to harmonizing law packages in order to ensure the start of accession negotiations as soon as possible, even though the aim of renewing the fundamental laws was preserved in the National Programme.

A number of factors increased the focus on political problems like human rights and democratization in Turkish-European Union relations, like the structural transformation of the EU itself, internal problems of Turkey and the restructuring of the international system after the Cold War.

The National Programme did not include a new and clear commitment to the condition that “new trials due to the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)” and “Assurance of the obligation of taking into account ECHR judicial opinions”, which were emphasized in the new Accession Partnership Document (APD). The condition that “Adaptation of the National Security Council (NSC) mechanism in a way to harmonize with the practices related with civil control of military affairs in member countries of the Union” as included in the Accession Partnership Document (APD) and relating to the National Security Council (NSC), was provided in the National Programme. It said that the

“Consulting body nature of the National Security Council (NSC) has been redefined with the Constitution and relevant law amendments. Functions of the National Security Council (NSC) and NSC General Secretariat will be harmonized with these natures”. However, it should be noted that the legal texts were valid for all issues in relation to the Copenhagen criteria. In addition, some evaluations were also made regarding the fact that criteria prescribed in the Accession Partnership Document (APD) were required, but were not important enough to be put into legislation. These criteria also had to be put into practice effectively. The responsibility and task of monitoring and determining whether or not conditions had been fulfilled belonged to the Commission, with the use of Progress Reports. Political decisions were made by the EU Council in year-end summits. It was suggested that Turkey had entered into a very significant period, which would continue until October 3, 2005. Turkey was initially expected to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria. Fulfilment of these criteria, both in terms of opportunities they provided and problems they might have caused, would be considerably difficult for Turkey. However, the important thing was to fulfil their commitments and to realize the required reforms.

The EU Commission selected the priorities of the accession partnership on the basis that candidate countries are expected to complete these priorities within a few years, or at least to progress significantly. A separation was made between short-term priorities, expected to be fulfilled within one or two years and medium-term priorities, expected to be fulfilled within three or four years. Turkey has always attempted to fulfil the priorities defined in this accession partnership. While some progress was recorded generally in this field, a greater amount of effort must be displayed to complete the tasks prescribed. Priorities reviewed here reflect the progress until that time and indicate the areas requiring greater progress.

The EU Commission further emphasizes priorities relating to empowered political dialogue and political criteria, while evaluating the accession process in the EU. The areas in

which limited progress has been recorded are listed and difficulties in practice are mentioned and it is advised that political reforms must be reinforced and further expanded in these areas.

The common aim of the negotiations is accession. However, these negotiations are an open-ended process and so results cannot be forecast. If any candidate state remains in a position in which it cannot completely fulfil all obligations then that state must try its very best to hold on to any European structures it can.

Regarding the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for fundamental rights and freedoms and rule of law (which constitute the basis of the union) if they are violated continuously and seriously, the Commission advises a delay in negotiations *ex officio* or upon claim of one third of Member States and may recommend subsequent start-up requirements. Member States will act within the framework of the intergovernmental conference, in accordance with the Council decision, without injuring the responsibility of unanimity in the intergovernmental conference. The European Parliament will be informed of the result.

Today, relations between Turkey and the European Union (EU) continue within the framework of the partnership regime, on one hand, and the candidate process, on the other hand. Turkey continues to fulfil conditions during the candidate process, which began after the Helsinki Summit. The partnership regime of Turkey and the regulations it fulfilled (especially in the customs union framework) carried Turkey forward in relation to certain *acquis* titles, when negotiations had not yet started in other candidate countries. The final aim of the partnership regime between Turkey and the EU is the membership of Turkey to the EU. Turkey has already entered into the customs union, which symbolizes progression. Moreover, the final aim of the membership application made by Turkey in 1987, independent from the partnership regime and the candidacy taken in the Helsinki Summit, was to achieve

full membership. Therefore, the consent of Turkey to any status other than full membership cannot be thought of as successful.

Turkish efforts spent in fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria have overcome a critical threshold on the way to democratization. Some interpretations suggest that the reforms, realized by Turkey during the last period, have had positive reflections for both the EU and the European Council.

Brussels Summit

It was stated in the EU Brussels Summit³⁷ held on June 17-18, 2004, that the progress recorded by Turkey, including the comprehensive Constitutional amendments realized in May, were supported. Another significant improvement supporting the EU's positive attitude is that it was decided that the auditing process of the European Council Parliamentary Assembly on Turkey was to be abolished on June 22, 2004. It was stated that the reforms, fulfilled by Turkey in the last two years, became effective in this decision of the Parliamentary Assembly.³⁸

Therefore, improvements recorded regarding the issues of 2001 and 2004 Constitutional amendments were emphasized. Acceptance of the decision was evaluated by relevant EU segments and recognized as Turkey's confirmation and fulfilment of the Copenhagen political criteria. In addition, the progress recorded by Turkey in the issue of fulfilling the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) decisions was taken by the Parliamentary Assembly. Positive or negative aspects of the improvements experienced will

³⁷ The Brussels Summit; is the first meeting of the European Council after the European elections of 10-13 June, the largest exercise in trans-national and continent-wide democracy ever undertaken in Europe. The European Council (further Council) met in Brussels on 17-18 June 2004 to discuss the development of, and make suggestions on, a range of issues. Among those issues discussed, justice, freedom, and security took strong priority especially in regards to protection and prevention against terrorism.

³⁸ The Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly. 2004. *Honouring of obligations and commitments by Turkey*, Resolution 1380 (2004)1, on 22 June 2004. Brussels: European Parliament.

emerge during the course of membership negotiations, which are important for the process of achieving full membership. The success of the negotiation process speeds up full membership.

8.3.3. Making a Democratic Turkish Nation-State

The thesis is inspired by the work of Benedict Anderson. It has examined the role of Turkey's national identity in its bid for accession to the EU under two major titles. Under the first title, permanent data (e.g. geographic, demographic, cultural, language and religious factors) were examined according to Anderson's theoretical approach and compared with the same factors elsewhere in the EU. In accordance with the process of EU integration, common factors amongst the informal criteria, particularly religious issues, were discussed in part two.

The EU set out formal criteria for Turkey's accession; the main obstacle was that a democracy had to be established, and that this comes under 'alterable data' (variables liable to be changed), as the Turkish national identity had previously been built on a government dominated by the Turkish army, the causes and consequences of which we have already seen.

The Copenhagen Criteria, which outlined the reforms necessary to join the European Union, would weaken military influence within the Turkish state. Since 1999, major political reforms have been implemented in Turkey, promoting democratisation, better respect of human rights including minority rights and in the area of civilian control of the military.³⁹ On paper, at least in terms of its laws, it appeared that Turkey was largely fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria. The main problem, as mentioned in the 2002 Regular Report,

³⁹ Annabelle Littoz-Monnet and Beatriz Villanueva Penas. 2005. "Turkey and the European Union the Implications of a Specific Enlargement". Available from < <http://aei.pitt.edu/9307/1/050404Turquie-ALM-BVP.pdf>> [Accessed August 4th, 2009].

was the application of these laws. At the 2002 EU Copenhagen Summit, the Commission declared that at the end of 2004 it might run a regular Progress Report on Turkey whether or not it met the Copenhagen political criteria i.e. whether the implementation of the reforms had begun, without waiting for accession talks with Turkey.

This section will explore how alterable data can show how the role of the military in Turkish identity can be altered, thus setting Turkey on a path to democratisation.

The objective of EU membership has certainly been a very important framework in underpinning these reforms. Yet, these reforms came along with a loss of power for the military and other parts of the secularist establishment.⁴⁰ Since 1961, the Turkish constitution contained in the National Security Council (NSC), the military's political influence is seen as the main tool. We will now evaluate the most important stages of the Turkish administration's "democratic opening" that underpinned its EU bid:

The Accession Partnership Document

Serious reforms in Turkey's democratization began when it was officially declared a candidate country in December 1999 after the EU Helsinki Summit. After Helsinki, on 8 December 2000, the EU Accession Partnership Document (APD) was prepared. In this document, Turkey's short-term (one year) and medium-term (four year) courses to fulfil the requirements were outlined. This document laid the bases for the National Programme for Turkey (NP), which was created on 10 March 2001. The National Programme for Turkey (NP) has the short- and medium-term Turkey's Accession Partnership Document (APD) to follow how to fulfil the conditions set out in detail. Since 2001, Turkey has witnessed nine such major reform packages and and has engaged in a major revision of Turkish Penal and

⁴⁰ Annabelle Littoz-Monnet and Beatriz Villanueva Penas. 2005. "Turkey and the European Union the Implications of a Specific Enlargement". Available from < <http://aei.pitt.edu/9307/1/050404Turquie-ALM-BVP.pdf>> [Accessed August 4th, 2009].

Civil codes. The nine packages introduced vital changes to Turkey's constitution, which had been drafted in 1982 under the military regime⁴¹. The preparation of the National Programme (NP) after the EU's Helsinki Summit was a major advance for the Turkish government.

National Programme for Turkey

Turkey's EU accession negotiations indicated that Turkey must fulfil various requests. The National Programme (NP) outlined political and economic criteria of the *acquis communautaire* that will be harmonised with the events which have taken place. According to Turkey, the implementation of these administrative changes will involve 4000 separate changes; 94 laws will have to be revised and 89 new laws will be required in order to ensure that Turkey is compliant with the *acquis communautaire*.⁴² An important question is, 'How will Turkey's National Programme respond to political integration into the EU?' This question can be answered according to two separate viewpoints.⁴³

1. For the National Programme, although Turkey's legal system, economic and political structure and laws should be brought into line with those of the EU (e.g. the death penalty), the role of cultural rights e.g. the right to education and the right to television and radio programmes in Turkish is very important;
2. The National Programme was implemented through Parliament prior to the removal of the legislation, and Turkey therefore became closer to meeting the Copenhagen political criteria. Therefore, in the summer of 2003 the AKP presented

⁴¹ Asli Gurkan, Yakup Beris. 2004. "Turkey in Focus, Turkey's Push for Reforms: Moving beyond Rhetoric". Issue 6, June 2004. Washington: Turkish industrialists' and businessmen's association (TUSIAD). Available from <<http://www.tusiad.us/Content/uploaded/TURKEY-AND-REFORMS-TURKEY-IN-FOCUS-6.PDF>> [Accessed August 12th, 2009].

⁴² Sozen, Ahmet. 2004. "Türkiye'de Kopenhag Kriterleri Çerçevesinde Demokratikleşme ve Türk Dış Politikasına Yansımaları". Istanbul: Bahcesehir University. Available from <<http://ir.emu.edu.tr/staff/asozen/pub/tanoryazi.pdf>> [Accessed September 2nd, 2009].

⁴³ Sozen, Ahmet. 2004. "Türkiye'de Kopenhag Kriterleri Çerçevesinde Demokratikleşme ve Türk Dış Politikasına Yansımaları". Istanbul: Bahcesehir University. Available from <<http://ir.emu.edu.tr/staff/asozen/pub/tanoryazi.pdf>> [Accessed September 2nd, 2009].

the seventh package of adjustments to Parliament, and they were subsequently adopted.

Legislation on Human Rights

In addition, the legislation relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms (to interpret the European Courts of Human Rights (ECHR), Article 90⁴⁴ ECHR and the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey is in line with efforts to ensure that levels of compliance are increased. Concerns remain about the impartiality of the judiciary. High levels of judicial power have been transferred to the public on various occasions when political comments were made, and these comments will cast a shadow on the impartiality of judgements made in the future. In a ruling on independence, the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) ruled that there could not be a review of the progress made. It is unclear who or what the reporting form inspector is.

Harmonization Packages

In the summer of 2003, seven EU harmonisation packages were issued to the National Security Council (NSC) with regard to the role of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF), and which included significant changes relating to civilian control. Through the subsequent reform of the NSC, the responsibility and authority of the Turkish Armed Forces were significantly restricted. The NSC's decisions and recommendations for the government, the

⁴⁴ European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism; Open for signature by the member States of the Council of Europe, in Strasbourg, on 27 January 1977. Entry into force: 4 August 1978.

Summary of the treaty: The Convention is designed to facilitate the extradition of persons having committed acts of terrorism. To this end, it lists the offences that Parties undertake not to consider as political offences, or as offences connected with political offences, or as offences inspired by political motives, namely acts of particular gravity, hijacking of aircraft, kidnapping and taking of hostages, the use of bombs, grenades, rockets, letter or parcel bombs, if their use endangers persons. Moreover, the Convention empowers Parties not to consider as a political offence any act of violence against the life, physical integrity or liberty of a person. It is expressly provided that nothing in the Convention shall be interpreted as imposing an obligation upon a Party to extradite a person who might then be prosecuted or punished solely on the grounds of race, religion, nationality or political opinion.

role of the NSC in terms of advising the government and issues of security became purely functional. Likewise, the civilian and military backgrounds in the NSC staff distribution were changed in favour of non-members. Issues concerning national security policy were to be addressed at the NSC meetings held every two months.

Democratic Control of the Armed Forces

The questionable Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DECAF) in Turkey has received criticism from European circles⁴⁵. The military sphere has become a domain in which action must be taken as part of the fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria and is hence part of the conditions of EU membership⁴⁶. The reforms have also altered accompanying laws, regulations and practices, a key element in the consolidation of democratic structures that the country has been longing for so long⁴⁷. However, in the EU accession process, the Turkish military has come to be considered as a weakness.

According to El Pais Newspaper “The EU wants the Turkish military from the civil power, respect” heading, newspapers in the news were recorded as follows as “European Commission spokesman Johannes Laitenberger, said that Brussels needed to follow very closely the events in Turkey for the democratic secularism recalling the importance of the European Commission”⁴⁸. On the other hand, Council of Europe Secretary General, Terry

⁴⁵ Cizre, Ümit. 2004. “Problems of Democratic Governance of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey and the European Enlargement Zone”. Vol. 43, pp: 107-125. European Journal of Political Research. Issue published online: August 11th, 2004. Available from < <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00147.x/full>> [Accessed March 3rd, 2009].

⁴⁶ Tank, Pinar. 2001. “Turkey as a ‘Special Case’ for the EU: Will the Generals Retreat from Politics?”. Security Dialogue, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp: 217-230. Security Dialogue Journals.

⁴⁷ Asli Gurkan, Yakup Beris. 2004. “Turkey in Focus, Turkey's Push for Reforms: Moving beyond Rhetoric”. Issue 6, June 2004. Washington: Turkish industrialists’ and businessmen’s association (TUSIAD). Available from < <http://www.tusiad.us/Content/uploaded/TURKEY-AND-REFORMS-TURKEY-IN-FOCUS-6.PDF>> [Accessed August 12th, 2009].

⁴⁸ AB Haber - EU News Agency. 2 May 2007. Available from <<http://www.abhaber.com/haber.php?id=17072>> [Accessed June 2nd, 2009].

Davis, said that the last Turkish troops had been requested to stay in their headquarters and to protect the margin of politics”.⁴⁹

After these dilemma, on 1 September 2008, General Ilker Basbug, on the proposal of the Prime Minister by the Supreme Military Council was appointed to the new Chief of General Staff. General Basbug's, the Chief of General Staff of the Army's first job, after coming to the communication unit to develop and upgrade the Army spokesman. A new communication strategy, with part of the week devoted to press conference arrangements, has been introduced and Islamic media organizations were also attended by journalists who were allowed to do so (until now the military had a black list in the field of media organizations and journalists invited to press conferences organized by the Army). Overall, the control of the defence and military authorities reduces the amount of control that parliament and therefore civilians have over the progress achieved in these matters. Senior officials of the armed forces are outside the field of liability and can resolve the military issues. Army has been weakened under the control of the civilian authorities.

The Turkish Court of the Auditors Authority

Another important reform in the field of compliance package also represents the extension of the military to the authority of the Turkish Court of the Auditors. Thus, the military expenses and funds were subject to oversight. The current budget level, for example, is under the Ministry of Education budget. Other changes include the role of the military court, which has restricted the criminal law and criminal procedure law related to the procedure. Soldiers in military service members can no longer be tried for crimes they committed outside the court but civil cases can be. According to the constitution and the Court of Auditors, the amount of money spent on the military must be controlled. In 2007, 25 percent of all military accounting

⁴⁹ AB Haber - EU News Agency. 2 May 2007. Available from <<http://www.abhaber.com/haber.php?id=17076>> [Accessed June 2nd, 2009].

offices had been audited. However, the Court who delayed the adoption of the revised Audit Law, was unable to audit military property.

On 8 July 2009, Turkish President Abdullah Gul signed a law aimed at meeting EU criteria to limit the power of military courts, despite warnings from the army that doing so would escalate tensions with the government. President Gul insisted on the relevance of this legislation as an essential part in the EU membership talks. Indeed, together with other priorities, such as democracy, the rule of law and freedom of religion, the civilian oversight of the armed forces is one of the main and long-standing political criteria for Turkish EU membership.⁵⁰ “In implementing these reforms, it would be beneficial for legal changes to be made to remove doubts likely to arise over discipline and legal guarantees from the perspective of military service,” he said.⁵¹

According to an article in *The Economist*, this tension between the military and the government may promote reforms and democracy. This new law is considered as one of the biggest challenge to the army’s immunity and to Turkey’s secular elite, the latest more worried about losing its power than Islamic influence by the government.⁵²

The Constitutional Reform Package and Referendum

On the 22nd of March 2010, the AKP announced a constitutional reform package. Deputy Prime Minister and government spokesman Cemil Çiçek presented a draft of 23 articles of the constitution as a proposal to be amended. Çiçek referred to the following main points in the press conference:

⁵⁰ Martinez, Belen Gongora. 2009. “Closer to the EU? Civilian Control of the military in Turkey; Democracy and Social Europe beyond the Nation State”. 21 July, 2009. Available from <<http://alterdemocracy.wordpress.com/2009/07/21/closer-to-the-eu-civilian-control-of-the-military-in-turkey/>> [Accessed July 7th, 2011].

⁵¹ The EurActive. Published on 9th July, 2009. Available from <<http://www.euractiv.com/Archives/news/Turkey>> [Accessed July 5th, 2011].

⁵² The Economist Newspaper. Published on 2nd July 2009.

“Turkey needs a new Constitution. The Constitution from 1980 is probably one of the most discussed constitutions in the world. The provisions were maybe suitable for the circumstances in 1982 but they do not meet current needs in Turkey in terms of priorities, philosophy and internal balance. Our current constitution falls short of Turkey’s time’s expectations and demands”.⁵³

The new constitution on the path to democratisation was the main formal criterion set out by the EU for the Europeanisation of Turkey. The proposal of the new constitution was the main step towards Turkey’s target of EU membership. Çiçek continued his statement about the EU accession process and Turkish law as follows:

“Turkey is negotiating for EU accession. The country is obliged to fulfil acquired EU standards. One of the first steps to accomplish this is to make laws. Will you take the EU standards or the constitution into consideration when you make new laws? If you do not consider the constitution, proceedings will be dismissed; if you consider the constitution, the laws will not comply with EU norm”.⁵⁴

In Çiçek’s statement, in which he announced the constitutional reform package, he emphatically referred to the AKP’s targets for the democratisation process, which stood against future military coups and interventions in Turkey.

The draft proposal was published in order to be approved as a whole in a referendum which was held on the 14th September 2010. The Turkish military, politicians and citizens were not the only ones looking forward in suspense to the results of the Turkish votes; the whole of Europe was looking forward to seeing Turkey as the victor in the war for democratisation and the freedom of speech and the struggle for EU membership.

⁵³ BIA News Center, Burçin BELGE - Bawer Çakır Ankara – Istanbul, 23 March 2010.

⁵⁴ BIA News Center, Burçin BELGE - Bawer Çakır Ankara – Istanbul, 23 March 2010.

For the new constitution, the AKP presented a reform package including 26 articles.⁵⁵

It was envisaged that the reform package would be subject to the following amendments:⁵⁶

- **The structure of the Constitutional Court shall change. The members are to be elected for the duration of 12 years. A member cannot be re-elected. The court will consist of 19 members. Three members will be from the parliament, 16 members will be appointed by the president.**
- **The structure of the Supreme Board of Prosecutors and Judges (HSYK) shall change. The Council will have 21 actual members and ten reserve members. Four members will be elected by the president, one by the Constitutional Court, three by the Supreme Court, one by the State Council, seven by judicial and three members by administrative judges and prosecutors. HSYK decisions regarding suspensions from profession can be subject to legal appeals.**
- **Provisional Article 15 shall be lifted. This opens the possibility to prosecute the putschists of the military coup on 12 September 1980.**
- **High Military Council decisions will be open to judiciary appeals. It will be possible to prosecute military officers at civil courts.**
- **The right to collective bargaining and associate with trade unions shall be granted to civil servants.**
- **The closure of political parties shall be obstructed.**

The day before the referendum, a writer in the Global Post News named Nichole Sobecki announced that Turkey would say ‘yes’ to the new constitution. The newspaper article is included below.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The Constitutional Reform Package includes 22 articles except the enforcement article. A further three articles are provisional. The draft foresees the amendment of articles 10, 20, 23, 41, 53, 69, 74, 84, 94, 125, 128, 129, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 156 and 159.

⁵⁶ BIA News Center, Burçin BELGE - Bawer Çakır Ankara – Istanbul, 23 March 2010.

“It’s a major victory for Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s Islamic-leaning Justice and Development Party, known here as AKP, which appears to have successfully consolidated the support it will need in next year’s general election and strengthened the country’s chances at joining the European Union.”

In the referendum on the 12th of September 2010, Turkey voted ‘yes’ to the constitutional Reforms, constituting a big step towards joining the EU. This means that the new democratic constitution was approved and that Turkey’s un-democratic constitution from 1982, which was drawn up by the military junta that ruled the country for three years after the 1980 coup.

Turkey is experiencing a revolution, following its history of military coups and political problems. However, this is a democratic revolution, and no-one will be executed. The political system which was judged by the Turkish Army has seen four strokes since 1960, but the reward for this struggle is democracy as a result of the Turkish citizens’ votes.

The world’s media announced the results of the referendum in terms of the democratisation of Turkey. Some of them linked the story with Turkey’s bid for EU accession.

They day after the referendum, The Guardian newspaper’s headline was ‘Turkey’s quiet revolutions’. The article stated:⁵⁸

“Turkey is moving closer to Europe in its democratic standards and economic governance, which should be applauded”.

The reform package has mostly concentrated on military reform in the Turkish administration. However, this is directly related to freedom of speech and human rights in Turkey. One of the important articles (Article 145) in the modification proposal states that the

⁵⁷ Sobekci, Nichole. 2010. “Turkey votes ‘yes’ to constitutional reform”. Published: September 13, 2010 06:51 ET in Europe at Global Post. Available from <<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/turkey/100912/turkey-votes-yes-constitutional-referendum>> [Accessed August 9th, 2011].

⁵⁸ The Guardian. 14 September 2010. Available from <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/sep/14/turkey-quiet-revolution-editorial#history-link-box>> [Accessed August 9th, 2011].

scope of the military courts will be limited. The reforms will limit the duties of the military courts to cases involving military personnel and military offences related to military services and duties. This means that non-military personnel will not be tried in military courts except during war time.

The referendum has guided the administrative identity of Turkey towards democratisation, putting it on the path to EU membership. Turkish citizens were allowed to choose their own identity; they could stay as they were, or change the public identity of their national government. The military issue forms one of the formal criteria that any candidate must fulfil in order to join the EU, and using alterable data when discussing national identity tends to sound like an excuse. Turkey has now been altered and has become a democratic state.

Finally, following the referendum in September 2010, the Turkish people voted to change Turkey's 1982 constitution, which Turkey was still subject to. The 1982 Constitution was prepared and agreed on by the Turkish Army after a military coup over Turkey's administration in 1982.

8.4. Future Perspectives for Turkish Accession

In Europe, the debate in Turkey was examined specially, in fact, and this stage in establishing of how Europe should be built in the quest for the direction of the European agenda is seen to be a major activity. Turkey's EU membership provides an interesting discussion on the limits of the European identity. Thus, the leaders and people of Europe, in the future, should consider how they envisage a Europe via Turkey maintain shape; Turkey-EU relations will be strengthened by dependent structures. Turkey in Europe continues to be a key and intensive item on the European agenda.

The boundaries of European identity are being tested via the notion of Turkey joining the European Union. The idea of closed to the outside world, and a Europe with a homogeneous universal, outward-facing outlook, has created debate on a European identity.

Negotiations and the accession process in European Union (EU) legislation start with the date given in the European Summit for negotiation and end with the approval of membership in the EU (as long as Progress Reports are met). In one sense, this period can also be defined as a continuum from negotiation to approval. This process operates in the same way for every candidate country. In other words, negotiation and accession phases progress similarly.

The accession process firstly requires that the factors included in the title "Political Criteria" of the Copenhagen Criteria, must be completed without any deficiency. Annual reports prepared by the Commission and examining the performance of candidate countries in fulfilling concerned criteria, are important documents. Fulfilling the political criteria constitutes the first step on way to the start of negotiations. The European Summit decides

when to start negotiations. The accession process ends with the approval of membership to the European Union after the completion of negotiations.

Success in negotiations between European Union and Turkey firstly depends on the clarity of the message behind the negotiation process. This message should be three dimensional. First of all, it should be clearly expressed that the reason why Turkey wants to be loyal to European values is that these values are in favour of the Turkish people and a consensus should be created around this principle. Secondly, it should be stated that Turkey wants to make positive contributions to defend these European values with other EU countries. Thirdly, it should be emphasized that there is no tension between the idea that Turkey has European values and can defend its own interests at the same time. Yet, successful completion of negotiations does not necessarily guarantee membership.

In parallel with the accession negotiations, the EU will enter into a mutual relationship with each candidate within an intensive political and cultural dialogue. This comprehensive dialogue will also include civil society with the aim of strengthening mutual understanding by bringing peoples together. While the main characteristics of the democratic system exist in Turkey, fundamental matters like civil supervision of the army must be dealt with effectively.

With regard to the Copenhagen political criteria regarding the rule of law, being a democratic state was the first necessary step towards Turkey's membership. In research; to reach top staff's personal visions for future perspective for Turkey accession, was conducted by my own interview research, the question was "What are European top-staff arguments for Turkish accession? In European top-staff opinion, will Turkey succeed and fulfil the

criteria?” Jean-Christophe Filori⁵⁹ responded that he believes that Turkey is able to fulfil all the accession criteria: He stated:

“Yes. I strongly believe it is capable of doing so. But Turkey and the Turkish society first of all need to reach a new consensus and Turkey needs to come to terms with it. So far Turkish society is still very divided, about a number of key issues for the Turkish identity, among which are, yes, what place can be given to religious beliefs, in the public fears, what are the limits of religion?, or what are the other limits of secularism?, and this is all, as you know, focused highly symbolically around the headscarf issue in the universities”.

According to Filori, Turkey needs to find the answer to guarantee this consensus and balance within the society. The key criteria for European Union is that whatever the issue is, the outcome of this debate has to be that Turkey should maintain full respect for individual rights, for the right of choice, and full respect for the different lifestyles in Turkish society. But a part of this is an answer for Turkey itself to find. He stated that he believes that as soon as Turkey has found this answer and found this compromise, it will be able to fully devote its energies towards the EU accession process and therefore carry out the necessary, early needed reforms, which are not only necessary to meet the criteria but they are necessary for the Turkish people.”

If Turkey were to become an EU member, in appearance so many changes will happen in Turkey or vice versa. I asked the interview question: “What will change inside the European Union? What is the advantage for the EU from Turkish membership?” Jean-Christophe Filori⁶⁰ responded: “There are several reasons. The first reason is that Turkey has a rapidly emerging economy (one), Turkey has rapidly emerging regional power (two), and

⁵⁹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

⁶⁰ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

Turkey can bring assets to the European Union (three). They can increase the positive influences of the European Union and the world. According to Filori, Turkey can help stabilize all these assets for the European Union and the stability of Turkey are the key for the stability for Europe. However, an unstable Turkey will be very bad news for Europe, or a Turkey which turns its back to the West and to Europe. This will be very bad news for Europe. Filori further stated that European Union believes also in the fast economic growth in Turkey, which European Union has witnessed in the past years, and which European Union thinks will resume once this year's (2009) crisis is over. This would provide opportunities for European companies; it will provide opportunities for job creation in Europe and this can only be a win-win situation because at the same time Turkey will attract investments, Turkey will benefit from transfer of technologies and therefore also benefit from EU membership, according to Jean-Christophe Filori.

In order to analyse Turkey's application for EU membership and the role of Turkish identity, I did primary research interview with Engin Arikan⁶¹, who is the senior Turkish representative for the Turkish and European Union negotiations, based in Brussels. According to Arikan, negotiation criteria should not be supplied only by Turkey, rather all European countries should supply additional criteria which all old and new Member states should fulfil the verification process, although candidate countries like Turkey are still trying to fulfil this process. Additionally Arikan⁶² stated that the political criteria make it necessary for Turkey to do something, but it needs not only Turkey to do something. He states that the other European countries must also constantly meet these criteria. The other 27 member states must always have standards in accordance with these Copenhagen criteria.

⁶¹ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

⁶² ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

According to Arikan, Turkey has made significant progress in the last 10 years but everything is proceeding step by step. He gave an example and explained: constitutional amendments are expected from Turkey. He stated:

“If one looks at the EU’s own Lisbon Treaty, its so-called constitution since 2000, and the new law it implies, one finds it is still not fully implemented”.

In order to find future perspective, the research study conducted to find possible future scenario with proceed to the interview question: “What will happen if Turkey fulfils all the Copenhagen criteria sufficiently, but some European Union political leaders still say ‘no’ to pressure for membership of Turkey?”. The response of Engin Arikan was that the pressure of religious issues (Turkey’s religion being Muslim) by a majority of the 27 EU member states, but the Commission could only intervene in this situation.

According to Arikan, enlargement is a political decision and that decision belongs to the EU member countries. Politicians could make their suggestions and comments to the press or in the European Parliament. They have freedom to do this. In the European Council, no MEPs made any comments about Turkey’s religion, as this could be interpreted as a kind of racism, and religious discrimination or islamophobia.

If the research studies assume that all the criteria are met by Turkey in the future, and Turkey has come to the stage of membership talks, the next question to examine is: “Could such negative comments by MEPs place a barrier in front of Turkey’s accession?” Engin Arikan gave the following response:

“Yes. For example, France could come to the stage of a referendum on Turkey’s membership and this might result in a negative vote, against Turkey, in the referendum, or extreme right-wing propaganda against Turkey”⁶³.

⁶³ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for “Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods” in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

According to Arikan, Turkey could become an European Union member only if all EU 27 members approve Turkey's membership as required. This approval could be approved in their own parliament in anti-fun of Turkey's membership or in others by referendum, but if one MEPs from an EU member country says "no" to Turkey's membership, there is no entry for Turkey to the European Union.⁶⁴

According to Arikan, hence, while the European Union is pressuring Turkey to establish its own constitutional structure, under the European Union Constitution that has been established within the last 10 years, it is still difficult to make law. Progress reports are expected from Turkey, with freedom as the basic principle for reform. Shortly in respect of Arikan's speech "the reform" is not performed immediately. Some moulds established in Turkey have to change, and what needs to be done is the preparation of necessary legislation; also the people have to change their ideology.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

⁶⁵ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

PART V

STABILITY

Chapter 9

SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACIES IN TURKEY:

OTHER INVISIBLE VARIABLES

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes Turkey's full membership application to the European Union by analysing other invisible variables which might describe as "obstacles" for accession to the European Union. These obstacles might be described as Turkey's other identities which belong to *alterable data* of Turkey such as economy, regional development and modernisation. These variables or alterable data are described as obstacle in this chapter because they represent Turkey's lack of stability in certain areas. However, these invisible variables might indirectly create obstacles for Turkey's bid. However, instability of these variables might cause a *national identity* shift regarding ideologies. Hence, this chapter

investigates unstable *alterable data* of Turkey in order to fix them to avoid democratic breakdowns by having primary research interviews in Brussels.

In fact, Turkey's twentieth century quest was for industrialization and development efforts in the EU. This identifies that both a means and a goal had been selected. However, as a candidate country, the political, social, economic and cultural values are in question, especially macro-economic stability and legal regulations are very important.

Candidate countries for EU membership must meet certain political and economic criteria (Copenhagen and Maastricht). The candidate country's geopolitical, economic and political structure should fit without any problems. Objective and realistic analysis of the facts need to be taken into consideration when making the determination to overcome difficulties for Turkey's EU membership.

Membership in the face of these challenges, Turkey's geopolitics, economy and social structure can be described as non-compliance in view of EU's request and design. This challenge is for the EU not to block the membership of Turkey. Based on its way to EU membership, these barriers – *economic, political, institutional* and *social* – can be classified as social and geopolitical challenges.

This chapter will attempt to define the essential role of “**ideological changes**”, such as the change from *Islamist* to liberal viewpoints, and the role of administrative changes such as the change in Turkish government from the *military* party to the *Islamist* party.

Since it was founded in 1923, Turkey has witnessed a great many ideological and administrative changes. Until today, the Republic of Turkey has several weaknesses as a result of its political and social movements. First, only a limited number of scholars are studying political Islam and Islamic Social and Political Movements (ISPMs) in Turkey. In addition, the main reason for this subjectivity is that the arguments do not address alternative explanations. However, most of the scholars in this field are either anthropologists or

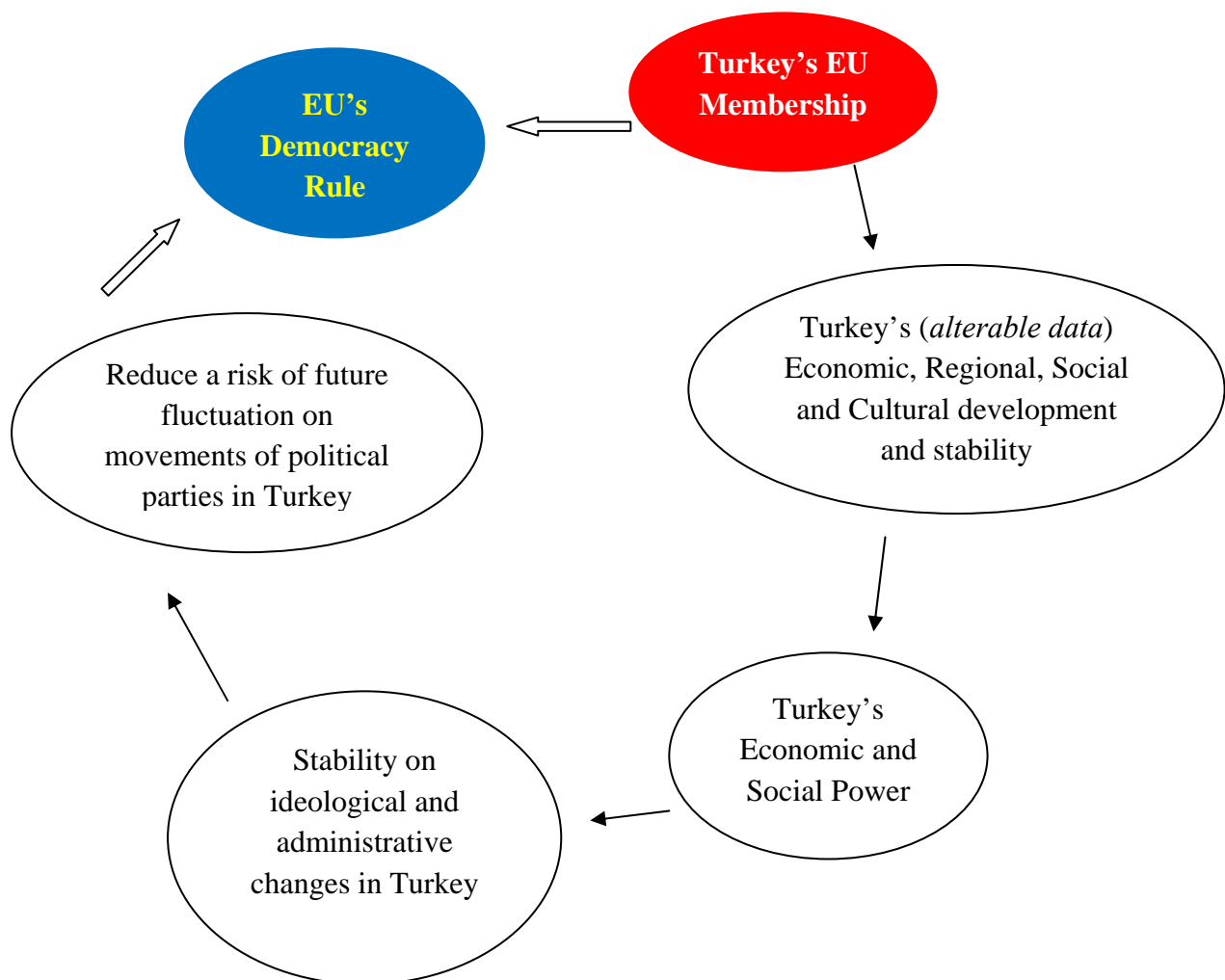
sociologists (a few are political scientists) who conduct field research in the form of in-depth interviews and descriptive analysis. In other words, there is a need for public opinion surveys, statistical analyses that provide further explanatory leverage to current arguments, and prospective research. Briefly, this study suggests that there is no stable political view in Turkey. Voting rates have fluctuated consistently, and sometimes changed dramatically. Voters have moved from military ideologies to liberal viewpoints and from liberal viewpoints to Islamist views. This is one reason behind such movements in Turkey.

However, this chapter is conducted to describe overall finding of religious based political parties and military based political parties' movements since the establishment of Republic of Turkey; and to reach the main reason of those political parties movement including ideological changes of the Turkish citizens in Turkey. This chapter is important to find the reason of democracy deficiency in Turkey and if this is effected by the *permanent* or *alterable data* of Turkey.

Ideological changes and movement of political parties have played a role since the Republic of Turkey was established, as seen in previous studies. This study will seek answers to the following question: Which dimension has affected Turkish political parties to move forward? Until now, the study has analysed how political parties have been moved by military and religious influences, but will this also analyse why political parties have shifted from military to religious or vice versa? What is the essential role of ideological changes and political party shifts in Turkey?

This chapter investigates two main subjects. One subject evaluates the economic inadequacy of Turkey which is the efficient relations of **“economy-politics-military-religion”** on the public and civil ideologies; second subject evaluates the adequacy of technology which is still an underdeveloped situation in Turkey.

The figure below demonstrates **stability circle** to reach stable EU democracy rule: *democracy*. In view of this Turkey's alterable data such as economic, regional, social and cultural shall be stable. Hence this stability, Turkey's economic and social power can be developed and independent and this development shall be effected on stability on ideology and administrative changes in Turkey. All of those effects might reduce a risk of future fluctuation on movement of political parties in Turkey. Finally all effects will turn back to create stable democratic Turkish-state. The subjects that I described above have demonstrated relationship indirectly with democracy in Turkey as shown in the graph below;



These approaches provide explanations of the political power of historical versus economic influences and identify the key points of arguments over time. However, Turkey's economic problems have been highlighted in order to support my argument to approach if Turkish cultural and administrative identity has affected Turkey's bid. If it does, this chapter aims to find stable solution under both informal and formal criteria at the accession of European Union.

The methodology of this study was influenced by the dominant approaches and used in social sciences and political science, as well as by the relevant literature. The chapter will map out, in chronological order, the implications of religious and military movements in Turkey and then discuss the literature which analyses both their private and public roles.

In this chapter, I argue that there are other invisible obstacles to create sustainable democracy in Turkey besides of Turkish religion and military administration. My argument is to find if Turkey could find the way of resolving main two issues on the democratisation way with administrative reforms; and europianisation way with the modernisation process on Turkey. Hence, I argues that the economic, political, regional and social processes which, with the national and the European concept, might become increasingly relevant and also problematic, as national and political contexts shape the nature of debate between EU and Turkey. While I am researching my argument key points, DG enlargement Turkey team supervised me with their documents and interview. In this respect, my thesis also evaluates that economic, social and political connections were always key connections on the political movements. I argues that economic, regional, social and cultural instability might also play a role at the acesion of the European Union. Hence, my argument is that sustainable democracy might require that democratic awareness is enhanced on the stable economy, regional development and social and cultural integration with European Union.

This study analyses why Turkey's national *identity* (political and religious) has conflicted with itself in the light of military and religious influences, before asking question of modernization in the next sections. This study is important to find the essential role of national *identity* to help find the alternative way for the future modernization and Europeanization process of Turkey.

Shortly, this chapter will demonstrate that economic deficiency plays an essential role in ideological changes and elections in Turkey, and used technological deficiencies in order to explain the importance of technological developments (e.g. in the fields of education, research and development, computers and the Internet) for Turkey's future. Despite, if Turkey might be successful to achieve the necessary level of economic welfare as the other EU member states. Accordingly, Turkey must achieve a **stable ideology**.

The following sections analyse instabilities in Turkey which are main determinates in accession of European Union. These sections have been determined by my primary research interviewers during our meetings in Brussels with the; Head of DG Enlargement Turkey Team Jean Christophe Filori, DG Enlargement Education, Culture and Budget Department specialist Rainer Emcherman, Former Director of DG Agriculture and special adviser on Socio-economic and political changes in European Union rural areas in Institute for European Policy Professor Laurent Van Depoele and the Turkish diplomat at Permanent Representative office of Republic of Turkey in Brussels.

Topics have determined and discussed with interviewers;

- Economic Instability in Turkey
- Regional Instability in Turkey
- Social and Cultural Instability in Turkey

Above variables show that unstable *alterable data* of Turkey which create obstacles in accession of the European Union. However, these variables are invisible but issues need to be discussed during negotiations formally and also informally for Turkey's bid.

In order to relate *Benedict Anderson's* "imagine communities" approaches with this study, nationalism and national identity with an efficient relationship of "**economy-politics-culture-religion**" might reflect on community needs. Communities may not continue their lives within a constant *identity* framework. A change of *identity* throughout the community might be discussed and also communal degeneration or pressure and assimilation or voluntary acceptance of a new *identity* by the community might be possible.

9.2. Economic Instability in Turkey

For Turkey to have EU membership, there are some *sine qua non*¹ conditions to be fulfilled, such as the Maastricht criteria.²

Countries are becoming part of global formations in today's world. Developing societies under the pressure of globalization have to gain economic power consistent with their social and cultural self-*identity*. They need to be equipped with sufficient knowledge about international programmes and formations in order to avoid being overwhelmed by the weight of oppressive competition between countries and even to succeed against such powerful international organizations and plans. The aim of this sections are to address the fact that, in Turkey, which is undeveloped in terms of development, there are also regions that need to harmonize with the European Union, which is in fact one of the most important policy tools of the government for the Europeanization process of Turkey.

As we have seen in previous chapters Ottoman Empire society was the product of accumulation and development course as strong as to emerge in its geographical position and geopolitics in the space dimension and a number of social, political, economic and cultural developments in the time dimension. Additionally, it had the human factor which could

¹ *Sine qua non* (pronounced "seenay kwaa non") or *conditio sine qua non* (plural *sine quibus non*) was originally a Latin legal term for "(a condition) without which it could not be" or "but for..." or "without which (there is) nothing." It refers to an indispensable and essential action, condition, or ingredient.

² The Treaty on European Union (TEU) or "Maastricht treaty" was agreed at Maastricht in December 1991, signed in February 1992 and came into force in November 1993. It sets out a fixed timetable for implementation of a Single Currency by three progressive stages of an Economic and Monetary Union ending in the establishment of the Single Currency. The European Central Bank (ECB) will become operational on 1 January 1999.

systemize all these and bring them together in a meaningful whole as their national *identity* as a “Turk” or to be a “Turkish citizens” after Turkish War of Independents.³

Most of these values enabled the realization of Islamic culture by occurring in Turkish social structure of the enlargement period. The reason for this is that, having embodied different races, religions and nations, the Ottoman Empire had a socio-cultural structure integrated around Islam in spite of all these differences.⁴

According to Benedict Anderson’s (1991), “*Imagined Communities – Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*” in to the Turkey’s national *identity* study⁵, Nelson argues *Anderson’s* approaches as below;

Anderson attributes a major role to economic factors that helped spread supposedly universal, homogenous and “horizontal-secular” notions of national space, territoriality, and citizenship. Specifically, economic change fostered the rise of social-scientific discoveries, increasingly rapid communication, and the logic of capitalism, epitomized in its ruthless and perpetual search for new markets⁶

In respect for *Benedict Anderson*, another aspect of socio-cultural structure might be adhesive with economic situation of the society. Economic power; namely those holding the economic strength; has great importance in the determination of political government, whether or not the regime is democratic. A concept of “*social power*” should be added to the concept of “*economic power*” in modern industrial societies. Considering *economic power* as the sole factor in the determination of *political power* leads us to argue that any social class

³ War of Independence (1919-1923); Ataturk’s outstanding leadership qualities were first recognized during the 1915 Çanakkale Battle (also known as the Gallipoli Battle, or Dardanelles Campaign). After numerous victories by Turkish forces on many fronts between 1919 and 1922, the occupying forces were defeated. In 1923, the Republic of Turkey was established. As the leader of the new nation, Ataturk created the foundations for a modern, secular and democratic country. Available from <<http://www.ataturktoday.com/KurtulusSavasiWW1.htm>> [Accessed December 21st, 2011]

⁴ Bilgiseven, Amiran Kurtkan. 1985. *Din Sosyolojisi `Sociology of Religion`*. p.452. Istanbul: Filiz Inc.

⁵ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

⁶ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. “Revisiting Anderson’s `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later”, Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

or union of classes that lacks *economic power* can never attain power. However, the possibility for the group with *economic power* to lose control of political power emerges in structural or periodical economic depressions, even in environments where *economic power* is much more determinative. This is because the cogwheels of the social order fail to function to redress problems experienced and expectations of the masses in periods of economic depression. Those relying on *economic power* weaken and their support from society declines. This weakness pushes them towards coercion and violence in seeking to protect their interests. However this might other way to prevent social explosions and to remain in *political power*.

The formation of a political order with appropriate “balance of powers” does not even solve the problem permanently, because the balance of powers in a society changes as social conditions change. A successful political system is a system comprising rules and processes which enable handover of power in parallel with change in the balance of power. If a greater power or powers than those in government emerges in a society, it means that a depression “in regime” is in the agenda. However, if power cannot be handed over in a way reflecting this new balance of power in accordance with the rules of the regime, namely the rules have blocked the way of government for these new powers. When efficient relations of “economy-politics-culture-religion” exist in solidarity and cooperation with civilian and public institutions in Islamic countries, a coherent and compatible development model can be created. In this way, a strong social structure with an efficient relationship of **“economy-politics-culture-religion”** and cooperation and this consensus and coherent and harmonious association would be obtained.

In fact, *identity* is a unity reflecting why the “imagined communities”⁷ of *Benedict Anderson* become communities. If it is possible to be a community, then certain common points exist. These unities can be supported by various different values. *Religious, ethnic and cultural* homogeneity can be acquired. However, the ironic concept actually called national *identity* arises when a common point is determined and defined. Communities may not continue their lives within a constant *identity* framework. A change of *identity* throughout the community can be discussed on this point. Sometimes, communal degeneration or pressure and assimilation or voluntary acceptance of a new *identity* by the community can be possible. As a result, a relation between *identity* and nationalization supporting each other conceptually exists. It can be said that nationalism could be obtained when *identity* is politicized. The relation between *identity* and nationalization or nationalism might be defined in this way. For example military state (warm and cold war stage, people needs to security, Turkey between 1920s-1980s), liberal state (people needs to economic-social welfare stage, Turkey between 1990s).

Change of regime would become unavoidable to ensure these new “**powers**” come into government. These new powers would change the regime sooner or later, and institutionalize a framework which bring them to government and keeps them there. In other words, having *political power* provides some important possibilities in terms of enabling class bases to acquire *social* and *economic power*. The force that does not have *economic power* but provides the possibility of power for a social union of forces is the “social power”.

In contrast, the influence of *social power* on *political power* increases in periods of economic depression, and then even those who have reached *political power* as representatives of *economic power* would have to make great concessions to those having *social power*. Those contradicting the *social power* balance, but ensuring a numerical

⁷ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

majority based on *economic power* and so coming to *political power*, cannot prevent a social explosion. Undoubtedly, the sole owner of *social power* is not the working class, whatever their level of organization and consciousness might be. Other pressure groups and autonomous constitutional institutions have certain predominance. This predominance might increase or decrease depending on the significance they have in terms of the functioning of the established social order.

If the concept of “social power” is not concerned, it must be the case that the sovereignty of those ensuring a numerical majority by representing “economic power” and thus acquiring political power would never be interrupted. Gareth Jenkins is senior fellow with the Joint Centre Silk Road Studies Program and a Turkey Analyst at the John Hopkins University in Washington, DC. Jenkins argues about Turkish bureaucracy as his quotes below;

The Turkish bureaucracy is highly politicized at both the local and national level. Whenever a new party comes to power it rewards its supporters by giving them jobs or, for those already employed in the bureaucracy, it puts them on a promotional fast-track in a process known in Turkish as *kadrolaşma* or “cadrelization/staffing”. But, particularly at the national level, it can take several years for a party to be able to assert its complete control over a particular institution, such as a government ministry.⁸

Given what Jenkins argues, movements of political parties and economic fluctuations in Turkey is fundamentally limited to the desires of politicians towards maximizing their votes in the next elections by producing policies which ensure increase in public support through ideology and value-decision view.

⁸ Jenkins, H. Gareth. 2009. “Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey’s Ergenekon Investigation”. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Study Programme. August 2009. Singapore: Silk Road Paper.

In respect to Jenkins's arguments⁹, this model of bureaucracy might affect political parties' movements and political ideological shifts of the Armed Forces to the Islamic party, economic reasons feature prominently. Jenkins arguments might demonstrate compliance with this argument on politics in Turkey. Necmettin Erbakan (the 1st Islamist Leader) took office as Prime Minister on 28 June 1996, in the Welfare Islamist Party (RP) government. He led an organization named Developing Eight (D-8)¹⁰. This was a group of developing countries with large Muslim populations that formed an economic development alliance during his period. The countries, when combined, made up 13.5 percent of the global population in 1997. Erbakan created the D-8 to achieve strong economic and political unity among Muslim countries. Following, Erbakan started to implement a pool system and "s.mobile system", and achieved 110 *percent* and 200 rate rises successively, for civil servants, retirees and labourers. He provided a rush of credit possibilities for artisans. All what he made for economic welfare, and decisions taken on 28 February 1997, led Erbakan to resign from the office of Prime Minister on 18 June 1997.¹¹

Subsequently, politicians are aware of the importance of economic conditions for success in an election and for this reason they will trigger macroeconomic policies in order to generate convenient conditions at election time.

Jenkins¹² also indicated about how Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) came into power in Turkish Politics. Jenkins argues with his quotes below;

⁹ Jenkins, H. Gareth. 2009. "Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey's Ergenekon Investigation". Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Study Programme. August 2009. Singapore: Silk Road Paper.

¹⁰ The Developing 8 (D-8 or Developing Eight) are a group of developing countries with large Muslim populations that have formed an economic development alliance. It consists of Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan and Turkey.

¹¹ Available from <<http://www.bibilgi.com/Necmettin-Erbakan>> [Accessed November 17th, 2009].

¹² Jenkins, H. Gareth. 2009. "Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey's Ergenekon Investigation". Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Study Programme. August 2009. Singapore: Silk Road Paper.

Consequently, particularly in the immediate aftermath of a change of government, civil servants who are haunted by the spectre of a transfer will often attempt to ingratiate themselves with those in authority over them. For example, after both the Islamist Welfare Party (RP) came to power in June 1996 and the AKP took office in November 2002, there was a marked increase in the attendance at Friday prayers in mosques close to government offices as civil servants sought to prove their piety to what they regarded as parties with a strong religious identity. In addition to trying to ingratiate themselves with those in authority, civil servants will also often try to avoid antagonizing those whom they regard as having influence with their superiors; whether because of personal acquaintance, blood ties, or political affiliation.¹³

Beyond all these, the behaviours of governments who wish to maximize their votes will lead to fluctuations in price, output and employment level, even though the theory responds to changes in passive and external fluctuations in economic events. In other words, behaviours of governments will be internal, because political decisions taken in order to increase vote potential will lead changes in rates of inflation and unemployment to be used as a political instrument. In this way, the selection of political instruments will cause fluctuations.

Five sets of questions which might be listed as a starting point of studies on *political-economic fluctuations* have been devised. The common sets of questions for *political-economic fluctuation* studies are:

¹³ Jenkins Jenkins, H. Gareth. 2009. "Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey's Ergenekon Investigation". Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Study Programme. August 2009. Singapore: Silk Road Paper.

 Box 9.1: Questions for political-economic fluctuation

POLITICAL PARTIES	What are the factors motivating political leaders or parties? Are political parties groups trying to maximize their votes and opportunists or do they follow social and economic aims set ideologically by serving for election segments?
ELECTORS	What is the election behaviour of the government? Might economic events confuse electors in their election behaviour? Are electors rational and very knowledgeable, or irrational and uninformed? How do electors make their decisions: whether by looking at the past or by looking forward?
ECONOMIC STRUCTURE	What is the structure of the economy? Do political decisions taken by parties affect economic results or not? What are the most important political instruments? Who controls these political instruments?
SHOCKS	What are political and economic shocks? Are the shocks internal or external?
ADEQUANCY	Do the parties follow their aims or act around them? Do they display behaviours designed to please electors or to fulfil their ideological aims?

Studies on *political-economic fluctuations* have analysed the answers to these five sets of questions by dealing with them in different styles. First, two of the sets of questions are related to the rationality of electors and the behaviour of parties. The first set constitutes the common point of disagreements in the literature of *political-economic fluctuations*. This is because, if electors have rational expectations about the party's platform, fluctuation will be different, and if electors do not have rational expectations the severity of fluctuation will be different. If electors are rational to an advanced level, they will use all the information they have obtained and evaluate the future performances of parties.

Another set of questions addressed in studies relating to *political-economic fluctuations* is about whether parties are opportunist or ideological. If parties prefer policies which will maximize the possibility of being elected without considering the past situation,

such parties are characterized as opportunist. If parties follow policies which will reach certain economic and social aims without depending on their political popularity or power gains, these parties are characterized as ideological. A number of political-economic fluctuation models start from the assumption that electors look at the past rather than forward and that they have limited information about elections.

The structural weakness of the economic power in countries experiencing the development process makes it difficult for classes taking their power from this to be libertarian and to meet the expectations of the middle class. In this way, it might be unavoidable for powers representing an interest which may be terrified of even moderate requests for social justice to come into conflict with a significant segment of the middle class.

Developments in Turkey might be discussed within the framework of modernization, in terms not only of the perspective of EU membership, but also to accommodate the aims to create a modern state of Turkey. In the process of integration of the transport, environment, industry and agriculture Ministry is responsible for different sectors, such as cooperation between their own assessments, a requirement for modernization should be easier to achieve. However, this co-operation on assessments requires structural support.

The adoption of European Union norms within a certain period of adaptation is an important obligation. For Turkey, this alignment provides both regional and social integration, as well as steps taken in the way cultural integration is influenced. Alignment with EU legislation, temporary periods of exploitation, technical compliance and other measures including negotiating positions during the preparation of the private sector and civil society organizations, active participation and contributions, reflect the internal coordination and ensure the agreements are gaining importance.

The political and technical dimensions that belong to the government, of course, have the ultimate responsibility for the negotiation process. However, this very comprehensive

approach will bring fundamental changes in all areas of the project, which needs to be quickly and successfully conducted to be adopted by all political parties and European Union financial and social encouragements is important.

As have been seen from this study, relations between the political and economic sectors are in **mutual interaction**. Politicians have a significant role in orienting the economy and economists as well as society towards certain goals. Economics and politics, as well as economists and politicians, engage in cooperation that is unavoidable and is complementary to each other.

9.3. Regional Instability in Turkey

In recent years the human society has come under intense threats. Hunger, poverty, terrorism, civil wars and peace are examples of the threats found in this new era. Since some of Turkey's regions experience terrorism, civil war, poverty and lack of development, we cannot talk about regional equality in Turkey. Rural development, regional welfare, and the balance between Turkey's regions are very important issues, with the need to stop migration to the large cities, and promote *economic* and *social welfare* and *educational development*. In short, the “**regional policy**” *acquis* to the European Union is very important for Turkey's modernization and its sustainable development.

According to Benedict Anderson about national *identity* from his book (1991), “*Imagined Communities – Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*” to the Turkey's national *identity* study.¹⁴

¹⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London–New York: Verso; Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised and enlarged edition). London: Verso.

Mathew Nelson argues *Anderson's* approaches as below;

Nationalisms, therefore, have the unique ability to traverse millions of people in and through the *interplay* of capitalist relations and modes of production, the spread of communications, or print technology which resulted in the ultimate demise of human linguistic diversity prevalent in the pre-modern era.¹⁵

In respect of *Anderson* above, regional stability is needed to be done subject in order to integrate regions in Turkey and then Turkey and EU. In order to develop Turkey, in reference to regional policy, **primary research interview** took place in Brussels with Laurent Van Depoele who is a Former Director Rural Development at the European Commission in Brussels and Jen-Christophe Filori who is a head of Turkey team in DG Enlargement.

According to Turkey 2009 progress report, Turkey has made limited progress in the field of social policy and employment. The establishment of a Parliamentary Commission on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women is a positive step. However, women's participation in the labour market is very low. Efforts to combat undeclared work and social exclusion need to be stepped up¹⁶.

Turkey is a big country with a big population and there is an imbalance between the eastern and western regions. To examine this topic, I asked the interview question: "How can Turkish identities (cultures, education, and woman rights) be balanced among all Turkey's regions? Before the Europeanization of Turkey, should Turkey equalize its regions?"

¹⁵ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

¹⁶ Turkey 2009 Progress Report, EU Enlargement, European Communities, October 2009.

The Head of the DG Enlargement Turkey team, Jean-Christophe Filori¹⁷, responded as follows:

“This is more or less where the competences of the European Union stop and where actually national competences take over. It is how the regions of Turkey should be developing. This is a question for which Turkey should find the answer itself. European Union provides Turkey with important funds called the Instrument for Pre-accession funds (IPA) to prepare the country for EU membership.”

According to Filori, the European Union devotes around 6 million Euros per year to Turkey and in 2013 it will be 1 billion Euros per year. This includes a lot of training, for instance, with funds to support administrative and capacity building, and institution building. This is a part of the answer and the rest the European Union believes that Turkey should develop under a comprehensive social and economic strategy to address the underdevelopment of several of its regions, to make and facilitate investment, to support the creation of networks, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

Despite Turkey having political power provides some important possibilities in terms of enabling class bases to acquire social and economic power. The force that does not have economic power but provides the possibility of power for a social union of forces is the “social power”.

Considering “economic power” as the sole factor in the determination of political power leads us to argue that any social class or union of classes that lacks economic power can never attain power. The Turkish electorate are changing their votes and choice of political parties in every election. To examine this topic, I asked the interview question: “How can Turkey or Turkish citizens solve the problem of freedom of choice/vote? How could they decide to vote without any social and economic needs?”

¹⁷ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

Jean-Christophe Filori¹⁸ responded as follows:

“Regarding social policy, there are two; for Turkey to join the European Union, it must take on the European Union legislation on social policy. And this includes the right to strike, the right to organize, and the right to bargain collectively. Also you have a number of social policy measures imposed by the European Union, the number of working hours per week for example. Shortly, Turkey will need to take over all this legislation”.

According to Filori, Turkey should start to grant basic rights for trade unions, such as the full right to strike, to bargain, and to organize, which is only partly guaranteed in Turkey at present. As for the economy, European Union believes in the economic dynamism of Turkey as an emerging economy. European Union will improve the basic social conditions of Turkish citizens, will also bring new ideas to the country, will also encourage reflection and debate on women’s rights or children’s rights, and if the European Union continues to encourage Turkey, the situation in Turkey will only improve¹⁹.

Professor Laurent Van Depoele’s²⁰ response about Turkey’s regional policy is:

“Turkey is so poor; it will cost too much money. That of course is the price European Union have to pay and that European Union always have done in any enlargement where the countries becoming members were less rich than the actual members. That’s in the case of Sweden, Finland and Austria. You know the evolution of enlargement; we started with Denmark and Ireland in 1973. They were certainly a very poor country. Then after that European Union had the enlargement to 10 new

¹⁸ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

¹⁹ FILORI, Jean Christopher; Head of Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Wednesday, November 25, 2009, time: 3pm, place: Brussels.

²⁰ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

member states, which had 50 *percent* GDP per capita compared with the EU member states, and Romania and Bulgaria which had 25 *percent*. So the fact that Turkey is poor is really, to say consequently, European Union exclude that”.

According to Van Depoele, the European Union addresses Turkey’s development with IPA, SAPARD and the European Citizens Programme for economic development for the country’s welfare and cultural integration between citizens (of the EU member states and Turkish people) to reach sustainable social welfare in Turkey.

Professor Laurent Van Depoele shared his other argument about the topic of agricultural and rural development in Turkey compared with other countries by concentrating on economic development models in the world. Van Depoele stated his following argument²¹:

“I have some experience with that from dealing with development with the European Commission, point one. Point two; I am very interested in the agricultural and rural development in China. What is the general position on that general point is that we have seen an economic revolution in the European Union as well as in China, as I think in Turkey, where you have the tendency to concentrate the economic development in certain regions”.

Van Depoele further stated²²:

“Take Europe! We can say there is something like a golden square going from London over to Hamburg, Milan to Greece and back to Paris. If you look where the economic activities are concentrated, that is the golden square. If I look at China, then it is obvious that economic development is on the east coast of China; Shanghai, Beijing, all these developed areas where they have tremendous economic expansion

²¹ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

²² VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

and development. Well the east is becoming richer than west which is becoming poorer”.

Following, Van Depoele argues as below;

“As a basic idea, and for looking to the expansion where you find the words ‘economic and social cohesion’ in the Single European Act of 1987, there you find Article 130. Europe has to create an economic and social cohesion. It is very interesting to see the background to this article in the political reality of what was happening as the Single European Act was creating a single market in Europe, according to Van Depoele. This was created by United Kingdom Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher²³.

However, Van Depoele stated²⁴:

“Thatcher said that should make regulation for single market and we have to expand economic laws: ‘We don’t need to be a free to create one big economic unit.’ Jacques Delors²⁵ was then President of the European Commission. Delors was French and socialist but nevertheless he said ‘Yes, I agree with you. We need economic expansion, we need the creation of a single market but be aware of the fact that by doing this you may create bigger imbalances in economic development in that big economic unit’. Because what could happen? If you say total liberalization, then you are doing things in favour of the fittest, of the economically most developed. They will all gain profit from that”.

²³ Thatcher, Margaret Hilda, Baroness Thatcher (born 13 October 1925) served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990.

²⁴ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

²⁵ Delors, Jacques Lucien Jean (born 20 July 1925 in Paris) is a French economist and politician, the first person to have served two terms as President of the European Commission (between January 1985 and December 1994).

According to Van Depoele European Union can do for the weakest what we do for those regions there; where cultures are going down, where there is depopulation due to migration to the cities, what will European Union do with that? If you create, as Margaret Thatcher wished, one liberalizes market in Europe. Van Depoele remarked here:

“That is fine, let’s do it, but at the same time European Union need an article on economic and social cohesion which means that we cannot tolerate that we should leave regions just to go and lag behind the others”.²⁶

According to Van Depoele²⁷, European Union has to make efforts in order to do everything possible to help the weakest, to bring them up to a higher level.

Van Depoele specified:

“I don’t say the same level as the economic level of the most developed, but not to forget about poor people, not to forget about the poor regions. But to invest money, I don’t say subsidize but invest money.”

According to Van Depoele, countries may develop their economic activities in other regions than the golden square, and that is the basic philosophy of rural development in regional policy, that what Europe can do for regions lagging behind in Turkey is to avoid immigration from the poor to the rich areas, from the rural to the urban areas. He further stated that European Union has a lot of experience with that since 1987, and since the Single European Act, since the development of regional policy and cohesion policy, where European Union has invested a lot of money into the economic development of the weak areas. So there is a tremendous shift in using the budget of the European Union, with agriculture going down and regional policy going up.

²⁶ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

²⁷ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

Van Depoele concluded that if you take agriculture and regional policy together, they represent nearly 80 *percent* of the Community budget. So what is important is regional policy, and what we do in the new member states, Romania and Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary, we are trying to give them the possibility to encouraging these countries to have economic development in regions lagging behind.

According to Van Depoele, Turkey has hope in the sense that if we do that, if it is a member of the European Union that a lot of money can go to those regions lagging behind and by doing that Turkey avoids the immigration of people to the more wealthy regions when the people become wealthier. Because simply anybody can be unemployed in those big cities, where they can do nothing because they are just moving out of there poor rural areas but they are not sure they will find a job. In other words, the policy is not bringing people to the jobs but bringing jobs to the people²⁸, according to Van Depoele arguments.

I asked the further interview question: “Are there any possibilities to start this regional structural policy in Turkey during the negotiation period?” Professor Van Depoele stated²⁹:

“Yes, there exist pre-accession instruments (IPA). You can ask the people dealing with that. Since Turkey is now a candidate state, they can have financial possibilities in the pre-accession system. What European Union did, to give you an example of that, before the accession in 2004, with 10 member states, European Union had SAPARD, which was the Special Agricultural Pre-accession System for Agriculture and Rural Development: SAPARD for rural development. It was an agriculture and

²⁸ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

²⁹ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

special programme for agriculture and rural development. This was in the pre-accession period, and for regional policy European Union had IPA”.

Van Depoele continued that another important thing for Turkey to know is that if a country wants to receive money from the pre-accession funds, then that country already has to prepare itself to apply the rules of the EU regional policy. One basic element of this is a regional approach. In the European Union cohesion policy, the EU does not work on the national level but at the regional level and by comparing regions. If Turkey wants to concentrate most on poor people, it needs to know which regions are poorer than others. In order to conduct Turkey needs a definitions of regions; Van Depoele pointed out here that:

“European Union has purely statistical areas or European Union has historical regional areas, or European Union has metropolitan areas. What Turkey should think about is to define the regions, then concentrate the pre-accession aid to those regions.”³⁰

Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) means instrument for pre-accession. Today these exist but European Union has changed the name of that but they are exactly the same financial instruments where you can obtain aid from the European Union in candidate member states to start the development of regional policy.³¹

After all above interviewers, Turkey might create their stability in their regions by EU financial pre-accession funds during negotiation with European Union, even might further develop stability after accession of European Union, If will join.

³⁰ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

³¹ VAN DEPOELE, Laurent; Former Director of DG Agriculture, Professor in Catholic University of Leuven; Interview date: Tuesday, November 24, 2009, time: 12.30pm, place: Brussels.

9.4. Social and Cultural Instability in Turkey

The process of *political* and *economic* integration in the European Union is a product of long and arduous struggles. Integration of effort is faced with many problems at any stage that has been reached. For candidate countries, the subject of adapting to the European Union has become a significant problem in itself.

Membership of countries in the process of harmonization with the European Union *acquis*, i.e., the current national legal and institutional structure of the European Union's common rules, is based on the obligation to Europeanization. Taking advantage of the EU's support to create a framework, in the field of regional development, regional development strategy and regional development policies need to improve in line with this strategy.

Indeed, at the Helsinki Summit³², Turkey as the candidate country posed a very important problem in terms of integration. In respect to Turkish legislation for the European Union *acquis*; legislative changes and improvements are to be made under Turkey's Regional Policy Prepared by the National Programme in Turkey. Compliance with the EU legislation requires not merely removal of inappropriate legislation; but to implement this legislation will require also relevant legal and administrative structures. Given this situation, in terms of

³² With regard to Turkey-EU relations, the EU Summit (European Council) realised in Helsinki in 1999 was a turning point. At this Summit, EU officially accepted Turkey's candidacy and following this decision, a pre-accession strategy started to apply in order to prepare Turkey for EU membership, as it has been the case in other candidate countries.

This accession strategy includes several interrelated elements explained:

- Accession Partnership Document,
- Regular Reports,
- Annual support within a single financial framework,
- Participation in the European Community Programmes and Agencies.

Within the framework of this strategy, the Turkish government regularly prepares National Programmes relating to the adoption of Accession Partnership Document and *Acquis Communautaire*. Available from <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/RECOURSE_CENTRE/key_links/004-Helsinki%20Summit.doc> [Accessed December 15th, 2011].

compliance with EU legislation and administrative structures, as in other areas, regional integration is seen as a serious way ahead of Turkey in terms of policy.

Developments might be discussed within the framework of modernization of Turkey in terms not only of the perspective of European Union membership, but the aim is to create a modern Turkey. This includes the process of the integration of the transport, environment, industry and agriculture ministries, responsible for different sectors, such as cooperation between their own assessments, which means a requirement for modernization, should be easier to achieve. However, this co-operation in assessments requires structural support to ensure efficient use of funds before a country is a candidate for full membership. Its financial capacity needs to be strengthened.

Teresa Reeves³³ is sector manager for the Regional Policy and Cross Border Cooperation department of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey. Reeves evaluated Turkey in economic terms under expression of development level under EU regional policy as below;

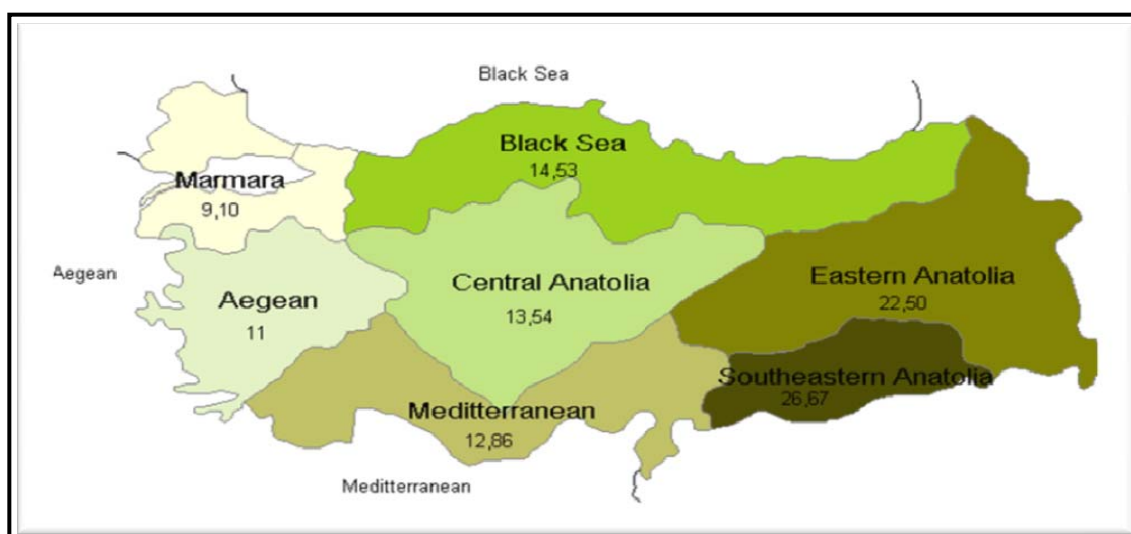
One of the fundamental principles of EU regional policy is that of solidarity between more affluent and the poorer regions of the union. In economic terms the expressions of ‘developed’ or ‘less developed’ countries are common currency, but, irrespective of how developed a country is, not all its regions enjoy the same levels of development or prosperity. Regional disparities are a fact of life in the most developed countries of the world including those of the EU.³⁴

Before going further it is better to show the less- developed regions in Turkey which are the most in need for pre-accession funds by European Union.

³³ Teresa Reeves is a Sector manager for the Regional Policy and Cross Border Cooperation department of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey.

Reeves, Teresa. 2010. “Turkey’s Regional Policy on the Road to the EU”. 4 July, 2010. Istanbul: Turkish Policy Quarterly. Available from <http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_42.pdf> [Accessed October 5th, 2009].

³⁴ Reeves, Teresa. 2010. “Turkey’s Regional Policy on the Road to the EU”. 4 July, 2010. Istanbul: Turkish Policy Quarterly. Available from <http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_42.pdf> [Accessed October 5th, 2009].

Figure 9.1: Inter Regional Disparities in Human Poverty ³⁵

As can be seen from above map (Figure: 10.1) human poverty among Turkey's regions ranges from 9.10 percent in Marmara to 26.67 percent in South-eastern. The preparation of the 80 million Turkish citizens for European Union membership is very important especially to balance the difference between the east and west of the country.

In order to analyse social and cultural stability in Turkey Funda Barbaros and Uzbay Ogut argues Turkey regional poverty in their research article: "*Regional Development Inequalities in Turkey: An Assessment on the Distribution of Investment Incentives*" as below;

In South Eastern Anatolia this implies that at least nearly a third of their people suffer from human poverty. The poverty gap between the least developed regions is three times that of the most developed. From disaggregated values of human poverty seems that the main source of this big gap emanates from income gap. Human development paradigm focuses on the fight against poverty on two important components: the fight against deprivation and fight against inequality. However achievements are not distributed equally. Economic inequality cuts across not only inter regions but also within the intra regions as well. Inequality is often the outcome of interdependent forces such as markets, institutions, demographic changes, ethnic and cultural factors

³⁵ Ogut, Menevis Uzbay and Barbaros, R.Funda. "Regional Development Inequalities in Turkey: An Assessment on the Distribution of Investment Incentives". Available from <http://www.econturk.org/Turkischeconomy/metu_menevis.pdf> [Accessed October 5th, 2009].

etc. Whereas there are various economic policy instruments to fight against inequality of which investment incentives are the most prominent.³⁶

Before analysing the objectives and instruments of regional policies in Turkey, it will be useful to outline the main characteristic of regional disparities in Turkey with Teresa Reeves' researches arguments as stated below;

Whilst the trend towards decentralization has spread rapidly across Europe and is now very advanced in several Member States, in Turkey it is still in its very early stages. Traditionally Turkey has had a highly centralized system of government dating from the Ottoman Empire and consolidated by the nationalist government of the new Republic of Turkey. This centralization is reflected in its administrative structures. Tentative moves towards regionalization have been opposed in the past for fear they might undermine national territorial integrity which is enshrined in the Turkish constitution.³⁷

This section is important to show that it is necessary to create a stable society, social order and social and stable cultural identity in a country by having primary research interview with persons who are professional on this topic. In order to investigate stability under cultural and social aspects in Turkey, primary research interview took place in Brussels with Rainer Emchermann who is an Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement and Engin Arikan who is a Turkish Diplomat and Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels. In this context, I asked the question: "What is Turkey doing for balance the difference between the east and west of the country?" According to Engin Arikan³⁸, Turkey is trying to do what it has from time

³⁶ Ogut, Menevis Uzbay and Barbaros, R.Funda. "Regional Development Inequalities in Turkey: An Assessment on the Distribution of Investment Incentives". Available from <http://www.econturk.org/Turkisheconomy/metu_menevis.pdf> [Accessed October 5th, 2009].

³⁷ Reeves, Teresa. 2010. "Turkey's Regional Policy on the Road to the EU". 4 July, 2010. Istanbul: Turkish Policy Quarterly. Available from <http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_42.pdf> [Accessed October 5th, 2009].

³⁸ ARIKAN, Engin; Turkish Diplomat (First Secretary) Representative for "Turkey-EU Negotiations Periods" in Permanent Turkish Representative Office in Brussels; Interview date: Friday, November 27, 2009, time:4pm, place: Brussels.

immemorial. Turkey is trying to bring citizens' education levels up to a uniform standard, and promoting economic and regional development in all parts of Turkey. However, because of the country's geographical conditions, especially in eastern Anatolia, and the ongoing terrorism since the 1980s, among other reasons, Turkey has not performed as desired. Turkey is using the funding it receives under the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) efficiently. Projects are prepared and are being implemented. Turkey is not equal in terms of regional development, but the EU's award of IPA funding offers substantial support for Turkey's regional development, in Arikan's view.

Mathew Nelson argues *Anderson's* approaches as stated below;

Communication and popular literature, for instance, helped disseminate national languages, consciousness, and ideologies across a broad landmass, previously unconnected by any conception of shared experience or identity.³⁹

In its National Plan for the Adoption of the *acquis*, Turkey has committed itself to institutional changes that will contribute to alignment with EU regional policy. In reviewing Turkey's progress in the EU adaptation process, while the research study considered political, military and religious harmony in Turkey to play a major role in the development and modernization of cultural, social and regional development studies, this study also depends on the interviews I conducted. Rainer Emschermann⁴⁰ who is an expert on education and social policy in Turkey team in DG Enlargement; indicated the importance of *cultural* and *social* integration programme with reference to the European Citizenship Programme, which has an overall budget of 215 million Euros for seven years and will end in 2013. He stated that the European Citizenship Programme will support Turkish citizens and enable the development of a positive attitude towards different cultures and societies, with key

³⁹ Nelson, Mathew. 2007. "Revisiting Anderson's `Imagined Communities` Almost 25 Years Later", Article: Review Notes no: 2, PECO 5502; Other Worlds, Other Globalizations, Carleton University.

⁴⁰ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

competences for lifelong learning that highlight eight key competences being the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed by individuals to participate in an effective and constructive way in social and working life, and thus to support an increasing involvement in society with respect to the European Parliament and the European Council.

In respect of Emchermann arguments about programme, I have searched an European Citizenship Programme (twinning). Result on this programme is, the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), established by decision 2005/56/EC of the European Commission of 14 January 2005, is responsible for the implementation of most of the actions of the European Citizenship Programme (twinning)⁴¹. The programme mentioned above is also targeted for all citizens, including legal residents, without any form of discrimination on the grounds of sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age and sexual orientation⁴². The European Commission indeed actively promotes equal opportunities for all, and in particular equality between women and men. This will be important for the principle of gender equality in Turkey. Following Rainer Emschermann⁴³ indicated that, if Turkey uses the funding from the European Citizenship Programme in an efficient way, there is no reason why it should not integrate with Europe by the end of the negotiations. He also explained that applicants for funding under the European Citizenship Programme must be non-governmental organizations or civil society organizations with a legal status (legal personality) that are developing their activities at local, regional national or European level. The applicant must be established in one of the countries participating in the programme, and eligible project partners must also meet the same criteria as the participants.

⁴¹ European Commission Citizenship website. "Twinning towns for Unity". last updated: 11 January 2010. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/programme-actions/doc30_en.htm> [Accessed December 21st, 2011].

⁴² European Commission Citizenship website. "Twinning towns for Unity". last updated: 11 January 2010. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/programme-actions/doc30_en.htm> [Accessed December 21st, 2011].

⁴³ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

Any event of the project must involve at least two participating countries, of which at least one is an EU Member State. Emschermann concluded his response by emphasizing that the target should be to use the European Citizenship Programme funding efficiently until the end of the programme to become integrated with the European Union member states.

The *town-twinning programme* is the important measure of the European Citizenship Programme and has long been an important mechanism for developing active European citizenship and a sense of shared *identity*.

“Today, thousands of twinning links in Europe create a powerful and robust network of citizens who are playing an important role in constructing an ever-closer Union”.⁴⁴

By European Citizenship *town-twinning programme* means, EU member states engage in cultural exchanges across the social spectrum, and the programme will be open to Turkey as well when Turkey allowed participating in advance.

Emschermann⁴⁵ used the same example in answer to interview question: “How can Turkey improve Turkish citizens’ cultural integration with European citizens?”

“One major advantage of town twinning is that it involves large numbers of citizens directly, driving home the benefits of EU integration at the local level and helping citizens from different Member States to create a strong feeling of belonging and of a common European identity”⁴⁶.

Which find the explanation above (European Citizenship town-twinning programme) might help them explore a particular topic or theme, to share resources or interests, to gain influence or to face common challenges, according to Emschermann. In fact, the successive enlargements of the European Union, increased mobility resulting from the single market,

⁴⁴ European Commission Citizenship website. “Twinning towns for Unity”. last updated: 11 January 2010. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/programme-actions/doc30_en.htm> [Accessed December 21st, 2011].

⁴⁵ EMCHERMANN, Rainer; Education and Social Policy Turkey Team, DG Enlargement; Interview date: Thursday, November 26, 2009, time: 10am, place: Brussels.

⁴⁶ European Commission Citizenship website. “Twinning towns for Unity”. last updated: 11 January 2010. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/programme-actions/doc30_en.htm> [Accessed December 21st, 2011].

and migration flows, old and new, are increasing interactions between European citizens. According to European Commission 'Active Civil Society for Europe' which is part of Europe for Citizens Programme, the European Citizenship Programme encourages interaction between citizens and civil society organizations from all participating countries, contributing to intercultural dialogue and bringing to the fore both diversity and unity, with particular attention to activities aimed at developing closer ties between citizens from Member States of the European Union as constituted on 30 April 2004 and those from Member States which have acceded since that date⁴⁷. This is to say, if Turkey has started its integration programme since accession negotiations opened in October 2005, then Turkey has already started preparation for the European Citizenship Programme "town-twinning" programme, since the programme has run from 2007 and will end in 2013 with the creation of the new European Union member states of Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey.

In this chapter, other invisible variables have been used as Turkey's *alterable data* which could be changes during negotiation for Turkey's bid. These *alterable data* investigated under making a stable economy, development of regional policy, as well as social and cultural integration both within the regions of Turkey, also between Turkey and the European Union. By this research, it might be possible to say that Turkey might build stable democracy by eliminating invisible "obstacles" as seen in my primary researches which I stated above in chapter.

⁴⁷ European Commission DG Education and Culture. "Europe for Citizens - Active Civil Society for Europe (Action 2)". Available from <<http://www.eurodesk.org/edesk/?go=1&progId=EU0010000322&show>> [Accessed December 22nd, 2011].

CONCLUSION

Chapter 10

CONCLUSION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a recall and reflection on the overall nature, research strategy and scope of the thesis. The key arguments made within the scope are discussed and those parts of the arguments that can be claimed as original are highlighted.

This thesis analyses two processes at the core of the discussion: the idea of European common identity as a top-down process and the bottom-up manifestations of both Turkish political and cultural identities in the European Union; and whether they are cultural, historical and political in nature. A theoretical framework has been proposed on the national identity of Turkey that has been conducted within the framework of the nation-state mindset inspired by Benedict *Anderson's* “Imagined Communities – Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism”. The Anderson framework has been used in order to investigate Turkey’s national identity study and its boundaries.

This thesis outlines the basis of formal and informal criteria for accession to the European Union, based on a framework that contrasts Turkey’s permanent and alterable data. These two big influences have been investigated in relation to Turkey’s bid and emphasise some of their challenging aspects on the subject for accession of countries with institutional

setting that demonstrates a high degree of “integration pressure” from the idealised requirements of the *acquis communautaire*.

The main subject of the empirical research for the thesis is to investigate the role of national identity in the accession of the European Union (EU). While undertaking this research, I selected the EU candidate country Turkey as my case study. I chose Turkey as a case study because the country is still involved in negotiations with the EU and still has unresolved issues connected with national identity. Throughout the thesis, the term identity is used to designate two separate groups, defined as individual and national, but individual and national identities usually combine with each other. Therefore, understanding the generation process of individual identity is essential to learning communal identities. A number of subsidiary research questions are posed in line with the research strategy and these questions are further broken down to still finer questions that guide the substantial content of each chapter. The overall structure of the thesis is then presented, drawing out the challenges of the presentation posed by the thesis. The ways in which attempts to address these have been made are described. While writing my thesis I have divided Turkey’s national identity in to two main parts. One is the “*permanent data*” which are Turkey’s history, population, geography, religion, ethics and ancestry. We could explain them as stationary data because nobody could change this data, even if the EU is not happy with them. The other part is the “*alterable data*” which are Turkey’s administration, military power, research and technology, educational level and culture. Culture is understood in terms of two dimensions: one is traditional culture, which describes how cultural beliefs and attitudes are inherited from ancestors; the second is lifestyle culture, which describes the country’s ability to be modern or non-modern.

In relation to the process of interaction between the EU and Turkey, there are two main national identity issues. One involves *permanent data*, and refers in particular to the

Turkish religion. The other concerns *alterable* data, and refers especially to Turkish military power and administration. The thesis has researched both of these dimensions of identity. Turkish religion is evaluated in a long-term historical perspective to demonstrate its evolution over time; particular emphasis is placed on the secularism aspect. Turkish administration is evaluated from the vantage point of Turkish military power and administration. It is shown that Turkey has reformed key aspects of its system to fit into EU democracy rules. Insights from nationalism and national identity approaches were used, especially to understand the “imagined community” (borrowing from Benedict Anderson) involved in the construction of Turkish national identity and competing interpretations of what constitutes success for the European accession for Turkey. While doing research on Turkey’s national identity and the relationship with the European Union, I also studied the history of European integration, taking a long-term view of the evolution of EU –Turkish relations. This framework was designed with the assumption that all factors continually interacted within the European Union adoption process to shape Turkey’s domestic institutional responses to the EU Copenhagen Political Criteria and the *acquis communautaire*. In order to investigate the dynamics of the accession process between Turkey and European Union, the data were analysed in relation to Turkish national identity, and the connected issues of Turkish religion, the Turkish military and the current state of the negotiations between European Union and Turkey. Perspectives on this process were captured by interviews with top EU elites, including officials of the European Commission, Turkish diplomats and various other practitioners. This suggests that the factors identified by the theoretical framework provided a clearer understanding of the process and that the theoretical approach behind the framework could suggest the possible links between the factors and outcomes in a real life context.

Hence, the thesis developed a research strategy for linking the *theoretical* and the *practical* issues of Turkish accession related by their national identity through empirical

research data. To achieve this, mainly qualitative data collection methods were applied to this research study. The data collection process involved a thorough secondary literature search, an analysis of key primary documents, and interviews with key actors in the policy process. There was a good fit between the empirical findings that emerged and the theoretical approach adopted (see below Review of Research and Findings). After reviewing the findings in more detail, the adequacy of a theoretical approach for interpreting empirical findings and the policy implications for the research findings are discussed in the concluding sections in this chapter.

10.2 THE KEY ARGUMENTS OF THE THESIS

In this section, I summarise the key arguments made by the thesis in each part and emphasize therein the original contribution made by this thesis in terms of enhancing knowledge and understanding. The thesis was not framed in terms of a problem based or issue based challenge. Rather, the thesis has attempted to bridge theoretical insights into national identity construction with an in-depth study of the specific case of Turkey within the context of an EU accession. The focus of the thesis is by turns endogenous and exogenous. The thesis engages in extensive historically focussed research on the key issues of religious identity and Turkey's military past. It also identifies the weight of exogenous variables constraining Turkey to change. It conceptualises change in terms of an interactive process whereby external pressures placed on Turkey by the process of EU accession magnify and accelerate domestic evolutions that might have occurred anyway. The European dimension is of great importance in terms of 'alterable data'; namely the need to respect the Copenhagen Criteria by ensuring the existence of a functioning democracy and reasserting civilian control over the military. It is less easy to argue that Europeanisation has had a transformative effect in terms

of cultural or religious identity. Turkey remains an overwhelmingly Muslim country. Though this is in no sense a formal obstacle to Turkish entry to the EU, the thesis has contended that the opposition to Turkey joining in several European capitals and amongst the public opinions of several countries has acted as an internal brake. Turkey has reformed itself, most notably by the activities of the AKP, a new form of democratic political Islamic movement which is serving as a model for countries farther afield (those of the northern Mediterranean, notably). But powerful forces outside of Turkey's control are determined to resist its joining the EU club.

The claim for originality is related to the theoretical framework adopted, the methodology employed and the empirical field work undertaken. The thesis was divided into five parts, the key arguments of which will now be summarised.

Chapter one

In Chapter One, the key aims and objectives of the thesis were introduced. This chapter developed the research questions to be addressed, the research strategy to be adopted and the key challenge of the thesis. The broad aim that it set out to fulfil was to examine the relevance of the theoretical approaches of nationalism and national identity for investigating the complex sets of issues related to modern Turkish identity and its bid to join the European Union. Following this aim, the research strategy and the scope of the thesis was more precisely defined, taking into account the requirements of a research programme that aims to fulfil objectives pitched at a theoretical level, namely to contribute to theorising about the nature of nationalism by a close observation of Turkey.

Part I

The main argument in Part I concerned the nature of the relevance of *Benedict Anderson's* approaches on nationalism and national identity for planning a research project into Turkish national identity. In my argument, Turkey is subject to different kinds of assimilation in both identity change cases, because the transitions between identities have an emotional affect, although they are pragmatic and rational. While Turkey is influenced by exogenous actors that help to shape a new identity, they embed an old or new identity in their memories. This may cause different polarizations in the centre of old and new identities of the community. For this reason, the selection of identity during the nationalism process should be analyzed. As a result, a relation between identity and nationalization supporting each other conceptually exists. It can be said that nationalism could be obtained when identity is politicized.

Part II

In the chapters comprising Part II of the thesis, the focus shifted towards observing the role of Turkey's religious identity in accession to the European Union. Within the scope defined, the thesis aimed to provide a "cultural context" argument for the relevance of European integration. Above all, in part two we sought to consider the relevance of *Benedict Anderson's* nationalism and national identity approaches for undertaking research on Turkish national and cultural identity. The key objective of chapters two and three was to map out the possible contours of modern Turkish identity. Using an approach derived from Anderson, the thesis sought to determine whether the traditional values of belonging to a national political "*imagined community*" clashed with the postmodern character of EU societies. In the case of Turkey the thesis considered whether traditional forms of nationalism permitted, or excluded, a sense of European and Turkish identity. By necessity, any attempt to discuss what is meant by Turkish identity requires us to take into account traditional and contemporary ways of

self-identification. In this respect, the thesis makes the key argument that a distinction must be drawn between permanent identity markers (the ‘ontological constants’, of which religion is the most important), and more contingent, variable political identity markers, such as the secular tradition of modern Turkey, or the role of the military at the centre of the State. Turkish political identity is thus multifaceted. We investigate the case of Turkey in relation to other countries of the European Union, and we make the assumption that, a priori, there is space for combining elements of a national and European sense of belonging. Hence, to be British or to be French is to be conscious of different geography, demography, language, ethics and religion; these are labelled as the ‘permanent data’ that make up the cultural design of a country. In my argument, undertaking historical analyses is of key importance for understanding how the national and political contexts shape the nature of debate between the EU and Turkey. I argue that religion is the main unspoken cultural issue that intervenes to make accession to the European Union more difficult for Turkey. There is, of course, no formal criterion of religion for membership of the EU. But I contend that religion, and specifically the Muslim identity of Turkey, plays an important informal role in making accession difficult. The originality of this part of the thesis lays in the claim that unwritten, informal criteria really do make a difference. Though not exactly a Christian club, there is a broad consensus in European public opinion and amongst the political elites of a number of EU countries, that Turkey does not fit, and that allowing such a populated Muslim state into the EU would challenge the future of the European integration project. It is in this sense that the debate about identity and identity markers is directly relevant to that of EU enlargement.

Part III

Part 3 of the thesis addresses the role of Turkey’s public administration and the changes that have been required in order to pursue the goal of accession into the European Union. The

intention is two-fold. First, within the framework of the theoretical approaches defined in earlier chapters, this section of the thesis aims to measure the relevance of the European Union Copenhagen Political criteria. How has Europeanisation impacted upon domestic patterns of public administration? Does the case of Turkey provide one of Europeanization without the European Union? Or does the process of negotiation really signify that the EU is acting as a powerful exogenous force accelerating domestic change in Turkey? These legitimate questions were raised in detail in Part 3.

The second part of the challenge was to operationalise *Benedict Anderson's* framework for understanding nationalism and apply it to the case of Turkish national identity and its military and secular legacy. Anderson's imagined communities framework was applied across several dimensions; the religious, the military, the cultural and in relation to public opinion and political parties. The thesis set out to obtain answers in relation to questions such as whether the prospect of EU accession had changed the political discourse and policies of Turkey's main parties, or whether Europeansiation (the prospect of EU membership) has been the core drivers of domestic administrative change. As far as possible, these questions were validated empirically with primary interview research and through using primary and secondary documentation. I argue that the Turkish military and military administrations are main issues at stake in Turkey's bid to join the European Union; the EU has exercised substantial pressure on Turkey to ensure civilian ascendancy over the military and to respect the rule of law and the rules of the game of democracy. I argue that the political belonging and discipline had to be based on the common decision of the "community". I also argue that Turkish military and military administration is an alterable data of Turkey which is changeable under the pressure of the EU Copenhagen Criteria, which have facilitated democratic reforms of politics and public administration. In my argument, historical analyses have become increasingly relevant, but also problematic; national and

political contexts shape the nature of the debate between EU and Turkey and cloud representations of the latter by the former. I identify the military as being the main political obstacle to Turkey's EU accession; the formal and informal criteria being critical of any influence of the military in politics.

Part IV

Part IV of the thesis considers the role of Turkey's religious and administrative identities, as mediated through Turkey's system of political parties and the process of accession to the European Union. Within the scope defined, the thesis confirms the relevance of the prospect of European integration and the progress of EU negotiations upon shaping the contemporary Turkish polity. At the same time, Turkey's construction of its identity is best understood by referring to *Benedict Anderson's* nationalism and national identity approaches. EU accession negotiations are important not only in their own right, but also as guides to understand how far contemporary Turkey has changed and how a democratic Turkish nation-state has emerged. In this process of democratisation, the thesis highlights the importance of Turkey's 'alterable data': notably the ongoing reform of its military and military administration.

Part V

In Part V, I argue that there are other invisible obstacles to creating a sustainable democracy in Turkey on behalf of Turkish religion and military administration. My argument is to find if Turkey could find the way of resolving two main issues on the democratisation way with administrative reforms; and europeanisation way with the modernisation process on Turkey. Hence, I argue that the economic, political, regional and social processes which, with the national and the European concept, might become increasingly relevant and also problematic, as national and political contexts shape the nature of debate between EU and Turkey. While I

was researching my argument key points, DG enlargement Turkey team supervised me with their documents and interview. In this respect, the thesis also evaluated that economic, social and political connections were always key connections on the political movements. I argue that economic, regional, social and cultural instability might also play a role at the accession of the European Union. Hence, my argument that sustainable democracy might require that democratic awareness is enhanced on the stable economy, regional development and social and cultural integration with European Union.

10.3 REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND FINDINGS

Before the research findings are presented and analysed, it is useful to recall the research questions at the heart of this PhD thesis.

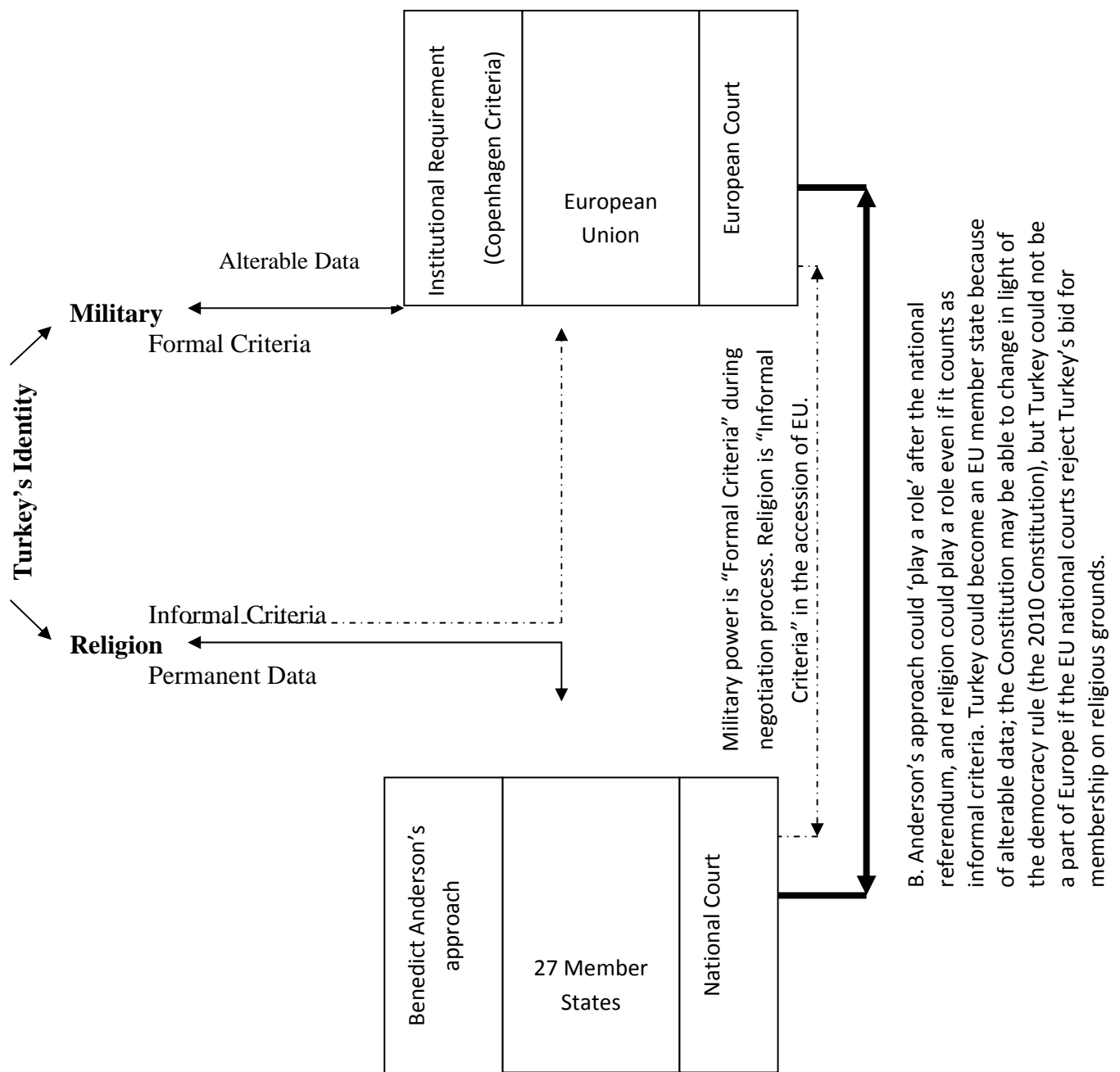
The key research questions that the thesis addressed were:

1. What is Turkish national identity? What steps have modern Turkish regimes taken to provide a stable political basis for Turkish national identity?
2. What are the main elements of Turkey's national identity that influence the integration with European Union? How has the process of accession reset the identity markers that are associated with Turkish identity?
3. Using mainly qualitative, but also some quantitative analyses, what are the main differences between European identities and Turkish identity?
4. Does Turkey's national identity play a key role in the accession of European Union?

In terms of the theoretical framework, the research has demonstrated that Turkey's political culture, political style and structures and administrative arrangements have constrained the way in which core policy-making actors have been able to undertake domestic institutional changes implied by the Europeanization objectives. All these formal

and informal factors have been important in the adoption process; however, actor-related factors such as actors learning, empowerment, political will, motivation, political rationalities have played the key role in shaping the process.

Research Findings Graph (10.1): The Role of Turkish Identity in Accession of European Union



In the graph (Graph 10.1), I present the research answers as a response to my central my PhD question: “What is the role of national identity in accession of European Union: the Case of Turkey?” Findings are key to understanding the central question of how national identity figures in the EU accession process. The main arguments emerge:

- **Finding 1:** Drawing from the Benedict Anderson approach, the thesis identified two main identity markers (in the sense of the political identity of the Turkish Republic) in respect of Turkey national identity. The first that was labelled in terms of ‘alterable data’ was that of the Turkish military administration, and the continuing role of the military in politics, making it difficult for Turkey to become a democratic state. The second broad area of investigation is that of religious identity. Turkey is a country where the vast majority of the population are Muslims. Would this act as an informal barrier to membership of the EU? Can the EU in practice accept an Islamic country within its midst?

- **Finding 2:** In respect of all of the above, Turkey should fully integrate in terms of the key factors which are described above; especially political-military-religious integration for the democratic state of Turkey.

- **Finding 3:** Turkey’s Religious identity is the main connected issue in respect of *Benedict Anderson* “*imagined community*” approach. The case of Turkey poses questions which get to the heart of the role of identity in the modern EU and Europe more generally. Are the traditional values of belonging to the EU compatible with religious difference? Can European and Turkish identity be harmonious? The thesis presented evidence that Turkey has changed considerably, but that there remains stiff resistance amongst politicians and public opinions in leading EU countries that presents an invisible barrier to Turkish entry. For European people, they will feel themselves to be “European” wherever they immigrate and they will feel themselves to have the “same identity” wherever they are, with same languages, religion and ancestry: in short, the same cultural roots. This situation is same with Turkish.

- **Finding 4:** The Copenhagen criteria emphasise the need for civilian power over the military. Reform of the Turkish Military has been one of the main formal criteria for the making of a democratic state at the European level. On the other hand, the religious dimension was arguably even more important. It was never described as a formal criteria for the European Institutions and was not referred to as an obstacle during the negotiation process between Turkey and EU. But the challenge of admitting the first large Muslim state underpinned the negative reactions to Turkey's bid from politicians and public opinion in a number of EU states.
- **Finding 5:** In the event of a successful conclusion to the EU negotiation process, there is still the possibility of "national referendum" claim in every member state. Existing member-states such as France retain their claim for an eventual *veto* of Turkey's EU membership. For some member states, they may need time to integrate their cultures and religion but they will see themselves "one" as Europeans and the "others" as not-Europeans against not-EU member states. If Turkey is "others" for them, there is possibility to say "no" for Turkey to join to European Union. After all the Turkey's Europeanization and process of democratization could be invalidated after a national level "referendum" in light of the European Institution's Copenhagen criteria.
- **Finding 6:** Turkish religion as an Islam has cause effect as an informal criteria in accession of European Union according to *Benedict Anderson's* approach.
- **Finding 7:** Both Turkish military and Turkish religion are playing a role in accession of European Union. While Turkish military is playing a role on the European level, Turkish religion is playing a role on the national level; after further European level on the final decision of Turkey to join or not to join the European Union. The evidence presented throughout the thesis suggests that Turkey has changed considerably. Europeanisation has performed a key role; the prospect of EU membership has encouraged Turkey to change core

aspects of its political system. Moving the country to a more fulsome democratic embrace, as illustrated with the adoption of the new Constitution in 2010, can be attributed in large part to the influence of the EU. However, there remains the issue of religion. Even if the latter is not a formal criterion for EU membership, it is clear that it could figure in any national referendums that are held to challenge any agreed Turkish membership terms.

It is important to note that the cultural context and political context are connected. The significance of the relationship (cultural and political contexts) has been embedded in Turkish culture since the Ottoman Empire, and it is important in politics to offer an arena in which national relationship and networks are highly exploited. The empirical research findings indicated the importance of administrative style and structures in the European Union accession in framing the role of Turkey's national identity and in affecting the capacity of actors to shape Turkey's future EU membership possibility.

10. 4 KEY CONTRIBUTIONS OF EXISTING KNOWLEDGE

Even though the contribution of the thesis has been stated in discussing the summary of each chapter I draw these together in this section to present as overview of the key contributions.

The main contributions of this study to the existing theoretical literature are summarised below.

First of all, this empirical study has added a new dimension to the “Europeanization” literature. It has applied elements of the imagined community approach of Benedict Anderson to explain nationalism and national identity. It has thus brought new perspectives to the analysis of *acquis communautaire* in the EU context and to Turkey in particularly. The Anderson approach has been used in an attempt to provide an improved conceptual framework in order stand to understand processes of national identity construction and

Europeanisation. The *acquis communautaire* is filtered by Turkish national identity. The study has also shown that there are invisible obstacles to Turkey's EU membership and that these can be explained because of cultural resistance to Turkey, with a majority Muslim population, joining the EU by a number of EU states and public opinion. Using Anderson's approach also allowed us to undertake empirical research through drawing the key distinction between the constants (non-alterable) and variable (alterable) dimensions of Turkey's political identity.

This research has also contributed to the *European integration* literature by focusing on the outcomes of the European integration process between Turkey and European Union as well as dynamics interacting in the process itself. But there are necessarily limitations to the thesis. One relates to the ongoing nature of the accession negotiations between European Union and Turkey. As we do not know the outcomes in terms of EU accession, it is very hard to draw definitive conclusions. But the thesis has demonstrated that broad identity issues are important when considering the boundaries of the EU. As *Anderson* suggested: "The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations". The same remark might be made in relation to the EU itself. Mapping the boundaries of the EU involves not just Turkey, but primarily the existing members of the EU club. The thesis has presented evidence that Europeans from the twenty-seven EU Member States see themselves as different in key respects (in culture, ethics, religion, politics) from Turkish peoples and the Muslim world more generally. Though key aspects of the Turkish polity have been transformed by the process of Europeanisation, there remain important barriers to Turkey's EU membership. The thesis has contributed to knowledge about the role and limitations of political identity not only in understanding contemporary Turkey, but also the underlying cultural norms of the European integration project.

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APPENDIX A

PRIMARY RESEARCH

List of Elites

1. **Jean Christophe Filori**, Head of Unit, DG Enlargement Turkey Team
2. **Riccardo Serri**, Political Criteria, DG Enlargement Turkey Team
3. **Rainer Emschermann**, Education and Culture, DG Enlargement Turkey Team
4. **Laurent Van Depoele** Former Director Rural Development at the European Commission in Brussels
5. **Engin Arikan** Turkish Diplomat at Permanent Representative office of Republic of Turkey in Brussels

List of Research Questions

Jean Christophe FILORI

Head of Unit, DG Enlargement Turkey Team

1. What are the main achievements regarding the political criteria for Turkey's accession to the EU?
2. What is the main failure regarding the political criteria for Turkey's accession to the EU?
3. Although, in the light of the repeatedly raised argument that "the EU is a Christian club", the strong Christian orientation of Spain should potentially contradict a strong backing for Turkey, in fact Spain is rather in favour, and a fairly secular country, the Czech Republic, is rather against Turkey's membership. What is your argument or outlook on this situation? What is the main element for member states? Why?
4. Despite Ataturk's admonitions against the military political role, the army is able to legitimize its "guardianship" through its unique position in society as its most trusted institution, in continuum with its role as a guardian of democracy, secularism, and national unity against Islamists nowadays. How would the EU view towards the long-term sustainability of the Turkish secular model if AKP applies confidential anti-secular

movements or public pressure to religionist rules such as headwear, or inadequacy of women's rights?

5. Why is the military administration whose leaders M. Kemal Atatürk rules called non-democratic when it achieved most of the westernization process in Turkish history and nowadays Islamic AKP is called a democratic regime for the EU?
6. In the event that the AKP were closed by the Turkish authorities, would the EU continue negotiations with a new Turkish government?
7. What do you consider are the main geopolitical debates relating to Turkey in the context of the European Union?
8. What are Turkey's achievements in the civilization process? Are they sufficient or does it need to do some more civilization in military administration?
9. In debates on equal rights for men and women living in Turkey under human rights legislation, considerably different views are introduced regarding the process of integration with Europe. Nevertheless, this issue constitutes the most crucial criticism of Turkey by the European Community. The gender equality issues reflect abroad in matters like honour crimes, forced marriages, or movement of non-adult girls to Germany through marriage, which cause debate on these matters. Moreover, we always encounter the issue of women in connection with Islam as well as exposure to domestic violence. "The issue of women's equality" is always on the agenda with respect to many issues, from the covering of the woman's whole body to the headscarf to the problem of the attendance of girl students on swimming courses or class trips. How can Turkey stop the violation of women's rights?
10. How should Turkey develop its regional and structural policy in the context of its social needs?
11. Turkey is a big country with a high population and has priority to align between east and west regions. How can Turkish identities, cultures, education, and women's rights be aligned among all regions of Turkey by predecessor instead of aligned with Europe?
12. Is Turkey located in Europe?
13. With regard to the sense of geographical attachment, in the context of European citizenship it is also important that people feel psychologically attached to Europe. In this

case, should Turkish people consider themselves to be European, part of the Muslim world, or Caucasian?

14. How could military issues be solved?
15. How could religious issues be solved?
16. What are your arguments for Turkey's accession to the EU? Will it succeed at and fulfil all the criteria?
17. Towards accession of Turkey, How to improve the state of democracy in Turkey?

Riccardo SERRI

Political criteria, DG Enlargement Turkey Team

(Civil Military relations, Foreign Security and Defence Policy)

1. What are the main achievements regarding the political criteria for Turkey's accession to the EU?
2. What is the main failure in terms of the political criteria for Turkey's accession to the EU?
3. Turkey's EU Ambassador Demiralp has stated: "as a NATO member Turkey has played a vital role in the defence of Europe since the early fifties. We support European Security and Defence Policy, and Turkey will be a net contributor to this area." What is your argument on this topic? If this is correct, how can Turkey support ESDP when its power will not dawn? What is the EU's plan? Or what should AKP (the Turkish Government) plan to do?
4. Despite Ataturk's admonitions against the military political role, the army is able to legitimize its "guardianship" through its unique position in society as its most trusted institution, in continuum with its role as a guardian of democracy, secularism, and national unity against Islamists nowadays. How would the EU view towards the long-term sustainability of the Turkish secular model if AKP applies confidential anti-secular movements or public pressure to religionist rules such as headwear, or inadequacy of women's rights?

5. How can Turkey dissolve the Ergenekon organization? Could the EU do anything?
6. What are Turkey's achievements in the civilization process? Are they sufficient or does more civilization needs to be achieved in the military administration?
7. What do you consider are the main geopolitical debates relating to Turkey in the context of the European Union?
8. How could Turkish administration be more civil in Turkey Politics? What is the best way to do this? How could military issues be solved?

Rainer EMSCHERMANN
DG Enlargement Turkey Team
(Education, Culture, and Budget)

1. What are the main achievements of the cultural dimension of Turkey?
2. What is the main failure of the cultural dimension of Turkey?
3. What are the main cultural differences between Turkey and the EU?
4. EU means diversity in unity but if European values are considered to be universal values by Turkey, and if the EU then goes on to think that European values cannot apply in a Muslim country because Muslims are bound to remain different, then that is the bankruptcy of European civilization. If European values should apply to Turkey, what are these European values?
5. Turkey's educational level is far lower than that of the EU according to data analysis. How can Turkey develop its capacity for education?
6. Is there any possibility of equalizing university tuition for Turkish citizens as EU member citizen students to encourage them physiologically and also economically before the accession process in order to raise Turkey's educational level?

7. Are there any possibilities for making computer donations to all the schools in Turkey other than through money?
8. Is there any possibility of sending a commissioner to monitor the educational level of every region and district in Turkey, especially rural regions in the eastern part of Turkey?
9. When will Turkey be ready with its common values, policies, legislation, and economic and social development?

Laurent VAN DEPOELE

**Former Director Rural Development at the European Commission in Brussels
(Political, Cultural, Social and Regional Policies)**

1. EU means diversity in unity but if European values are considered as universal values by Turkey, and if the EU then goes on to think that European values cannot apply in a Muslim country because Muslims are bound to remain different, then that is the bankruptcy of European civilization. If European values should apply to Turkey, what are these European values?
2. Turkey's level of science and research is lower than that of the EU level according to data analysis. How can Turkey develop its capacity for science and research?
3. Will any of the possibilities to equalize university tuition for Turkish citizens as EU member citizen students to encourage them physiologically and also economically before the accession process cause Turkey's educational level to rise?
4. Are there any possibilities for making computer, library, book, and laboratory donations to all the schools in Turkey other than financial ones?
5. Are there any possibilities regarding sending a commissioner to monitor the educational and scientific level of every region and district in Turkey, especially rural regions in the eastern part of Turkey?

6. What should Turkey do to equalize its workers' rights with EU workers' rights under EU Social Policy?
7. There are two absolute and unchangeable factors concerning Turkey among these justifications: religion and geography. In this case are Turkish people European geographically? Is Turkey located in Europe?
8. What is the demographic structure in the EU with its recently accepted countries? What is the position of Turkey in this structure?
9. In terms of the sense of geographical attachment, in the context of European citizenship it is also important that people feel psychologically attached to Europe. In this case, should Turkish people consider themselves to be European, part of the Muslim world, or Caucasian?
10. How can Turkey stop migration from east to west within Turkey? How can the EU help with migration problem within Turkey?
11. How should Turkey develop its regional and structural policy in accordance with its social needs?
12. When will Turkey be ready with its common values, policies, legislation, and economic and social development?
13. There are two absolute and unchangeable factors concerning Turkey among these justifications: religion and geography. In this case, are Turkish people European geographically? Is Turkey located in Europe?
14. In the sense of geographical attachment, in the context of European citizenship it is also important that people feel psychologically attached to Europe. In this case, should Turkish people consider themselves to be European, part of the Muslim world, or Caucasian?
15. What is the demographic structure in the EU with its recently accepted countries? What is the position of Turkey in this structure?
16. How should Turkey develop its regional and structural policy in the context of its social needs?

Engin ARIKAN

Turkish Diplomat at Permanent Representative office of Republic of Turkey in Brussels

1. What are the main achievements of the religious dimension of Turkey?
2. What is the main failure of the religious dimension of Turkey?
3. In the light of the repeatedly raised argument that “the EU is a Christian club”, the strong Christian orientation of Spain should potentially contradict a strong backing for Turkey; however, Spain is rather in favour of, and a fairly secular country, the Czech Republic, is rather against Turkey’s membership. What is your argument or outlook on this situation? What is the main element for member states? Why?
4. If Turkey’s current administration (AKP) is secular, how can Turkey change the Islamic image it projects to the world?
5. How has Turkey changed its image as a modern and European country with respect to the cultural, political, and regional dimensions?
6. Does Turkey’s religion of Islam make a difference because of the “image” in people’s minds, such as their approaches to God, the role of conservatism, and women’s headwear?
7. If Turkey joins the EU, it will project stability to the region; it will prove that democracy, human rights, and European values do work in a Muslim country. By itself it will establish a model to be followed for the surrounding regions. The thesis of the clash of civilizations will prove to be a fallacy. This is the best argument against terrorist groups who seek a pretext for their acts in the differences between countries. If this is correct, Turkey’s religion of Islam creates conflicts because with this accession, will other countries in the Muslim world will have the right to apply for membership positions in the EU?
8. In debates on equal rights for men and women living in Turkey under human rights legislation, considerably different views are introduced on the process of integration with Europe. Nevertheless, this issue constitutes the most crucial criticism of Turkey by the European Community. The gender equality issue reflects abroad in matters like honour

crimes, forced marriages, or movement of non-adult girls to Germany through marriage, which cause debate on these matters. Moreover, we always encounter the issue of women in connection with Islam as well as exposure to domestic violence. The issue of women's equality is always on the agenda with respect to many questions, from the covering of the woman's whole body to the headscarf to the problem of the attendance of girl students on swimming courses or class trips. How can Turkey stop the violation of women's rights?

9. Turkey is a big country with a high population and has priority to align between east and west regions. How can Turkish identities, cultures, education, and women's rights be aligned among all regions of Turkey by predecessor instead of aligned with Europe?

APPENDIX B

The Ottoman Constitution

(23 December 1876)

The Ottoman Empire

Art. 1. The Ottoman Empire comprises present territory and possessions, and semi-dependent provinces. It forms an indivisible whole, from which no portion can be detached under any pretext whatever.

Art. 2. Istanbul is the capital of the Ottoman Empire. This city possesses no privilege or immunity peculiar to itself over the other towns of the empire.

Sultan, "Supreme Caliph"

Art. 3. The Ottoman sovereignty, which which includes in the person of the Sovereign the Supreme Caliphate of Islam, belongs to the eldest Prince of the House of Osman, in accordance with the rules established ab antiquo.

Art. 4. His Majesty the Sultan, under the title of "Supreme Caliph," is the protector of the Muslim religion. He is the sovereign and padişah (emperor) of all the Ottomans.

Art. 5. His Majesty the Sultan is irresponsible; his person is sacred.

Art. 6. The liberty of the members of the Imperial Ottoman Dynasty, their property, real and personal, and their civil list during their lifetime, are under the guarantee of all.

Sovereign Rights of the Sultan

Art. 7. Among the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan are the following prerogatives: - He makes and cancels the appointments of ministers; he confers the grades, functions and insignia of his orders, and confers investiture on the chiefs of the privileged provinces, according to forms determined by the privileges granted them; he has the coining of money; his name is pronounced in the mosques during public prayer; he concludes treaties with the powers; he declares war and makes peace; he commands both land and sea forces; he directs military movements; he carries out the provisions of the Şeriat (the sacred law), and of the other laws; he sees to the administration of public measures; he respites or commutes sentences pronounced by the criminal courts; he summons and prorogues the General Assembly; he dissolves, if deems it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies, provided he directs the election of the new members.

Public Rights of the Ottomans

Personal Liberties

Art. 8. All subjects of the empire are called Ottomans, without distinction whatever faith they profess; the status of an Ottoman is acquired and lost according to conditions specified by law.

Art. 9. Every Ottoman enjoys personal liberty on condition of non interfering with the liberty of others.

Art. 10. Personal liberty is wholly inviolable. No one can suffer punishment, under any pretext whatsoever, except in cases determined by law, and according to the forms prescribed by it.

Religion

Art. 11. Islam is the state religion. But, while maintainig this principle, the state will protect the free exercise of faiths professed in the Empire, and uphold the religious privileges granted to various bodies, on condition of public order and morality not being interfered with.

The Press

Art. 12. The press is free, within limits imposed by law.

Art. 13. Ottomans have the power of forming commercial companies, industrial or agricultural, within limits imposed by law and statute.

Right of Petition

Art 14. One or more persons of ottoman nationality have the right of presenting petitions in the proper quarter relating to the breaking of law and regulation, done either to their own or public detriment, and may likewise present in protest signed petitions to the General Ottoman Assembly, complaining of the conduct of state servants and functionaries.

Education

Art. 15. Education is free. Every Ottoman can attend public or private instructions on condition of conforming to the law.

Schools

Art. 16. All schools are under state supervision. Proper means will be devised for harmonizing and regulating the instruction given to all the Ottomans, but without interfering with the religious education in the various districts.

Equality before the Law, Public Offices

Art. 17. All Ottomans are equal in the eyes of the law. They have the same rights, and owe the same duties towards their country, without prejudice to religion.

Art. 18. Eligibility to public office is conditional on a knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language of the State.

Art. 19. All Ottomans are admitted to public offices, according to their fitness, merit, and ability.

Taxes

Art. 20. The assessment and distribution of the taxes are to be in proportion to the fortune of each taxpayer, in conformity with the laws and special regulations.

Property

Art 21. Property, real and personal, of lawful title, is guaranteed. There can be no dispossession, except on good public cause shown, and subject to the previous payment, according to law of the value of the property in question.

Inviolability of Domicile

Art. 22. The domicile is inviolable. The authorities cannot break into any dwelling except in cases prescribed by law.

Tribunals

Art. 23. No one is bound to appear before any other than a competent tribunal, according to statutory form of procedure.

Property. Forced Labour. Contributions in Time of War

Art. 24. Confiscation of property, forced labour (“corvée”), and taking temporary possession of property are prohibited. Nevertheless, contributions lawfully levied in time of war, and measures rendered necessary by the exigencies of war, are exempt from this provision.

Taxes and Imports

Art. 25. No sum of money can be exacted under the name of a tax or impost, or under any other title whatever, except by virtue of law.

Torture and Inquisition

Art. 26. Torture and inquisition, under any form, are wholly and absolutely forbidden.

Ministers of the Crown

Art. 27. His Majesty may appoint as Grand Vizier and Şeyhü'l-İslam whomsoever he confides in, and thinks right to nominate to those posts.

The other ministers are appointed by Imperial Decree (İrade)

Art. 28. The Council of Ministers meets under the presidency of the Grand Vizier.

All weighty state affairs, whether domestic or foreign, come within the competency of the Council of Ministers. Those of their measures, which must be submitted for the approval of His Majesty, are made law by Imperial Decree

Art. 29. Each head of department, within the limits of his powers, carries out the measures, which appertain to his Department. In matters without this limit he must have recourse to the Grand Vizier.

The Grand Vizier takes action on the measures presented to him by the heads of departments, either by referring them, if need be, to the Cabinet, and then presenting them for the Imperial sanction; or, on the other hand, by deciding on them himself, and referring them to the decision of His Majesty the Sultan.

Special enactments will, in the case of each department, determine under which of the preceding heads the various business is to be distributed.

Art. 30. The ministers are responsible for decisions or acts under their management.

Art. 31. If one or more members of the Chamber of Deputies wish to lodge a complaint against any Minister, by reason of his responsibility, and with reference to matters within the Province of the Chamber, the petition and complaint must be handed to the President, who will refer it within three days to the Committee appointed by the rules of the House to investigate the charge, and determine whether it be right to submit the same to the decision of the Chamber. When the necessary investigation has taken place, and explanations have been laid before them by the Minister interested, the decision of the Committee will be taken by the vote of the majority. If the Committee advise that the complaint be laid before the

Camber, their report containing this decision is to be read at a public sitting, and the Chamber, after hearing the explanations of the accused Minister who shall be summoned to appear, or of his representative, will vote on the question at issue, a majority of two-thirds being requisite for a decision. In the event of the adoption of Committee's Report, an address praying for the trial of the Minister is to be transmitted to the Grand Vizier, who will submit it for the sanction of His Majesty the Sultan, and remit it to the High Court by virtue of an Imperial Irade.

Art. 32. A special law will settle the forms of procedure to be followed for the trial of Ministers.

Art. 33. There shall be no distinction between Ministers and private individuals in respect of private suits, which do not relate to their functions. Causes of such nature are to be referred to the ordinary Tribunals.

Art. 34. The Minister whose trial has been decreed by the Chamber of Accusation of the High Court is to be suspended from his functions until he has been acquitted of the charges brought against him.

Art. 35. In the event of the Chamber of Deputies throwing out a Bill, and assigning its reasons therefore, upon the adoption of which Bill the Minister is of opinion he ought to insist, His Majesty the Sultan, in the exercise of his sovereignty, orders either a change of Ministers or a dissolution of the Chamber, subject to the re-election of Deputies within the period appointed by the law.

Art. 36. In case of urgent necessity, if the General Assembly be not in session, the Minister may adopt measures to protect the State against danger or to preserve the public safety.

These measures, sanctioned by an Imperial Irade, have provisionally the force of law if they be not contrary to the Constitution. They must be submitted to the General Assembly immediately upon its meeting.

Art. 37. Each Minister has the right to be present at the sittings of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, or to be represented there by one of the chief officials of his Department.

He has also a right to be heard before any member of the Chamber who may have leave to speak.

Art. 38. When, in consequence of a decision adopted by a majority of votes, a Minister is requested to appear in the Chamber to give explanations, he is bound to reply to the questions addressed to him either by appearing there in person or by delegating this duty to one of the heads of his Department.

He has, nevertheless, the right to postpone his reply, if he shall deem it necessary to do so, by assuming the responsibility for such postponement.

Art. 39. All appointments to various public functions shall be made in conformity with the regulations which shall determine the conditions of merit and capacity required for admission to employment under the state. No functionary appointed under these conditions can be dismissed or transferred; unless it can be proved that his conduct legally justified such removal; unless he shall have resigned, or unless his retirement is considered indispensable by the government.

Officials who may have given proof of good conduct and uprightness, as well as those whom the Government may have thought it indispensable to place on half-pay, shall have a

right either to promotion, or to a pension, or to half-pay, according to the terms which will be laid down in a special regulation.

Art. 40. The duties of the several offices will be settled by special regulations. Each functionary is responsible within the limit of his duties.

Art. 41. Every functionary is bound to pay respect to his superior, but obedience is only due to orders given within the limits defined by the law. In respect of acts contrary to law, the fact of having obeyed a superior will not relieve the official who has carried them out from responsibility.

The General Assembly

Art. 42. The General Assembly is composed of two chambers: the Chamber of Notables or Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 43. The two chambers will meet on the 1st of November of each year, the opening to take place by imperial decree (irade), the closing, fixed for the following 1st March, also to take place following an imperial decree. Neither of the two chambers can meet while the other chamber is not sitting.

Art. 44. His Majesty the Sultan according to the exigencies of circumstances, may anticipate the date of the opening or may abridge or prolong the session.

Art. 45. The opening of the session shall take place in the presence of His Majesty the Sultan, either in person or represented by the Grand Vizier, and in the presence of the Ministers and the Members of the two Chambers.

An Imperial Speech will be read, giving an account of the internal position of the Empire and the state of its foreign relations during the past year, and setting forth the measures the adoption of which for the following year is deemed to be necessary.

Art 46. All the members of the General Assembly shall take an oath of fidelity to His Majesty the Sultan and to the country, shall bind themselves to observe the Constitution, to perform the duties entrusted to them, and to abstain from all acts opposed to those duties.

This oath shall be taken by new members at the opening of the Session in the presence of the Grand Vizier, and after the opening in the presence of their respective Presidents and at a public sitting of the Chamber of which they are members.

Art. 47. Members of the General Assembly are free to express their opinions and to vote as they like.

They cannot be bound by conditions or promises, nor influenced by threats. They cannot be prosecuted for opinions or votes delivered in the course of debate, unless they have contravened the Standing Orders of the Chamber, when they are amenable to the provisions of the regulations in force.

Art. 48. Any member of the General Assembly who, by an absolute majority of two-thirds of the Chamber of which he is a member, is accused of treason, or attempting to violate the Constitution, or of peccation (“concussion”), or has been condemned to imprisonment or exile, loses his status as Senator or Deputy.

He will be tried and sentence passed by the competent tribunal.

Art. 49. Every member of the General Assembly must vote in person. He can refrain from voting.

Art. 50. No one can at the same time be a member of both Chambers.

Art. 51. No business can be done in either of the Chambers unless one member more than the majority of the Chamber be present.

Except in cases where a majority of two-thirds is requisite, all resolutions must be carried by an absolute majority of members present.

When the votes are equally divided, the President shall have the casting vote.

Art. 52. All private petitions presented to either Chamber shall be rejected if in the course of inquiry it should be shown that the petitioner did not apply in the first instance to the public officers concerned, or to their superior officers.

Art. 53. The initiative of bringing forward a bill or altering an existing law lies with the Ministry.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies may also originate a new law, or the modification of an existing one, with reference to matters within their own province. In the latter case, the demand is submitted by the Grand Vizier to His Majesty the Sultan, and, if occasion requires, the Council of State is empowered by an Imperial Decree to prepare the proposed Project of Law, aided by information and details from the proper quarter.

Art. 54. Drafts of Bills elaborated by the Council of State are in the first instance laid before the Chamber of Deputies, and after that before the Senate. Though passing both Chambers, no Bill will become law until it has been sanctioned by the Imperial İrade. No draft Bill, once thrown by either of the Chambers, can be brought forward a second time in the course of the same session.

Art. 55. A Bill is not regarded as carried if it has not been successively passed both by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate by a majority of votes, voting article by article, and if the whole Bill has not been voted by a majority in each of the two Chambers.

Art. 56. With the exception of the Ministers, of their deputies, and the functionaries summoned by a special call, no one can be introduced in either Chamber, nor allowed to make any communication whatever, whether he present himself in his own name or as the representative of a body.

Art. 57. The debates of the Chambers are conducted in the Turkish language. The Bills are printed and circulated before the day fixed upon for discussion.

Art. 58. The votes are given at the call of the House (“par appel nominal”), by show of hands or by ballot. The vote by ballot is subject to the decision of a majority of the members present.

Art. 59. The maintenance of order in each Chamber is entrusted to its President.

Senate.

Art. 60. The President and members of the Senate are nominated directly by His Majesty the Sultan. The number of senators cannot exceed a third of the members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 61. To be nominated a senator it is necessary to have shown by one's acts that one is worthy of public confidence, or to have rendered signal services to the State, and to be, at least, forty years of age.

Art. 62. The senators are nominated for life.

The rank of senator may be conferred on persons “en disponibilité,” having exercised the functions of Minister, Governor-General (vali), Commandant of Corps d’Armée, Judge, Ambassador or Minister Plenipotentiary, Patriarch, Grand Rabbi, General of Division of armies by land or sea (“terre et de mer”), and generally on persons combining the requisite conditions.

Members of the Senate, called at their request to other functions, lose the position as senator.

Art. 63. The stipend of senators is fixed at 10.000 piastres per month.

A senator receiving from the Treasury salary or pay in any other capacity is entitled only to the difference if the sum is below 10.000 piastres. If the sum is equal to or above the pay of senator, he continues to receive it.

Art. 64. The Senate examines the Bills or Budget transmitted to it by the Chamber of Deputies. If in the course of the examination of a Bill the Senate finds a provision contrary to the sovereign rights of the Sultan, to liberty, the Constitution, the territorial integrity of the Empire, the internal security of the country, to the interests of the defence of the country, or to morality, it rejects it definitely by a vote, assigning its reasons; or it sends it back, accompanied by its observations, to the Chamber of Deputies, demanding that it should be amended or modified in the sense of those observations.

Bills adopted by the Senate are invested with its approval, and are transmitted to the Grand Vizier.

The Senate examines the petitions presented to it; transmits to the Grand Vizier such as it thinks deserving of reference, accompanying them with its observations.

Chamber of Deputies

Art. 65. The number of deputies is fixed at one deputy for every 50.000 males belonging to the Ottoman nationality.

Art. 66. The election is held by secret ballot. The mode of election will be determined by a special law.

Art. 67. The mission of deputy is incompatible with public functions, except those of ministers. Any other public functionary elected deputy is free to accept or refuse; but, in case of acceptance, he must resign his functions.

Art. 68. The following are ineligible as deputies:

1. Those who do not belong to the Ottoman nationality;
2. Those who, by virtue of the special regulation in force, enjoy immunities attached to the foreign service to which they belong;
3. Those not understanding Turkish;
4. Those not turned thirty years of age;
5. Persons attached to the service of a private individual;
6. Bankrupts not rehabilitated;
7. Those notoriously in disrepute for their conduct;
8. Persons visited with judicial interdiction, as long as that interdiction is not raised;
9. Those not enjoying their civil rights;
10. Those who lay claim to a foreign nationality. After the expiration of the first period of four years, one of the conditions of eligibility will be ability to read Turkish and, as far as possible, to write in that language.

Art. 69. General elections of deputies are held every four years. The commission of every deputy lasts only four years, but he is re-eligible.

Art. 70. The general elections commence at the latest four months before the 1st of November, which is the date fixed for the meeting of the Chamber.

Art. 71. Every member of the Chamber of deputies represents the whole body of Ottomans, and not exclusively the circumscription which has elected him.

Art. 72. The electors are bound to choose their deputies from among the inhabitants of the province to which they belong.

Art. 73. In case of the dissolution of the Chamber by Imperial İrade, the general elections are to commence in such times as that the Chamber may meet again at the latest within six months of the date of the dissolution.

Art. 74. In the case of death, judicial interdiction, prolonged absence, loss of the office of Deputy resulting from a condemnation or from the acceptance of public functions, a substitute shall be elected in conformity with the prescriptions of the electoral law, and in such time as that the new deputy will be able to exercise his mandate at the latest in the following session.

Art. 75. The mandate of deputies elected to vacant places only lasts till the following election.

Art. 76. The Treasury will allot to each deputy 20.000 piastres Per session and the expense of this journeys. The amount of these expenses will be established conformably with the provisions of the regulations dealing with the repayment of travelling expenses incurred by civil functionaries of the State, and will be calculated on the basis of a monthly salary of 5.000 piastres.

Art. 77. The President and the two vice-presidents of Deputies are selected by His Majesty the Sultan from a list of nine candidates elected by the Chamber by a majority of votes, three for the Presidency, three for the first vice-presidency, and three for the second vice-presidency. The appointment of the president and vice-presidents is made by Imperial İrade.

Art. 78. The sittings of the Chamber of deputies are public.

At the same time the Chamber may form itself into secret committee if the proposition is made by the ministers, or by the president, or by fifteen members, and that proposition is voted in secret committee.

Art. 79. No deputy can, during the session, be arrested or prosecuted, except in case of flagrant delinquency, unless a majority of the Chamber grant an authorization to prosecute.

Art. 80. The Chamber of deputies discusses the Bills submitted to it.

It adopts, amends, or rejects the provisions affecting finance or the Constitution.

It examines in detail the general expenditure of the State comprised in the Budget, and settles the amount with the Ministers.

It likewise determines, in accord with the Ministers, the nature, amount, and mode of assessment and collection of the receipts destined to meet the expenditure.

The Law Courts

Art 81. The judges nominated in conformity with the special law on this subject and furnished with the patent of investiture are irremovable, but they can resign.

The promotion of Judges, their displacement, superannuation, and revocation, in case of judicial condemnation, are subject to the provisions of the same law.

That law fixes the conditions and qualities requisite for exercising the functions of judge or the other functions of a judicial order.

Art. 82. The sittings of all tribunals are public

The publication of judgments is authorized

Nevertheless, in cases specified by law, the tribunal may sit with closed doors.

Art. 83. Any person may, in the interest of his defence, make use before the tribunal of the means permitted by the law.

Art. 84. No tribunal can, under any pretext, refuse to judge an affair within its competency.

It cannot either arrest or adjourn judgment after having commenced the examination or instruction, unless the plaintiff desists.

Nevertheless, in penal matters the public prosecution continues to be carried on conformably to law, even in case the plaintiff has desisted.

Art. 85. Every affair is judged by the tribunal to whose province it belongs. Suits between individuals and the State are within the competency of the ordinary tribunals.

Art. 86. No interference is to be attempted with the tribunals.

Art. 87. Affairs touching the Şeriat are tried by the tribunals of the Şeriat. The judgment of civil affairs appertains to the civil tribunals.

Art. 88. The various categories of tribunals, their competency, functions, and the emoluments of the judges are settled by law.

Art. 89. Apart from the ordinary tribunals, there cannot, under any title whatever, be formed extraordinary tribunals or commissions to judge certain special cases.

Nevertheless, arbitration and the nomination of a “muvella” (judge delegate) are sanctioned in the forms established by law.

Art. 90. No judge can combine his functions with other functions paid by the State.

Art. 91. Public prosecutors will be appointed, charged with acting on behalf of the public. Their functions and grades will be fixed by law.

High Court of Justice

Art. 92. The High Court is formed of thirty members, of whom ten are Senators, ten Councilors of State, and ten chosen among the presidents and members of the Court of Cassation and Court of Appeal.

All the members are nominated by lot.

The High Court is convoked, when necessary, by Imperial İrade, and assembles in the Senate building.

Its functions consist in trying the ministers, the president, and the members of the Court of Cassation, and all other persons accused of treason or attempts against the safety of the State.

Art. 93. The High Court is composed of two chambers; the Chamber of Accusation and the Chamber of Judgment.

The former is formed of nine members, nominated by lot among the members of the High Court, three of them being senators, three councilors of State, and three members of the Court of Cassation or Court of Appeal.

Art. 94. The decision of sending before the Chamber of Judgement is pronounced by the Chamber of Accusation by a majority of two-thirds of its members. The members belonging of the Chamber of Accusation cannot take part in the deliberations of the Chamber of Judgment.

Art. 95. The Chamber of Judgement is formed of twenty-one members, seven of whom are senators, seven members state councilors, and seven members of the Court of Cassation or Court of Appeal. It judges the cases that are sent to it by the Chamber of accusation by a majority of two-thirds of its members, and conformably to the laws in operation.

Its decisions are not susceptible either of appeal or of recourse to Cassation.

Finance

Art. 96. Taxes to the profit of the State can only be established, assessed, or collected in virtue of a law.

Art. 97. The Budget is the law which contains the estimates of the receipts and expenses of the State.

Taxes to the profit of the State are governed by that law as to their assessment, their distribution, and collection.

Art. 98. The examination and the vote by the General Assembly of the budget bill is carried through article by article. The tabular statements to be annexed, comprising the details of the receipts and expenditure, are to be divided into sections, chapters, and articles, according to the model defined by the regulations.

These tables are voted by chapters.

Art. 99. The Bill of the budget is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies immediately after the opening of the session, in order to make its execution possible from the commencement of the year to which it applies.

Art. 100. No extra budgetary expense can be defrayed out of the State funds except by virtue of a law.

Art. 101. In the case of urgency caused by extraordinary circumstances, the Ministers may, if the General Assembly is not sitting, create by an Imperial Ærade the necessary resources, and defray expenses not provided for in the budget, on the condition of immediately laying a bill on the subject before the Assembly at the opening of the next session.

Art. 102. The budget is voted for one year, and has only legal force for the year to which it refers.

At the same time, if, in consequence of exceptional circumstances, the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved before the budget is voted, the Minister may, by a Decree issued in virtue of an Imperial Ærade, apply the budget of the preceding year till the next session, but the application of this provisional budget shall never extent beyond the term of one year.

Art. 103. The law definitely settling the Budget indicates the amount of receipts collected and payments made out of the revenue and expenditure of the year to which it relates. Its form and provisions must be the same as those of the budget.

Art. 104. The definitive bill is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies at latest within four months from the end of the year to which it relates.

Art. 105. A Court of Accounts shall be created charged with the examination of the operations of the finance functionaries, as also of the annual accounts drawn up by the various ministerial departments.

It will yearly address to the Chamber of Deputies a special report stating the results of its labors, accompanied by its observations.

At the end of every quarter it will present to the Sultan, through the Grand Vizier, a report containing the explanation of the financial situation.

Art. 106. The Court of Accounts shall be composed of twelve irremovable members, nominated by Imperial İrade.

None of them can be revoked unless the explanatory proposition for his dismissal be approved by a decision of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 107. The conditions and qualities required of members of the Court of Accounts, the details of their functions, the rules applicable in case of resignation, replacement, promotion, and superannuation, as well as the organization of its bureaus, shall be determined by a special law.

Provincial Administration

Art. 108. The administration of provinces shall be based on the principle of decentralization.

The details of this organization shall be fixed by a law.

Art. 109. A special law will settle on wider bases the election of the administrative councils of provinces (vilayet), districts (sancak), and cantons (kaza), as also of the Council General, which meets annually in the chief town of each province.

Art. 110. The functions of the Provincial Council-General shall be fixed by the same special law, and shall comprise:

The right of deliberating on matters of public utility, such as the establishment of means of communication, the organization of "caisses de crédit agricole," the development of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and the diffusion of education.

The right of applying to the competent authorities for the redress of acts committed in contravention of the laws and regulations as regards assessment or collection of taxes or any other matter.

Art. 111. There shall be in every canton a Council appertaining to each of the different confessions. This Council will be charged with controlling:

1. The administration of the revenues of the real property of pious foundations (vakıf), the special destination of which is fixed by the express provisions of the founders or by custom.

2. The employment of funds or properties assigned by testamentary provision to acts of charity or beneficence.

3. The administration of funds for orphans, in conformity with the special regulation governing the matter.

Each Council shall be composed of members elected by the community it represents, conformably to special rules to be established. These Councils will be subordinated to the local authorities and the Councils General of provinces.

Art. 112. Municipal business will be administered in Istanbul and in the provinces by elected municipal councils.

The organization of the municipal councils, their functions, and the mode of election of their members, will be determined by a special law.

Various Provisions

Art. 113. In the case of the perpetration of acts, or the appearance of indications of a nature to presage disturbance at any point on the territory of the Empire, the Imperial Government has the right to proclaim a state of siege there.

The state of siege consists in the temporary suspension of the civil laws.

The mode of administration of localities under a state of siege will be regulated by a special law.

His Majesty the Sultan has the exclusive right of expelling from the territory of the Empire those who, in consequence of trustworthy information obtained by the police, are recognized as dangerous to the safety of the State.

Art. 114. Primary education will be obligatory on all Ottomans. The details of application will be fixed by a special law.

Art. 115. No provision of the constitution can, under any pretext whatsoever, be suspended or neglected.

Art. 116. In case of duly proved necessity, the Constitution may be modified in some of its provisions. This modification is subordinated to the following conditions:

Every proposal of modification, whether presented by the Minister or by either of the two Chambers, must be, in the first instance, submitted to the deliberations of the Chamber of Deputies.

If the proposition is approved by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber it shall be forwarded to the Senate.

In case the Senate also adopts the proposed modification by a two-thirds majority, it shall be submitted for the sanction of His Majesty the Sultan.

If it is sanctioned by Imperial İrade, it shall have force of law.

Articles of the Constitution, which it is proposed to modify, remain in force, until the modification, after having been voted by the Chambers, shall have been sanctioned by Imperial İrade.

Art. 117. The Court of Cassation will interpret the civil and penal laws; the Council of State administrative laws; and the Senate the articles of the Constitution.

Art. 118. All the provisions of the laws, regulations, usages, and customs now in force shall continue to be applied, so long as they shall not have been modified or abrogated by other laws and regulations.

Art. 119. The preliminary order of 28th October 1876, concerning the General Assembly, will cease to have effect from the end of the first session.

Revised Articles of the 1876 Constitution, August 1909

Art. 3. The Imperial Ottoman sovereignty, which carries with it the Supreme Caliphate of Islam, falls to the eldest Prince of the House of Osman, according to the rule established *ab antiquo*. On his accession the Sultan shall swear before Parliament, or if Parliament is not sitting, at its first meeting, to respect the visions of the Şeriat (canon law) and the Constitution, and to be loyal to the country and the nation.

Art. 7. Among the sacred prerogatives of the Sultan are the following:
The mention of his name in prayers; the minting of money; the granting of high public offices and titles, according to the law *ad hoc*; the conferring of orders; the selection and appointment of the Grand Vizier and the Şeyhülislam; the confirmation in their offices of the members of the Cabinet formed and proposed by the Grand Vizier, and, if need arise, the dismissal and replacement of Ministers according to established practice; the approval of putting into force of general laws; the drawing up of regulations concerning the workings of Government departments and the method of administering the laws; the initiative in all kinds of legislation; the maintenance and execution of the canon and civil laws; the appointment of persons to the privileged provinces according to the terms of their privileges; the command of the military and naval forces; the declaration of war and the making of peace; the reduction and remission of sentences passed by penal Courts; the granting of a general amnesty with the approval of Parliament; the opening and closing of the parliamentary sessions; the summoning of Parliament before its time in extraordinary circumstances; the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies if necessary, with the consent of the Senate, on condition that elections take place and the Chamber assembles within three months; and the conclusion of Treaties in general. Only, the consent of Parliament is required for the conclusion of Treaties which concern peace, commerce, the abandonment or annexation of territory, or the fundamental or personal rights of Ottoman subjects, or which involve expenditure on the part of the State. In case of a change of Cabinet while Parliament is not sitting, the responsibility arising out of the change rests upon the new Cabinet.

Art. 27. Just as His Imperial Majesty the Sultan entrusts the posts of Grand Vizier and Şeyhülislam to men in whom he has confidence, so the other Ministers, who are approved and proposed by the Grand Vizier entrusted with the formation of the Cabinet, are confirmed in their offices by Imperial Irade.

Art. 28. The Council of Ministers shall meet under the presidency of the Grand Vizier. It shall deal with affairs of importance, both home and foreign. Such of its decisions as need the Imperial assent shall be put into force by Imperial Irade.

Art. 30. Ministers shall be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies collectively for the general policy of the Government and personally for the affairs of their respective departments. Decisions which need the Imperial sanction shall only become valid if signed by the Grand Vizier and the Minister concerned, who thus accept responsibility, and countersigned by the Sultan. Decisions arrived at by the Council of Ministers shall bear the signatures of all the Ministers, and in cases where the Imperial assent is necessary, these signatures shall be headed by that of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Art. 41. Both houses of Parliament shall meet without being summoned on the 1st (14th) November of every year.

Art. 44. If need arises His Imperial Majesty the Sultan may open Parliament before the specified time, either on his own initiative or on application from an absolute majority of the members. He may also prolong the session either in virtue of a decision of Parliament or on his own initiative.

Art. 54. Bills become law after being examined and accepted by the Chamber of Deputies and the senate, and sanctioned by Imperial İrade. Bills submitted for the Imperial sanction must either receive that sanction within two months or be returned for re-examination. If a bill sent back to be discussed again is to be accepted, it must be voted by a two-thirds majority. Bills, which are voted urgent, must either be sanctioned or be returned within ten days.

Art. 120. Ottomans enjoy the right of assembly, on the condition that they obey the law on the subject.

The societies are forbidden which aim at injuring the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, changing the form of the Constitution or of the government, acting contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, or bringing about a separation between the various Ottoman elements, or which are contrary to public morals.

The formation of secret societies in general is also forbidden.

Turkish Constitution (The 1921)

(Selections)

1. Sovereignty is vested in the nation without condition. Governmental system is based on the principle of self-determination and government by people.
2. Executive power and legislative responsibility is exercised by and concentrated in the hands of the Grand National Assembly which is the sole and real representative of the nation.
3. The Turkish State is governed by the Grand National Assembly and its government is titled as “the Government of Grand National Assembly.”
4. The Grand National Assembly is composed of members who are elected by people of the provinces.
5. An election to the Grand National Assembly is held every two year. Duration of membership is limited to two years but reselection of a member is possible. The former assembly remains in office until the new assembly convenes. When holding a new election seemed to be impossible legislative period can be extended only one year. Each member of the Grand National Assembly is not only representative of the province by which s/he is elected but of the whole nation.
6. General Assembly of the Grand National Assembly convenes of its own accord on the first day of November.
7. The basic rights of the application of the ordinances of the sacred law; the promulgation, amendment, and abrogation of all laws; the concluding of treaties and peace; the promulgation of the defence of the fatherland (i.e., the declaration of war) belong to the Grand National Assembly. The preparation of laws and regulations will be guided by juridical and religious provisions, which best conform to the modus operandi of the people and the needs of the times, as well as established customs. The functions and responsibilities of the Council of Ministers shall be fixed by a special law.
8. The government of the Grand National Assembly exercises the executive function through ministers who were elected according to its special law. The Grand National Assembly directs the ministers on executive affairs and changes them when necessary.
9. The Head of the Grand National Assembly who was elected by the General Assembly is the head of the GNA for one electoral period. With this status, he is entitled to sign on behalf of the Assembly and to approve the decisions of the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers elects one member from among themselves as the head of the Council of Ministers. However, the Head of the GNA is natural head of the Council of Ministers.
10. Administration
11. 14. Vilayat (Provinces)
15. Kaza (Town)
- 16-21. Nahiye (Administrative unit smaller than town but bigger than village)
- 22-23. Umumi Müfettislik (General Inspectorship)

Provisional Article (Explains effective date of articles)

The sources of this article: Bilkent University

Available from < <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~genckaya/1921C.html>>

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY - PRIME MINISTRY



SECRETARIAT GENERAL FOR EU AFFAIRS

Law No 5982 Amending Certain Provisions of the Constitution*

Translated by Secretariat General for European Union Affairs

* Updated version following the Constitutional Court's decision dated 7 July 2010.

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>X. Equality before the Law</p> <p>ARTICLE 10. All individuals are equal without any discrimination before the law, irrespective of language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such considerations.</p> <p>Men and women have equal rights. The State shall have the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice.</p> <p>No privilege shall be granted to any individual, family, group or class.</p> <p>State organs and administrative authorities shall act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law in all their proceedings.</p>	<p>X. Equality before the Law</p> <p>ARTICLE 10. All individuals are equal without any discrimination before the law, irrespective of language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such considerations.</p> <p>Men and women have equal rights. The State shall have the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice. <u>Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality.</u></p> <p><u>Measures taken for the persons that require special care such as children, the elderly and the disabled cannot be considered as contrary to the principle of equality.</u></p> <p>No privilege shall be granted to any individual, family, group or class.</p> <p>State organs and administrative authorities shall act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law in all their proceedings.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>ARTICLE 20. Everyone has the right to demand respect for his or her private and family life. Privacy of an individual or family life cannot be violated.</p> <p>Unless there exists a decision duly passed by a judge on one or several of the grounds of national security, public order, prevention of crime commitment, protection of public health and public morals, a written order of an agency authorised by law in cases where delay is prejudicial, again on the above-mentioned grounds, neither the person nor the private papers, nor belongings, of an individual shall be searched nor shall they be seized. The decision of the authorized agency shall be submitted for the approval of the judge having jurisdiction within 24 hours. The judge shall announce his decision within 48 hours from the time of seizure; otherwise, seizure shall automatically be lifted.</p>	<p>ARTICLE 20. Everyone has the right to demand respect for his or her private and family life. Privacy of an individual or family life cannot be violated.</p> <p>Unless there exists a decision duly passed by a judge on one or several of the grounds of national security, public order, prevention of crime commitment, protection of public health and public morals, a written order of an agency authorised by law in cases where delay is prejudicial, again on the above-mentioned grounds, neither the person nor the private papers, nor belongings, of an individual shall be searched nor shall they be seized. The decision of the authorized agency shall be submitted for the approval of the judge having jurisdiction within 24 hours. The judge shall announce his decision within 48 hours from the time of seizure; otherwise, seizure shall automatically be lifted.</p> <p><u>All individuals have the right to request the protection of their personal data. This right includes being informed of, having access to and requesting the correction and deletion of their personal data and to be informed whether these are used in consistency with envisaged objectives. Personal data can be processed only in cases envisaged by law or by the individual’s own consent. The principles and procedures regarding the protection of personal data are laid down in law.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>ARTICLE 23. Everyone has the right to freedom of residence and movement.</p> <p>Freedom of residence may be restricted by law for the purpose of preventing offences, promoting social and economic development, ensuring sound and orderly urban growth, and protecting public property; Freedom of movement may be restricted by law for the purpose of investigation and prosecution of an offence, and prevention of offences.</p> <p>A citizen's freedom to leave the country may be restricted on the basis of civic obligations, or criminal investigation or prosecution.</p> <p>Citizens may not be deported, or deprived of their right of entry to their homeland</p>	<p>ARTICLE 23. Everyone has the right to freedom of residence and movement.</p> <p>Freedom of residence may be restricted by law for the purpose of preventing offences, promoting social and economic development, ensuring sound and orderly urban growth, and protecting public property; Freedom of movement may be restricted by law for the purpose of investigation and prosecution of an offence, and prevention of offences.</p> <p>A citizen's freedom to leave the country may be restricted <u>only by a court decision based on criminal</u> investigation or prosecution.</p> <p>Citizens may not be deported, or deprived of their right of entry to their homeland.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>I. Protection of the Family</p> <p>ARTICLE 41. The family is the foundation of the Turkish society and based on the equality between the spouses.</p> <p>The State shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family, especially where the protection of the mother and children is involved, and recognizing the need for education in the practical application of family planning.</p>	<p>I. Protection of the Family and <u>Children's Rights</u></p> <p>ARTICLE 41. The family is the foundation of the Turkish society and based on the equality between the spouses.</p> <p>The State shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family, especially where the protection of the mother and children is involved, and recognizing the need for education in the practical application of family planning.</p> <p><u>Every child has the right to adequate protection and care and the right to have and maintain a personal and direct relation with his/her parents unless it is contrary to his/her high interests.</u></p> <p><u>The State shall take measures for the protection of the child against all kinds of abuse and violence.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>C. Right to Organize Labour Unions</p> <p>ARTICLE 51. Employees and employers have the right to form labour unions employers' associations and higher organizations, without obtaining permission, and they also possess the right to become a member of a union and to freely withdraw from membership, in order to safeguard and develop their economic and social rights and the interests of their members in their labour relations. No one shall be forced to become a member of a union or to withdraw from membership.</p> <p>The right to form a union shall be solely be restricted by law and with the purposes of safeguarding national security and public order and to prevention of crime commitment, protection of public health and public morals and the rights and freedoms of others.</p> <p>The formalities, conditions and procedures to be applied in exercising the right to form union shall be prescribed by law.</p> <p>Membership in more than one labour union cannot be obtained at the same time and in the same work branch.</p> <p>The scope, exceptions and limits of the rights of civil servants who do not have a worker status are prescribed by law in line with the characteristics of their job.</p> <p>The regulations, administration and functioning of labour unions and their higher bodies should not be inconsistent with the fundamental characteristics of the Republic and principles of democracy.</p>	<p>C. Right to Organize Labour Unions</p> <p>ARTICLE 51. Employees and employers have the right to form labour unions employers' associations and higher organizations, without obtaining permission, and they also possess the right to become a member of a union and to freely withdraw from membership, in order to safeguard and develop their economic and social rights and the interests of their members in their labour relations. No one shall be forced to become a member of a union or to withdraw from membership.</p> <p>The right to form a union shall be solely be restricted by law and with the purposes of safeguarding national security and public order and to prevention of crime commitment, protection of public health and public morals and the rights and freedoms of others.</p> <p>The formalities, conditions and procedures to be applied in exercising the right to form union shall be prescribed by law.</p> <p><u>The fourth paragraph is repealed.</u></p> <p>The scope, exceptions and limits of the rights of civil servants who do not have a worker status are prescribed by law in line with the characteristics of their job.</p> <p>The regulations, administration and functioning of labour unions and their higher bodies should not be inconsistent with the fundamental characteristics of the Republic and principles of democracy.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>A. Right of Collective Labour Agreement</p> <p>ARTICLE 53. Workers and employers have the right to conclude collective labour agreements in order to regulate reciprocally their economic and social position and conditions of work..</p> <p>The procedure to be followed in concluding collective labour agreements shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>The unions and their higher organizations, which are to be established by the public employees mentioned in the first paragraph of Article 128 and which do not fall under the scope of the first and second paragraphs of the same article and also Article 54, may appeal to judicial authorities on behalf of their members and may hold collective bargaining meetings with the administration in accordance with their aims. If an agreement is reached as a result of collective bargaining, a text of the agreement will be signed by the parties. Such text shall be presented to the Council of Ministers so that administrative or judicial arrangements can be made. If such a text cannot be concluded by collective bargaining, the agreed and disagreed points will also be submitted for the consideration of the Council of Ministers by the relevant parties. The regulations for the execution of this article are stipulated by law.</p> <p>More than one collective bargaining agreement at the same place of work for the same period shall not be concluded or put into effect.</p>	<p>A. Right of Collective Labour Agreement and <u>Collective Agreement</u></p> <p>ARTICLE 53. Workers and employers have the right to conclude collective labour agreements in order to regulate reciprocally their economic and social position and conditions of work..</p> <p>The procedure to be followed in concluding collective labour agreements shall be regulated by law.</p> <p><u>The third paragraph is repealed.</u></p> <p><u>The fourth paragraph is repealed.</u></p>
	<p><u>Public servants and other public employees have the right to conclude collective agreements.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p><u>The parties may apply to Reconciliation Board if a dispute arises during the process of collective agreement. The decisions of the Reconciliation Board shall be final and have the force of a collective agreement.</u></p> <p><u>The scope of and the exceptions to the right of collective agreement, the persons to benefit from and the form, procedure and entry into force of collective agreement and the extension of the provisions of collective agreement, as well as the organization and operating procedures and principles of the Reconciliation Board and other matters shall be laid down in law.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>B. Right to Strike and Lockout</p> <p>ARTICLE 54. Workers have the right to strike if a dispute arises during the collective bargaining process. The procedures and conditions governing the exercise of this right and the employer's recourse to a lockout, the scope of both actions, and the exceptions to which they are subject shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>The right to strike, and lockout shall not be exercised in a manner contrary to the principle of goodwill to the detriment of society, and in a manner damaging national wealth.</p> <p>During a strike, the labour union is liable for any material damage caused in a work place where the strike is being held, as a result of deliberately negligent behaviour by the workers and the labour union.</p> <p>The circumstances and places in which strikes and lockouts may be prohibited or postponed shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>In cases where a strike or a lockout is prohibited or postponed, the dispute shall be settled by the Supreme Arbitration Board at the end of the period of postponement. The disputing parties may apply to the Supreme Arbitration Board by mutual agreement at any stage of the dispute. The decisions of the Supreme Arbitration Board shall be final and have the force of a collective labour agreement.</p>	<p>B. Right to Strike and Lockout</p> <p>ARTICLE 54. Workers have the right to strike if a dispute arises during the collective bargaining process. The procedures and conditions governing the exercise of this right and the employer's recourse to a lockout, the scope of both actions, and the exceptions to which they are subject shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>The right to strike, and lockout shall not be exercised in a manner contrary to the principle of goodwill to the detriment of society, and in a manner damaging national wealth.</p> <p><u>The third paragraph is repealed.</u></p> <p>The circumstances and places in which strikes and lockouts may be prohibited or postponed shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>In cases where a strike or a lockout is prohibited or postponed, the dispute shall be settled by the Supreme Arbitration Board at the end of the period of postponement. The disputing parties may apply to the Supreme Arbitration Board by mutual agreement at any stage of the dispute. The decisions of the Supreme Arbitration Board shall be final and have the force of a collective labour agreement.</p>
<p>The organisation and functions of the Supreme Arbitration Board shall be regulated by law.</p>	<p>The organisation and functions of the Supreme Arbitration Board shall be regulated by law.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>Politically motivated strikes and lockouts, solidarity strikes and lockouts, occupation of work premises, labour go-slows, and other forms of obstruction are prohibited.</p> <p>Those who refuse to go on strike, shall in no way be barred from working at their work-place by strikers.</p>	<p><u>The seventh paragraph is repealed.</u></p> <p>Those who refuse to go on strike, shall in no way be barred from working at their work-place by strikers.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>VII. Right of Petition</p> <p>ARTICLE 74. Citizens and foreigners resident considering the principle of reciprocity have the right to apply in writing to the competent authorities and to the Turkish Grand National Assembly with regard to the requests and complaints concerning themselves or the public.</p> <p>The result of the application concerning himself shall be made known to the petitioner in writing without delay.</p>	<p>VII. Right of Petition, <u>Right to Information and Appeal to the Ombudsman</u></p> <p>ARTICLE 74. Citizens and foreigners resident considering the principle of reciprocity have the right to apply in writing to the competent authorities and to the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) with regard to the requests and complaints concerning themselves or the public.</p> <p>The result of the application concerning himself shall be made known to the petitioner in writing without delay.</p> <p><u>Everyone has the right to obtain information and appeal to the Ombudsman.</u></p> <p><u>The Institution of the Ombudsman established under the TGNA examines complaints on the functioning of the administration.</u></p> <p><u>The Ombudsman shall be elected by the TGNA for a term of four years by secret ballot. In the first two ballots, a two-thirds majority of the component members and in the third ballot, an absolute majority of the component members shall be required. If an absolute majority cannot be obtained in the third ballot, a fourth ballot shall be held between the two candidates who have received the greatest number of votes in the third ballot; the candidate who receives the greatest number of votes in the fourth ballot shall be elected.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
The way of exercising this right shall be determined by law.	The way of exercising <u>the rights referred to in this article, the establishment, duties, functioning and actions of the Ombudsman institution to be taken after the examination and the procedures and principles regarding the qualifications, elections and personnel rights of the Ombudsman and his/her officials shall be laid down in law.</u>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>5. Loss of Membership</p> <p>ARTICLE 84. The loss of membership of a deputy who has resigned shall be decided upon by the plenary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) after the Bureau of the TGNA attests to the validity of the resignation.</p> <p>The loss of membership, through a final judicial sentence or deprivation of legal capacity, shall take effect after the final court decision in the matter has been communicated to the plenary of the TGNA.</p> <p>The loss of membership of a deputy who insists on holding a position or continues an activity incompatible with membership according to Article 82, shall be decided by a secret plenary vote, upon the submission of a report drawn up by the authorized commission setting out the factual situation.</p> <p>Loss of membership by a deputy who fails to attend without excuse or permission, five meetings in a period of one month shall be decided by an absolute majority of the total number of members after the Bureau of the TGNA determines the situation.</p>	<p>5. Loss of Membership</p> <p>ARTICLE 84. The loss of membership of a deputy who has resigned shall be decided upon by the plenary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) after the Bureau of the TGNA attests to the validity of the resignation.</p> <p>The loss of membership, through a final judicial sentence or deprivation of legal capacity, shall take effect after the final court decision in the matter has been communicated to the plenary of the TGNA.</p> <p>The loss of membership of a deputy who insists on holding a position or continues an activity incompatible with membership according to Article 82, shall be decided by a secret plenary vote, upon the submission of a report drawn up by the authorized commission setting out the factual situation.</p> <p>Loss of membership by a deputy who fails to attend without excuse or permission, five meetings in a period of one month shall be decided by an absolute majority of the total number of members after the Bureau of the TGNA determines the situation.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The membership of a deputy whose statements and acts are cited in a final judgment by the Constitutional Court as having caused the permanent dissolution of his party shall terminate on the date when the decision in question and its justifications are published in the Official Gazette. The speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly shall immediately take the necessary action concerning such decision and shall inform the plenary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly accordingly.</p>	<p><u>The final paragraph is repealed.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>B. Bureau of the Turkish Grand National Assembly</p> <p>ARTICLE 94. The Bureau of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) shall be composed of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, Secretary Members, and Administrative Members elected from among the Assembly members.</p> <p>The Bureau of the TGNA shall be so composed as to ensure proportionate representation to the number of members of each political party group in the Assembly. Political party groups shall not nominate candidates for the Office of the Speaker.</p> <p>Two elections to the Bureau of the TGNA shall be held in the course of one legislative term. The term of office of those elected in the first round is two years and the term of office of those elected in the second round is three years.</p>	<p>B. Bureau of the Turkish Grand National Assembly</p> <p>ARTICLE 94. The Bureau of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) shall be composed of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, Secretary Members, and Administrative Members elected from among the Assembly members.</p> <p>The Bureau of the TGNA shall be so composed as to ensure proportionate representation to the number of members of each political party group in the Assembly. Political party groups shall not nominate candidates for the Office of the Speaker.</p> <p>Two elections to the Bureau of the TGNA shall be held in the course of one legislative term. The term of office of those elected in the first round is two years and the term of office of those elected in the second round <u>shall continue until the end of the relevant legislative term.</u></p>
<p>The candidates from among the members of the TGNA for the Office of the Speaker of the TGNA shall be announced, within five days of the convening of the TGNA, to the Bureau of the TGNA. Election of the Speaker shall be held by secret ballot. In the first two ballots, a two-thirds majority of the total number of members, and in the third ballot an absolute majority of the total number of members is required. If an absolute majority cannot be obtained in the third ballot a fourth ballot shall be held between the two candidates who have received the highest number of votes in the third ballot; the member who receives the greatest number of votes in the fourth ballot shall be elected Speaker. The election of the Speaker shall be completed within five days of the expiry of the period for the nomination of candidates.</p>	<p>The candidates from among the members of the TGNA for the Office of the Speaker of the TGNA shall be announced, within five days of the convening of the TGNA, to the Bureau of the TGNA. Election of the Speaker shall be held by secret ballot. In the first two ballots, a two-thirds majority of the total number of members, and in the third ballot an absolute majority of the total number of members is required. If an absolute majority cannot be obtained in the third ballot a fourth ballot shall be held between the two candidates who have received the highest number of votes in the third ballot; the member who receives the greatest number of votes in the fourth ballot shall be elected Speaker. The election of the Speaker shall be completed within five days of the expiry of the period for the nomination of candidates.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The quorum required for election, the number of ballots and its procedure, the number of Deputy Speakers, Secretary Members and Administrative Members, shall be stipulated by the Assembly Rules of Procedure.</p> <p>The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the TGNA cannot participate in the activities of the political party or party group in which they are a member, nor in debates, within or outside the Assembly, except in cases required by their functions; the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker who is presiding over the session shall not vote.</p>	<p>The quorum required for election, the number of ballots and its procedure, the number of Deputy Speakers, Secretary Members and Administrative Members, shall be stipulated by the Assembly Rules of Procedure.</p> <p>The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the TGNA cannot participate in the activities of the political party or party group in which they are a member, nor in debates, within or outside the Assembly, except in cases required by their functions; the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker who is presiding over the session shall not vote.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>B. Recourse to Judicial Review</p> <p>ARTICLE 125. Recourse to judicial review shall be available against all actions and acts of administration. National or international arbitration may be suggested to settle the disputes which arise from conditions and contracts under which concessions are granted concerning public services. Only those disputes involving foreign elements can be solved by international arbitration.</p> <p>The acts of the President of the Republic on his or her own competence, and the decisions of the Supreme Military Council are outside the scope of judicial review.</p> <p>In suits filed against administrative acts, the statute of limitations shall be effective from the date of written notification.</p> <p>Judicial power is limited to the verification of the conformity of the actions and acts of the administration with law. No judicial ruling shall be passed which restricts the exercise of the executive function in accordance with the forms and principles prescribed by law, which has the quality of an administrative action and act, or which removes discretionary powers.</p>	<p>B. Recourse to Judicial Review</p> <p>ARTICLE 125. Recourse to judicial review shall be available against all actions and acts of administration. National or international arbitration may be suggested to settle the disputes which arise from conditions and contracts under which concessions are granted concerning public services. Only those disputes involving foreign elements can be solved by international arbitration.</p> <p>The acts of the President of the Republic on his or her own competence, and the decisions of the Supreme Military Council are outside the scope of judicial review. <u>Nonetheless, recourse to judicial review shall be available against all decisions taken by the Supreme Military Council regarding expulsion from the Armed Forces.</u></p> <p>In suits filed against administrative acts, the statute of limitations shall be effective from the date of written notification.</p> <p>Judicial power is limited to the verification of the conformity of the actions and acts of the administration with law <u>and in no case it can be used as review of expediency.</u> No judicial ruling shall be passed which restricts the exercise of the executive function in accordance with the forms and principles prescribed by law, which has the quality of an administrative action and act, or which removes discretionary powers.</p>
<p>If the implementation of an administrative act should result in damages which are difficult or impossible to compensate for, and at the same time this act is clearly unlawful, then a stay of execution may be decided upon, stating the reasons why.</p>	<p>If the implementation of an administrative act should result in damages which are difficult or impossible to compensate for, and at the same time this act is clearly unlawful, then a stay of execution may be decided upon, stating the reasons why.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The law may restrict the issuing of stay of execution orders in cases of state of emergency, martial law, mobilisation and state of war, and for reasons of national security, public order and public health.</p> <p>The administration shall be liable to compensate for damages resulting from its actions and acts.</p>	<p>The law may restrict the issuing of stay of execution orders in cases of state of emergency, martial law, mobilisation and state of war, and for reasons of national security, public order and public health.</p> <p>The administration shall be liable to compensate for damages resulting from its actions and acts.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>1. General Principles</p> <p>ARTICLE 128. The fundamental and permanent functions required by the public services that the state, state economic enterprises and other public corporate bodies are assigned to perform, in accordance with principles of general administration, shall be carried out by public servants and other public employees.</p> <p>The qualifications of public servants and other public employees, procedures governing their appointments, duties and powers, their rights and responsibilities, salaries and allowances, and other manners related to their status shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>The procedure and principles governing the training of senior administrators shall be specially regulated by law.</p>	<p>1. General Principles</p> <p>ARTICLE 128. The fundamental and permanent functions required by the public services that the state, state economic enterprises and other public corporate bodies are assigned to perform, in accordance with principles of general administration, shall be carried out by public servants and other public employees.</p> <p>The qualifications of public servants and other public employees, procedures governing their appointments, duties and powers, their rights and responsibilities, salaries and allowances, and other manners related to their status shall be regulated by law, <u>without prejudice to provisions on collective agreement concerning financial and social rights.</u></p> <p>The procedure and principles governing the training of senior administrators shall be specially regulated by law.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>2. Duties and Responsibilities, and Guarantees During Disciplinary Proceedings</p> <p>ARTICLE 129. Public servants and other public employees are obliged to carry out their duties with loyalty to the Constitution and the laws.</p> <p>Public servants, other public employees and members of public professional organisations or their higher bodies shall not be subjected to disciplinary penalties without being granted the right of defence.</p> <p>Disciplinary decisions shall be subject to judicial review, with the exception of warnings and reprimands.</p> <p>Provisions concerning the members of the Armed Forces, judges and prosecutors are reserved.</p> <p>Actions for damages arising from faults committed by public servants and other public employees in the exercise of their duties shall be brought against the administration only in accordance with the procedure and conditions prescribed by law, and subject to recourse to them.</p> <p>Prosecution of public servants and other public employees for alleged offences shall be subject, except in cases prescribed by law, to the permission of the administrative authority designated by law.</p>	<p>2. Duties and Responsibilities, and Guarantees During Disciplinary Proceedings</p> <p>ARTICLE129. Public servants and other public employees are obliged to carry out their duties with loyalty to the Constitution and the laws.</p> <p>Public servants, other public employees and members of public professional organisations or their higher bodies shall not be subjected to disciplinary penalties without being granted the right of defence.</p> <p>Disciplinary decisions shall be subject to judicial review</p> <p>Provisions concerning the members of the Armed Forces, judges and prosecutors are reserved.</p> <p>Actions for damages arising from faults committed by public servants and other public employees in the exercise of their duties shall be brought against the administration only in accordance with the procedure and conditions prescribed by law, and subject to recourse to them.</p> <p>Prosecution of public servants and other public employees for alleged offences shall be subject, except in cases prescribed by law, to the permission of the administrative authority designated by law.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>G. Supervision of Judges and Public Prosecutors</p> <p>ARTICLE 144. Supervision of judges and public prosecutors with regard to the performance of their duties in accordance with laws, regulations, by laws and circulars (administrative circulars, in the case of judges), investigation into whether they have committed offences in connection with, or in the course of their duties, whether their behaviour and attitude are in conformity with their status and duties and if necessary, inquiry and investigations concerning them shall be made by judiciary inspectors with the permission of the Ministry of Justice. The Minister of Justice may request the investigation or inquiry to be conducted by a judge or public prosecutor who is senior to the judge or public prosecutor to be investigated.</p>	<p>G. Supervision of judicial services</p> <p>ARTICLE 144. <u>Supervision, inquiry, inspection and investigation proceedings of judicial services and public prosecutors with regard to their administrative duties shall be carried out by the Ministry of Justice through judiciary inspectors and internal inspectors who are from the profession of judge and public prosecutor. The procedures and principles regarding supervision shall be laid down in law.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
H. Military Justice	H. Military Justice
<p>ARTICLE 145. Military justice shall be exercised by military courts and military disciplinary courts. These courts shall have jurisdiction to try military personnel for military offences, for offences committed by them against other military personnel or in military places, or for offences connected with military service and duties.</p>	<p>ARTICLE 145. Military justice shall be exercised by military courts and military disciplinary courts. These courts shall only have jurisdiction to try military personnel for military offences <u>related to military services and duties. Cases regarding crimes against the security of the State, constitutional order and its functioning shall be heard before the civil courts in any event.</u></p>
<p>Military courts also have jurisdiction to try non-military persons for military offences specified in the special law; and for offences committed while performing their duties specified by law, or against military personnel on military places specified by law.</p>	<p><u>Non-military personnel shall not be tried in military courts, except war time.</u></p>
<p>The offences and persons falling within the jurisdiction of military courts in time of war or under martial law, their organisation and the appointment, where necessary, of judges and public prosecutors from civil courts to military courts shall be regulated by law.</p>	<p>The offences and persons falling within the jurisdiction of military courts in time of war, their organisation and the appointment, where necessary, of judges and public prosecutors from civil courts to military courts shall be regulated by law.</p>
<p>The organisation of military judicial organs, their functions, matters relating to the status of military judges, relations between military judges acting as military prosecutors and the office of commander under which they serve, shall be regulated by law in accordance with the principles of the independence of courts and the security of tenure of judges and with the requirements of military service. Relations between military judges and the office of commander under which they serve, regarding the requirements of military service apart from judicial functions, shall also be prescribed by law.</p>	<p>The organisation of military judicial organs, their functions, matters relating to the status of military judges, relations between military judges acting as military prosecutors and the office of commander under which they serve, shall be regulated by law in accordance with the principles of the independence of courts and the security of tenure of judges.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>A. Constitutional Court</p> <p>1. Organisation</p> <p>ARTICLE 146. The Constitutional Court shall be composed of eleven regular and four substitute members.</p>	<p>A. Constitutional Court</p> <p>1. Organisation</p> <p>ARTICLE 146. The Constitutional Court shall be composed of <u>seventeen</u> members.</p> <p><u>Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) shall elect two members among the presidents and members of the Court of Auditors, from among three candidates to be nominated for each vacant position, and one member by secret ballot, from among three candidates nominated from among self-employed lawyers by the heads of the Bar Associations. In this election to be carried out in the TGNA, two thirds majority of the component members for each vacant position shall be required for the first ballot, and absolute majority of component members shall be required for the second ballot. If an absolute majority cannot be obtained in the second ballot, a third ballot shall be held between the two candidates who have received the greatest number of votes in the second ballot; the member who receives the greatest number of votes in the third ballot shall be elected.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The President of the Republic shall appoint two regular and two substitute members from the High Court of Appeals, two regular and one substitute member from the Council of State, and one member each from the Military High Court of Appeals, the High Military Administrative Court and the Court of Auditors, three candidates being nominated for each vacant office by the Plenary Assemblies of each court from among their respective presidents and members, by an absolute majority of the total number of members; the President of the Republic shall also appoint one member from a list of three candidates nominated by the Higher Education Council from among members of the teaching staff of institutions of higher education who are not members of the Council, and three members and one substitute member from among senior administrative officers and lawyers.</p>	<p>The President of the Republic shall <u>choose three members from High Court of Appeals, two members from Council of State, one member from the Military High Court of Appeals, one member from the High Military Administrative Court from among three candidates to be nominated for each vacant position by their respective plenary assemblies; shall choose three members from among three candidates to be nominated for each vacant position by the Council of Higher Education from among academicians in the fields of law, economics and political sciences who are not members of the Council; shall choose four members from among high level executives, self-employed lawyers, first category judges and public prosecutors or rapporteurs of the Constitutional Court.</u></p> <p><u>In the elections to be held in the respective plenary assemblies of the High Court of Appeals, Council of State, Military High Court of Appeals, High Military Administrative Court, the Court of Auditors and the Council of Higher Education for nominating candidates for membership of the Constitutional Court, three persons obtaining the greatest number of votes shall be nominated for each vacant position. In the elections to be held for the three candidates nominated from among self-employed lawyers by the heads of Bar Associations, three persons obtaining the greatest number of votes shall be nominated.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>To qualify for appointments as regular or substitute members of the Constitutional Court, members of the teaching staff of institutions of higher education, senior administrative officers and lawyers shall be required to be over the age of forty and to have completed their higher education, or to have served at least fifteen years as a member of the teaching staff of institutions of higher education or to have actually worked at least fifteen years in public service or to have practiced as a lawyer for at least fifteen years.</p> <p>The Constitutional Court shall elect a president and Deputy president from among its regular members for a term of four years by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of component members. They may be re-elected at the end of their term of office.</p> <p>The members of the Constitutional Court shall not assume other official and private functions, apart from their main functions.</p>	<p>To qualify for appointments as <u>members of the Constitutional Court; academicians shall be required to possess the title of associate professor or professor; lawyers shall be required to have practiced as a lawyer for at least twenty years; high level executives shall be required to have completed higher education and to have worked for at least twenty years in public service, and first category judges and public prosecutors with at least twenty years of work experience including their period of candidacy, provided that they are all over the age of forty five.</u></p> <p>The Constitutional Court shall elect a president and <u>two deputy presidents</u> from among its members for a term of four years by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of component members. They may be re-elected at the end of their term of office.</p> <p>The members of the Constitutional Court shall not assume other official and private functions, apart from their main functions.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>2. Termination of membership</p> <p>ARTICLE 147. The members of the Constitutional Court shall retire on reaching the age of sixty-five.</p> <p>Membership in the Constitutional Court shall terminate automatically if a member is convicted of an offence requiring his dismissal from the judicial profession, it shall terminate by a decision of an absolute majority of the total number of members of the Constitutional Court if it is definitely established that he is unable to perform his duties on account of ill-health.</p>	<p>2. Term of office of the members <u>and termination of membership</u></p> <p>ARTICLE 147. <u>The members of the Constitutional Court shall be elected for a term of twelve years. A member shall not be re-elected.</u> The members of the Constitutional Court shall retire on reaching the age of sixty-five. <u>The appointment of the members to another office whose term of office expires prior to their mandatory age of retirement and matters regarding their employment rights shall be laid down in law.</u></p> <p>Membership in the Constitutional Court shall terminate automatically if a member is convicted of an offence requiring his dismissal from the judicial profession, it shall terminate by a decision of an absolute majority of the total number of members of the Constitutional Court if it is definitely established that he is unable to perform his duties on account of ill-health.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>3. Functions and Powers</p> <p>ARTICLE 148. The Constitutional Court shall examine the constitutionality, in respect of both form and substance, of laws, decrees having the force of law, and the Rules of Procedure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). Constitutional amendments shall be examined and verified only with regard to their form. However, no action shall be brought before the Constitutional Court alleging unconstitutionality as to the form or substance of decrees having the force of law issued during a state of emergency, martial law or in time of war.</p> <p>The verification of laws as to form shall be restricted to consideration of whether the requisite majority was obtained in the last ballot; the verification of constitutional amendments shall be restricted to consideration of whether the requisite majorities were obtained for the proposal and in the ballot, and whether the prohibition on debates under urgent procedure was complied with. Verification as to form may be requested by the President of the Republic or by one-fifth of the members of the TGNA. Applications for annulment on the grounds of defect in form shall not be made more than ten days after the date on which the law was promulgated; nor shall objection be raised.</p>	<p>3. Functions and Powers</p> <p>ARTICLE 148. The Constitutional Court shall examine the constitutionality, in respect of both form and substance, of laws, decrees having the force of law, and the Rules of Procedure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) <u>and decide on individual applications.</u> Constitutional amendments shall be examined and verified only with regard to their form. However, no action shall be brought before the Constitutional Court alleging unconstitutionality as to the form or substance of decrees having the force of law issued during a state of emergency, martial law or in time of war.</p> <p>The verification of laws as to form shall be restricted to consideration of whether the requisite majority was obtained in the last ballot; the verification of constitutional amendments shall be restricted to consideration of whether the requisite majorities were obtained for the proposal and in the ballot, and whether the prohibition on debates under urgent procedure was complied with. Verification as to form may be requested by the President of the Republic or by one-fifth of the members of the TGNA. Applications for annulment on the grounds of defect in form shall not be made more than ten days after the date.</p>
	<p><u>Everyone may apply to the Constitutional Court on the grounds that one of the fundamental rights and freedoms within the scope of the European Convention on Human Rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution has been violated by public authorities. In order to make an application, ordinary legal remedies must be exhausted.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The President of the Republic, members of the Council of Ministers, presidents and members of the Constitutional Court, of the High Court of Appeals, of the Council of State, of the Military High Court of Appeals, of the High Military Administrative Court of Appeals, their Chief Public Prosecutors, Deputy Public Prosecutors of the High Court of Appeals, and the presidents and members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors, and of the Court of Auditors shall be tried for offences relating to their functions by the Constitutional Court in its capacity as the Supreme Court.</p>	<p><u>In the individual application, judicial review shall not be made for matters which would be taken into account during the process of recourse to legal remedies.</u></p> <p><u>Procedures and principles concerning the individual application shall be laid down in law.</u></p> <p>The President of the Republic, <u>the Speaker of the TGNA</u>, members of the Council of Ministers, presidents and members of the Constitutional Court, of the High Court of Appeals, of the Council of State, of the Military High Court of Appeals, of the High Military Administrative Court of Appeals, their Chief Public Prosecutors, Deputy Public Prosecutors of the High Court of Appeals, and the presidents and members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors, and of the Court of Auditors shall be tried for offences relating to their functions by the Constitutional Court in its capacity as the Supreme Court.</p> <p><u>The Commander of Turkish Armed Forces (Chief of Staff), the Commanders of the Land Forces, Naval Forces and Air Forces and the General Commander of the Gendarmerie shall be tried for offences relating to their functions in the Supreme Court.</u></p>
<p>The Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals or Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals shall act as public prosecutor in the Supreme Court.</p> <p>The decisions of the Supreme Court shall be final.</p>	<p>The Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals or Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals shall act as public prosecutor in the Supreme Court.</p> <p><u>Applications for judicial review can be made against the decisions of the Supreme Court. Decisions taken by the plenary assembly regarding this application shall be final.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
The Constitutional Court shall also perform the other functions given to it by the Constitution.	The Constitutional Court shall also perform the other functions given to it by the Constitution.

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>4. Functioning and Trial Procedure</p> <p>ARTICLE 149. – The Constitutional Court shall convene with its president and ten members, and shall take decisions by absolute majority. Decision of annulment of Constitutional amendments and closure in the cases of the political parties shall be taken by three-fifths majority.</p> <p>The Constitutional Court shall give priority to the consideration of, and to decisions on, applications for annulment on the grounds of defect in form.</p>	<p>4. Functioning and Trial Procedure</p> <p><u>ARTICLE 149. – Constitutional Court consists of two sections and a plenary assembly. The sections convene under the chairmanship of the deputy president with the participation of four members under the chairmanship of the head of the chamber. The plenary assembly shall convene with the participation of at least twelve members under the chairmanship of the President of the Constitutional Court or a deputy president appointed by the president. The sections and the plenary assembly shall take decisions by absolute majority. Preliminary investigation committees may be established to examine the admissibility of the individual applications</u></p> <p><u>The plenary assembly shall hear the cases and applications concerning political parties, actions for annulment and objection and trials where it acts as the Supreme Court, the sections shall take the decision on individual applications</u></p> <p><u>Annulment of constitutional amendments, dissolution of political parties or their deprivation from state aid shall be decided with a two thirds majority of members attending the meeting.</u></p> <p>The Constitutional Court shall give priority to the consideration of, and to decisions on, applications for annulment on the grounds of defect in form.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The organisation and trial procedures of the Constitutional Court shall be determined by law; its method of work and the division of labour among its members shall be regulated by the Rules of Procedure made by the Court.</p> <p>The Constitutional Court shall examine cases on the basis of documents in the case file, except where it acts as the Supreme Court. However, when it deems necessary, it may call on those concerned and those having knowledge relevant to the case, to present oral explanations and in lawsuits on whether to permanently dissolve a political party or not, the Constitutional Court shall hear the defence of the chairman of the party whose dissolution is in process or of a proxy appointed by the chairman, after the Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals.</p>	<p><u>The organisation of the Constitutional Court and trial procedures of the plenary assembly and the sections, disciplinary matters of the president, the deputy presidents and members shall be laid down in law; its operating principles, organisation of the sections and commissions, and the division of labour shall be set out by the Rules of Procedure drawn up by the Court.</u></p> <p>The Constitutional Court shall examine cases on the basis of documents in the case file, except where it acts as the Supreme Court. <u>Nonetheless, it may be decided to hold a hearing for individual applications.</u> When it deems necessary, <u>the Court also</u> may call on those concerned and those having knowledge relevant to the case, to present oral explanations and in lawsuits on whether to permanently dissolve a political party or not, the Constitutional Court shall hear the defence of the chairman of the party whose dissolution is in process or of a proxy appointed by the chairman, after the Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>D. Military High Court of Appeals</p> <p>ARTICLE 156. The Military High Court of Appeals is the last instance for reviewing decisions and judgements given by military courts. It shall also be the first and last instance for dealing with specific cases designated by law concerning military personnel.</p> <p>Members of the Military High Court of Appeals shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from among three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the Plenary Assembly of the Military High Court of Appeals from among military judges of the first category, by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the total number of members.</p> <p>The president, chief public prosecutor, second presidents and heads of division of the Military High Court of Appeals shall be appointed according to rank and seniority from among the members of the Military High Court of Appeals.</p> <p>The organisation and functioning of the Military High Court of Appeals, and disciplinary and personnel matters of its members shall be regulated by law in accordance with the requirements of the independence of the courts and the security of tenure of judges and of military service.</p>	<p>D. Military High Court of Appeals</p> <p>ARTICLE 156. The Military High Court of Appeals is the last instance for reviewing decisions and judgements given by military courts. It shall also be the first and last instance for dealing with specific cases designated by law concerning military personnel.</p> <p>Members of the Military High Court of Appeals shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from among three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the Plenary Assembly of the Military High Court of Appeals from among military judges of the first category, by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the total number of members.</p> <p>The president, chief public prosecutor, second presidents and heads of division of the Military High Court of Appeals shall be appointed according to rank and seniority from among the members of the Military High Court of Appeals.</p> <p>The organisation and functioning of the Military High Court of Appeals, and disciplinary and personnel matters of its members shall be regulated by law in accordance with the principles of the independence of the courts and the security of tenure of judges.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>E. High Military Administrative Court</p> <p>ARTICLE 157. The High Military Administrative Court shall be the first and last instance court for the judicial supervision of disputes arising from administrative acts and actions involving military personnel or relating to military service, even if such acts and actions have been carried out by civilian authorities. However, in disputes arising from the obligation to perform military service, there shall be no condition that the person concerned be a member of the military body.</p> <p>Members of the High Military Administrative Court who are military judges shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from a list of three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the president and members of the Court, who are also military judges, by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the compenent members, from among military judges of the first category; members who are not military judges shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from a list of three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the Chief of the General Staff from among officers holding the rank and qualifications prescribed by law.</p> <p>The term of office of members who are not military judges shall not exceed four years.</p> <p>The president, chief public prosecutor and head of division of the Court shall be appointed from among military judges according to rank and seniority.</p>	<p>E. High Military Administrative Court</p> <p>ARTICLE 157. The High Military Administrative Court shall be the first and last instance court for the judicial supervision of disputes arising from administrative acts and actions involving military personnel or relating to military service, even if such acts and actions have been carried out by civilian authorities. However, in disputes arising from the obligation to perform military service, there shall be no condition that the person concerned be a member of the military body.</p> <p>Members of the High Military Administrative Court who are military judges shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from a list of three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the president and members of the Court, who are also military judges, by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of compenent members, from among military judges of the first category; members who are not military judges shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from a list of three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the Chief of the General Staff from among officers holding the rank and qualifications prescribed by law.</p> <p>The term of office of members who are not military judges shall not exceed four years.</p> <p>The president, chief public prosecutor and head of division of the Court shall be appointed from among military judges according to rank and seniority.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The organisation and functioning of the High Military Administrative Court, its procedure, disciplinary affairs and other matters relating to the status of its members shall be regulated by law in accordance with the requirements of the independence of the courts and the security of tenure of judges and of military service.</p>	<p>The organisation, functioning and trial procedures of the High Military Administrative Court, and disciplinary and personnel matters of its members shall be regulated by law in accordance with the <u>principle</u> of the independence of the courts and the security of tenure of judges.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>III. Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors</p> <p>ARTICLE 159. The Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors shall be established and shall exercise its functions in accordance with the principles of the independence of the courts and the security of tenure of judges.</p>	<p>III. Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors</p> <p>ARTICLE 159. The Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors shall be established and shall exercise its functions in accordance with the principles of the independence of the courts and the security of tenure of judges.</p> <p><u>The Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors shall be composed of twenty-one regular and ten substitute members and shall comprise three chambers.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The President of the Council is the Minister of Justice. The Undersecretary to the Minister of Justice shall be an ex-officio member of the Council. Three regular and three substitute members of the Council shall be appointed by the President of the Republic for a term of four years from a list of three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the Plenary Assembly of the High Court of Appeals from among its own members and two regular and two substitute members shall be similarly appointed from a list of three candidates nominated for each vacant office by the Plenary Assembly of the Council of State. They may be re-elected at the end of their term of office. The Council shall elect a deputy president from among its elected regular members.</p>	<p>The President of the Council is the Minister of Justice. The Undersecretary to the Minister of Justice shall be an ex-officio member of the Council. <u>For a term of four years, four regular members of the Council, the qualities of whom are defined by law, shall be appointed by the president from among academicians in the field of law, and lawyers; three regular and two substitute members shall be appointed by the plenary assembly of the High Court of Appeals from among members of the High Court of Appeals; one regular and one substitute member shall be appointed by the plenary assembly of the Council of State from among members of the Council of State; one regular and one substitute member shall be appointed by the plenary assembly of the Turkish Justice Academy from among its members; seven regular and four substitute members which are first category judges and maintain the qualifications for being first category judges shall be selected by civil judges and public prosecutors from among civil judges and public prosecutors; three regular and two substitute members which are first category judges and maintain the qualifications for being first category judges shall be selected by administrative judges and public prosecutors for four years from among administrative judges and public prosecutors. They may be re-elected at the end of their term of office.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p><u>Election of members to the Council shall be held within sixty days before the expiry of their term of office. In case of vacancies for members appointed to the Council by the president prior to the expiry of the term of office, new members shall be appointed within sixty days following this vacancy. In the event that other memberships become vacant, the remaining term of office shall be completed by the substitute.</u></p> <p><u>In the elections where each member from the High Court of Appeals, the Council of State and the Turkish Justice Academy shall vote for one nominee for membership to the Council which shall be elected by the plenary assembly of the High Court of Appeals and plenary assembly of the Council of State and where each judge and public prosecutor from civil and administrative courts shall vote for membership to the Council which shall be elected from among the first category judges and public prosecutors from civil and administrative courts, the candidates who receive the greatest number of votes shall be elected as regular and substitute members respectively. These elections shall be held once for each term and by secret ballot.</u></p> <p><u>The regular members of the Council other than the Minister of Justice and the Undersecretary to the Minister of Justice shall not assume any duties other than those prescribed by law or be appointed or elected to another office by the Council during their term of office.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors shall deal with the admission of judges and public prosecutors of civil and administrative courts into the profession, appointments, transfers to other posts, the delegation of temporary powers, promotion, and promotion to the first category, the allocation of posts, decisions concerning those whose continuation in the profession is found to be unsuitable, the imposition of disciplinary penalties and removal from office. It shall take final decisions on proposals by the Ministry of Justice concerning the abolition of a court or an office of judge or public prosecutor, or changes in the jurisdiction of a court. It shall also exercise the other functions given to it by the Constitution and laws.</p>	<p><u>The administration and the representation of the Council are carried out by the President of the Council. The President of the Council shall not participate in the work of the chambers. The Council shall elect the heads of chambers and one deputy president from among the heads of chambers from among its members. The president may delegate some of his/her powers to the deputy president.</u></p> <p>The Council shall deal with the admission of judges and public prosecutors of civil and administrative courts into the profession, appointments, transfers to other posts, the delegation of temporary powers, promotion, and promotion to the first category, decisions concerning those whose continuation in the profession is found to be unsuitable, the imposition of disciplinary penalties and removal from office. It shall take final decisions on proposals by the Ministry of Justice concerning the abolition of a court or an office of judge or public prosecutor, or changes in the jurisdiction of a court. It shall also exercise the other functions given to it by the Constitution and laws.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>There shall be no appeal to any judicial instance against the decisions of the Council.</p>	<p><u>Supervision of judges and public prosecutors with regard to the performance of their duties in accordance with laws, regulations, by-laws and circulars (administrative circulars, in the case of judges), investigation into whether they have committed offences in connection with, or in the course of their duties, whether their behaviour and conduct are in conformity with their status and duties and if necessary, inquiries and investigations concerning them shall be carried out by the Council’s inspectors, upon the proposal of the related chambers and with the permission of the President of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors. The inquiries and investigations may also be carried out by a judge or public prosecutor who is senior to the judge or public prosecutor to be investigated.</u></p> <p><u>Apart from the decisions regarding the prohibition of the pursuit of the profession, there shall be no recourse to any judicial remedy against the decisions of the Council.</u></p> <p><u>A Secretariat General affiliated with the Council shall be established. The Secretary General shall be appointed by the President of the Council from among first category judges and public prosecutors, three of whom are proposed by the Council. The Council is empowered to appoint the Council’s inspectors, judges and public prosecutors, with their consent, to temporary or permanent functions in the Council.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>The functioning of the Council and methods of performing its duties, the procedure governing election and working methods, the principles relating to the examination of objections within the Council shall be regulated by law.</p> <p>The Minister of Justice is empowered to appoint judges and public prosecutors with their consent, to temporary or permanent functions in the central offices of the Ministry of Justice.</p> <p>The Minister of Justice may, in cases where delay is deemed prejudicial, confer temporary powers on judges or public prosecutors to prevent the disruption of services, subject to the approval of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors at its first meeting thereafter.</p>	<p><u>The election of the members of the Council, formation of the chambers and the division of labour between chambers, the duties of the Council and its chambers, quorum for meetings and decisions, operating procedures and principles, objections to be made against the decisions and proceedings of the chambers, the examination procedure for these objections, and the establishment and the functions of the Secretariat General shall be laid down in law.</u></p> <p>The Minister of Justice is empowered to appoint judges and public prosecutors <u>and judiciary inspectors</u> with their consent, to temporary or permanent functions in the central, <u>affiliated or relevant institutions of</u> the Ministry of Justice.</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>I. Planning</p> <p>ARTICLE 166. The planning of economic, social and cultural development, in particular the speedy, balanced and harmonious development of industry and agriculture throughout the country, and the efficient use of national resources on the basis of detailed analysis and assessment and the establishment of the necessary organisation for this purpose are the duties of the state. Measures to increase national efficiency and production, to ensure stability in prices and balance in foreign trade transactions, to promote investment and employment, shall be included in the plan; investments, public benefit and requirements shall be taken into account; the efficient use of resources shall be aimed at. Development activities shall be realised according to this plan.</p> <p>The procedure and principles governing the preparation of development plans, their approval by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, their implementation and their revision, and the prevention of amendments liable to affect the unity of the plan shall be regulated by law.</p>	<p>I. Planning, <u>Economic and Social Council</u></p> <p>ARTICLE 166. The planning of economic, social and cultural development, in particular the speedy, balanced and harmonious development of industry and agriculture throughout the country, and the efficient use of national resources on the basis of detailed analysis and assessment and the establishment of the necessary organisation for this purpose are the duties of the state. Measures to increase national efficiency and production, to ensure stability in prices and balance in foreign trade transactions, to promote investment and employment, shall be included in the plan; investments, public benefit and requirements shall be taken into account; the efficient use of resources shall be aimed at. Development activities shall be realised according to this plan.</p> <p>The procedure and principles governing the preparation of development plans, their approval by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), their implementation and their revision, and the prevention of amendments liable to affect the unity of the plan shall be regulated by law.</p> <p><u>The Economic and Social Council shall be established to provide the Government with consultative opinions in the formulation of economic and social policies. The establishment and functioning of the Economic and Social Council shall be laid down in law.</u></p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
<p>PROVISIONAL ARTICLE 15. No allegation of criminal, financial or legal responsibility shall be made, nor shall an application be filed with a court for this purpose in respect of any decisions or measures whatsoever taken by: the Council of National Security formed under Act No. 2356 which will have exercised legislative and executive power on behalf of the Turkish Nation from 12 September 1980 to the date of the formation of the Bureau of the Turkish Grand National Assembly which is to convene following the first general elections; the governments formed during the term of office of the Council, or the Consultative Assembly which has exercised its functions under Act No. 2485 on the Constituent Assembly. The provisions of the above paragraphs shall also apply in respect of persons who have taken decisions and adopted or implemented measures as part of the implementation of such decisions and measures by the administration or by the competent organs, authorities and officials.</p>	<p><u>PROVISIONAL ARTICLE 15 is repealed.</u></p>
	<p>PROVISIONAL ARTICLE 18. The current substitute members of the Constitutional Court shall acquire the status of regular members on the date of entry into force of this Law.</p> <p>Within thirty days of the date of entry into force of this Law, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) shall elect one member each from among three candidates nominated by the plenary assembly of the Court of Auditors and the heads of Bar Associations.</p> <p>In order to nominate candidates for the membership elections to be held by the TGNA:</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>a)The President of the Court of Auditors shall announce the beginning of the application process for candidacy within five days of the date of entry into force of this law. Candidates shall apply to the Presidency within five days following the final date of the announcement. The plenary assembly of the Court of Auditors shall hold elections within five days following the final date of application. The three candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes shall be nominated in these elections in which each member of the Court of Auditors may vote.</p> <p>b)The Head of the Turkish Union of Bar Associations shall announce the beginning of the application process for candidacy within five days of the date of entry into force of this law. Candidates shall apply to the Turkish Union of Bar Associations within five days following the date of announcement. The election shall be held at the place and time indicated in the announcement of the Turkish Union of Bar Association within five days following the final date of application by the heads of the Bar Associations. The three candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes shall be nominated in these elections in which each member of the Turkish Union of Bar Associations may vote.</p> <p>c) The names of those nominated through the elections held in accordance with subparagraphs (a) and (b) shall be notified to the Presidency of the TGNA by the Presidency of the Court of Auditors and of the Turkish Union of Bar Associations on the day following the elections.</p> <p>ç) Elections shall be held at the TGNA within ten days of the notification made in accordance with paragraph (c). In each election held for each vacant position, a two-thirds majority of component members in the first ballot and the absolute majority of component</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>members of in the second ballot shall be required; if the absolute majority cannot be attained in the second ballot, a third ballot shall be held between two candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes in the second ballot; the candidate who obtains the greatest number of votes in the third ballot shall be elected.</p> <p>Following the vacancy of the positions allocated to the High Court of Appeals and the Council of State, the President of the Republic shall choose one member each from among three candidates to be nominated for each vacant position by the Council of Higher Education from among academicians from the fields of law, economics and political sciences who are not members of the Council of Higher Education.</p> <p>The current members, as well as substitute members elected from the quotas allocated to institutions which have nominated members for the Constitutional Court shall be taken into consideration in the final election.</p> <p>The status of those who have been appointed to certain posts in the Constitutional Court shall continue until the end of their term of office. Those who are members on the date of entry into force of this Law shall continue in their post until the statutory age limit.</p> <p>Necessary legal arrangements on individual applications shall be completed within two years. Individual applications shall be accepted as from the date of the entry into force of the implementing law.</p>
	<p>PROVISIONAL ARTICLE 19.The members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors shall be elected within thirty days as of the date of entry into force of this Law in accordance with the principles and procedures indicated below:</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>a) The President of the Republic shall select four members from among academicians who have been working in the field of law, for at least fifteen years, and lawyers who have completed fifteen years of active professional service, for whom there is no impediment to becoming a judge.</p> <p>b) The plenary assembly of the High Court of Appeals shall select three regular and two substitute members from among members of the Court. The First President of the High Court of Appeals shall announce the beginning of the application process for candidacy within seven days of the entry into force of this Law. The candidates shall apply to the First President within seven days of the date of the announcement. The plenary assembly of the High Court of Appeals shall hold elections within fifteen days from the final date of application. In the elections, where each member of the High Court of Appeals may vote, the candidates with the greatest number of votes are elected regular and substitute members respectively.</p> <p>c) The plenary assembly of the Council of State shall select one regular and one substitute member from among members of the Court. The President of the Council of State shall announce the beginning of the application process for candidacy within seven days of the entry into force of this Law. The candidates shall apply to the Presidency within seven days of the date of the announcement. The plenary assembly of the Council of State shall hold elections within fifteen days from the final date of application. In the elections, where each member of the Council of State may vote, the candidates with the greatest number of votes are elected regular and substitute members respectively.</p> <p>ç) The plenary assembly of the Turkish Justice Academy shall select</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>one regular and one substitute member from among its members to the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors. The President of the Turkish Justice Academy shall announce the beginning of the application process for candidacy within seven days of the entry into force of this Law. The candidates shall apply to the Presidency within seven days of the date of the announcement. The plenary assembly of the the Turkish Justice Academy shall hold elections within fifteen days from the final date of application. In the elections, where each member may vote, the candidates with the greatest number of votes are elected regular and substitute members respectively.</p> <p>d) Seven regular and four substitute members which are first category judges, shall be selected by civil judges and public prosecutors under the direction and supervision of the Supreme Election Council from among civil judges and public prosecutors maintaining the qualifications for being first category judges. Within five days of the date of entry into force of this Law, the Supreme Election Council shall announce the applications for candidacy. The candidates shall apply within three days of the date of announcement. The Supreme Election Council shall examine the applications, finalize the list of candidates and announce this within two days following the expiry of the date of application. Objections to this list may be made within the following two days. The objections shall be examined and finalised and the definitive list of candidates shall be announced within two days following the expiry of the objection period. Judges and public prosecutors working in provinces or districts shall vote in elections to be held in each province and district on the second Sunday following the date of announcement of the definitive list by the Supreme Election</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>Council, under the direction and supervision of the provincial election boards. The provincial election boards shall establish ballot councils according to the number of judges and public prosecutors that are to vote in that province. Provincial election boards shall give decision in relation to complaints on and objections to proceedings, measures and decisions of the ballot councils. Candidates may not conduct campaigns. They may publish their resumé on an internet site allocated for this purpose within the framework of the principles and procedures defined by the Supreme Election Council. The candidates that obtain the greatest number of votes shall be considered to have been elected as regular and substitute members respectively. The Supreme Election Council shall determine the voting ballots as well as other matters. The Supreme Election Council may have the voting ballots printed or may have these printed through provincial election boards as it may deem appropriate. In the elections to be held, the provisions of the Law No. 298 on Basic Rules on Elections and Voting Registers, 26.4.1961, that are not in conflict with this subparagraph are to be applied.</p> <p>e) Three regular and two substitute members which are first category judges, shall be selected by civil judges and public prosecutors under the direction and supervision of the Supreme Election Council from among civil judges and public prosecutors maintaining the qualifications for being first category judges. In provinces where there are regional administrative courts, these elections shall be held under the direction and supervision of the provincial election boards and judges and public prosecutors working in these regional administrative courts and in courts that are subject to authority of those courts shall vote. The provisions of subparagraph (d) shall be applied to these</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>elections.</p> <p>The regular members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors, who have been elected in accordance with subparagraphs (a), (ç), (d) and (e) of the first paragraph, shall take their office on the working day following the date of entry into force of this Law.</p> <p>At the first meeting of the Council to be held after the members that have been elected in accordance with this Article have taken their office, the duties of one of the substitute members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors, coming from the High Court of Appeals, determined by way of drawing lots, shall end. The remaining regular and substitute members shall continue their duties until the end of their term of office. The members who have been elected in accordance with subparagraph (b) of the first paragraph shall take office in place of those whose term of office expires.</p> <p>At the first meeting of the Council to be held after the members that have been elected in accordance with this Article have taken their office, the duties of one of the regular and substitute members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors, coming from the Council of State, determined by way of drawing lots, shall end. The remaining regular and substitute members shall continue their duties until the end of their term of office. The members who have been elected in accordance with subparagraph (c) of the first paragraph shall take office in place of those whose term of office expires.</p> <p>From among those members elected in accordance with subparagraph (b) and (c) of the first paragraph, the term of office of those who take office in accordance with the third and fourth paragraph shall expire on the date of the end of the term of office of the other Council members elected in</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	<p>accordance with subparagraph (a), (ç), (d) and (e) of the first paragraph. Regular members elected to the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors shall benefit from the same financial, social and pension rights envisaged for the Head of Chamber of the High Court of Appeals in the relevant legislation, until the necessary arrangements are made. Furthermore, regular members of the Council except for the president, shall receive additional compensation on a monthly basis in the amount to be calculated by multiplying the index of 30000 by the coefficient applied to salaries of civil servants.</p> <p>Until arrangements are made in the relevant laws, the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) shall operate in the form of a Council in accordance with legal provisions in force without prejudice to the provisions of the Constitution, b) shall convene under the chairmanship of the Minister of Justice within one week following the date that the regular members take office in accordance with the second paragraph and shall elect a temporary deputy chairman, c) shall convene with at least fifteen members and take decisions by the simple majority of the component members, ç) the secretariat functions shall be conducted by the Ministry of Justice. <p>Until inspectors of the Council are appointed, the existing judiciary inspectors shall carry out their duties under the title of inspectors of the Council.</p> <p>The provisions of this Article shall be applied until the necessary</p>

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	arrangements are made in the relevant laws.

THE CONSTITUTION (1982)	PROPOSAL
	ARTICLE 26 (of the Draft Constitutional Amendments Proposal) This law shall enter into force on the date of its publication and shall be voted on in its entirety when submitted to referendum