

What is the real obstacle to Turkish membership of the EU?

Anti-Muslim sentiment or genuine obstacles?

By

Supervisor:

Dr. Senan Fox

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Abstract

This thesis will attempt to answer the question: what are the issues standing in the way of successful negotiations between the EU and Turkey, with regards to Turkey's admission to the EU; 'Anti-Muslim sentiment' or genuine obstacles? Turkey has tried to be a member of Europe since they concluded an association agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC), which was established in 1957, or for fifty years. After the European Union (EU) was established in 1992, Turkey has tried to persuade the EU to accept it as a member state. However, its attempts have been unsuccessful. In 2005, they started negotiations on discuss this issue. However, they have not reached a conclusion.

Firstly, this thesis will refer to the background of relations between Turkey and the European Community. Then, it will discuss the obstacles in the way of bilateral negotiations between Turkey and the EU. It will focus on issues such as the Armenian Genocide by the Ottoman Empire, the problem of human rights in Turkey, and the issue of Cyprus. Then this research will investigate the recent efforts of both sides to reach an agreement. In this

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chapter, Turkey's efforts in the field of human rights and EU's financial assistance for Turkey will be focused. After that, this research will examine the issue of 'Islamophobia' (anti-Muslim feeling) in EU countries. This is arguably an obstacle to Turkey's acceptance. Many EU civilians have uncomfortable feelings towards Turkey's admission because of this matter. 'Islamophobia' will be discussed in the context of Croatia and a comparison will be made with Turkey. Croatia was accepted as a member nation of the EU in 2013, although the term of negotiations was shorter than that of Turkey. The differences between Turkey and Croatia will be also discussed in this chapter. Then, this thesis will investigate the issue of Turkish immigrants to Germany. In Germany, there are a large number of Turkish residents. If Turkey joins the EU, many people believe that Turkish people will come to live in the EU, just as in Germany. In conclusion, this thesis will discuss what the real obstacle is, anti-Muslim feeling or genuine obstacles and ask is it realistic the EU can accept Turkey as a member state? This thesis will use books, journal articles, governmental and NGO data, online sources and newspapers articles. In conclusion, this thesis will make

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proposals for how the EU and Turkey could reach an agreement. It will also

consider the likelihood of Turkey's joining the EU.

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Chapter 1: Background to negotiations between Turkey and the EU regarding membership

The history of negotiations after 1963



A map of the EU and its candidate countries. Yellow parts are member states and green ones are candidate countries.

Source: <http://russialist.org/eu-council-divided-on-procedure-for-prolonging-sanctions-against-russia/>

Accessed on 11/01/2016.

The history of negotiations started from 1963, when Turkey concluded an association agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC), which was established in 1957. It was called the Ankara Agreement. In that agreement, Turkey specified that they intended to join the European

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Community. After that, the EEC and Turkey continued to develop the relationship and established more than thirty bilateral laws and agreements.

The negotiations continued after the EEC changed to the European Union (EU) in 1993. In 1995, they founded a customs union and this resulted in an increase in the amount of bilateral trade (Toyama, 2001:77).

Despite these advances, in the 1990s, the relationship took some negative turns. Even though Turkey applied for admission of the EU in 1987, the result has only been the founding of a customs union, and relations have not advanced much since then. From 1990 to 1996, the EU received eleven membership applications for admission to the EU from eastern European countries and Cyprus. Then in 1997, at the European Union Summit in Luxembourg, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Republic of Cyprus, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia were listed as candidate countries for full membership. However Turkey was only approved as being capable for full membership. The council confirmed Turkey's eligibility for accession to the European Union, but they concluded that Turkey's situation in terms of its economy and politics had not reached

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the appropriate level for starting negotiations toward accession. This result was generally understood to mean that the EU denied the possibility of Turkey joining the union (Yachi, 2007:15-16).

For Turkish leaders, this conclusion was viewed as being unfair and was a great shock. Moreover, because Cyprus, which had been in an adversarial relationship with Turkey for a long time, was included in the first group to start the negotiations toward accession, Turkey strongly opposed the decision. In 1997, Turkey therefore declared that they would freeze governmental level talks with the EU. They maintained bilateral economic relations only with the EU member states (Yachi, 2007:16).

After that, the US, which regards Turkey as an important strategic partner, helped them to repair the relationship. Gradually, the UK, France, Italy and Spain began to support Turkey accession to the EU (Toyama, 2001:77-78). In December 1999, Turkey was acknowledged as having the status of a candidate country at the European Council Summit Meeting in Helsinki (The Guardian, 13/12/2002).

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In 2001, Turkey started to implement some reforms that would help it in negotiations for EU accession. For example, Ankara promoted human rights legislation that conformed to internationally accepted standards. It encouraged greater democratization and changed the constitution and laws in relation to human rights and the rights of minority groups. Moreover they liberalized laws regarding civic organizations and trade unions. Then Turkey abolished the death penalty in 2004 and Abdullah Ocalan, who is the leader of the Kurdistan armed organization, Partiya Karkeren Kurdistam (PKK), had his death penalty commuted to a life sentence. After that, Ankara reduced the influence of the military and strengthened civilian control over the government. Furthermore Turkey expanded the rights of Christians within Turkey. The EU was very interested in this issue because most of the citizens in the EU are Christians and improving the treatment for non-Muslim people is an essential issue in order to realize Turkey's accession. For example, the government allowed non-Muslim groups to build chapels (Hazama, 2007:161-171).

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Turkish efforts bore fruit eventually and thus accession negotiations recommenced. However on the way to accession, there are still thirty-five political and economic topics to negotiate. In each field, Turkey has to make its domestic laws compatible with European Union law. So far the topic in which they could complete negotiations has only been in the field of science and research in 2006 (Yachi, 2007:73). However, in 2012, the Turkish President Erdogan declared that if the EU does not admit Turkish accession by 2023, its 100th national foundation year, they will lose the opportunity of Turkish accession (Asahi, 2015:315).

In same year, the European Commission released a Progress Report concerning ongoing Turkish reforms toward accession into the EU. It said there was lots of room for improvement in some political fields such as freedom of speech, the justice system, corruption, and the rights of religious minorities (Synodos, 18/9/2013).

On the other hand, in Turkey, the number of the people who have a negative image towards the EU is increasing. According to a survey by Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues,

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attitudes and trends shaping America and the world, more than half of the survey's respondents, or 66 percent of the total respondents, held 'Unfavorable' opinions towards the EU. Still half of the people hope that Turkey will join the EU, but the number of 'Favor' opinions did not increase over the past four years (Pew Research Center, 30/07/2014). Turkey's accession to the EU is in difficult situation. This thesis will now proceed to discuss the obstacles in the way of bilateral negotiations between Turkey and the EU.

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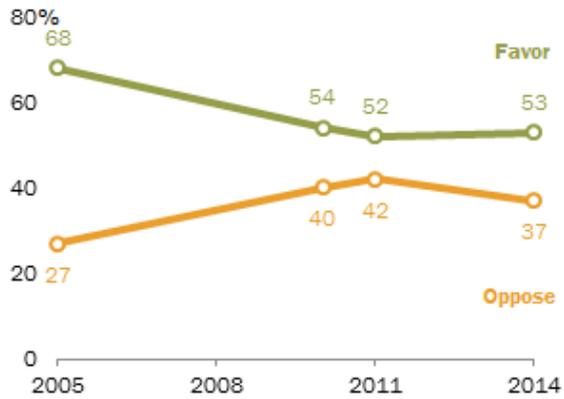
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Support for Turkey Joining EU

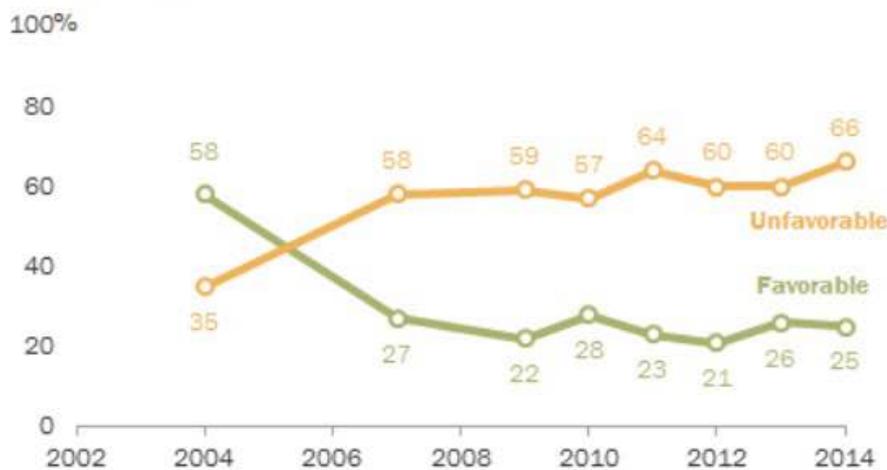
Do you ___ Turkey becoming a member of the EU?



Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey, Q20.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Views of the EU



The charts which show the results of the surveys in Turkey. Above is Turkish people's opinion to Turkish accession to the EU. Second one is about the view towards the EU.

Source:

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/07/30/turks-divided-on-erdogan-and-the-countrys-direction/> Accessed on 14/12/2015.

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Chapter 2: The obstacles in the way of bilateral negotiations between Turkey and the EU

In this chapter, three obstacles in the way of bilateral negotiation, the Armenian Genocide, the issue of human rights in Turkey and the problem of Cyprus will be discussed.

The Armenian Genocide



A map which shows the areas in Turkey with a large Armenian population in 1915.

Source: <http://yalibnan.com/2010/03/06/us-administration-to-block-vote-on-turkey-genocide/> Accessed on 26/11/2015.

In 1915, a widespread massacre of Armenian people who lived in the Ottoman Empire took place over the course of six months. Before World War I (WWI), there were about 2 million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. By

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the fall of 1915, this massacre had for the most part ended. It is said that a million Armenians were killed and that half of the massacre's victims were women and children. Two hundred thousand Armenians were forced to convert to Islam and two hundred and fifty thousand escaped from the Ottoman Empire to Russia. Four hundred thousand were sheltered by the Allies who fought against Turkey in WWI after they were found wandering about in secluded places among the mountains wearing only worn-out rags (Fujino, 1991:139-140).

Armenian people want Turkey to accept that these events were part of a genocide (Fujino, 1991:184). However Turkey does not recognize these actions as a genocide. The Turkish government has declared that "the Ottoman Armenians in eastern Anatolia rebelled against their government --the Ottoman government-- and joined Armenian revolutionary groups" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, 2011). Therefore the Armenian population residing in or near the war zone were in a dangerous situation, so the Ottoman government decided to relocate the Armenians in order to protect them. The Turkish government claimed that "the Ottoman

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government clearly planned that those who had to be moved should be cared for, protected and fed adequately, most of the Armenians suffered immensely.

War-time conditions, exacerbated by internal strife; local groups seeking revenge; banditry; famine; epidemics and the general lawlessness of a collapsing state apparatus all combined to produce a painful tragedy that was beyond any contingency expectation". After that, in Turkish opinion, the people who hurt and committed crimes against the Armenians were found guilty and were sentenced to death by the government in 1916, long before the end of WWI in 1918. The government also claim that lots of Turks died at that time, so it is unfair to use the word 'genocide' for one side (Center for Eurasian Studies Ankara (AVIM, 2014).

The European Parliament voted overwhelmingly in April 2015 to remember what it called the "centenary of the Armenian genocide" (Telegraph, 17/4/2015). In France, in 2012, denying the genocide of Armenians in 1915 was ruled unconstitutional and criminal (CNN, 28/2/2012). Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Slovakia and Sweden also described this event as a genocide. Recognizing this event as a genocide is not a necessary

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condition for accession to the EU. However, there is a possibility that EU member states will pressure Turkey and other member states to add this article to the necessary conditions (Matsui, 3/2010: 57).

Human Rights in Turkey

For accession to the EU, it is essential for states to satisfy the Copenhagen Criteria. In 1993, the Copenhagen European Council identified some requirements, which candidate countries will need to fulfil to join the EU. This requirement is known as the Copenhagen Criteria and it consists of three parts: the political criteria, the economic criteria and the institutional criteria. In the politics-related section of this, the articles are related to human rights and the protection of minorities (European Commission, 9/10/2014). These are a difficult challenge for Turkey in terms of joining the EU.

The greatest problem in terms of human rights in Turkey is the treatment of the Kurdish people. Kurds occupy eighteen percent of the population in Turkey, or fifteen million people (IndexMundi, 2014), but the government does not recognize them as a distinct group (Human Rights Watch (a),

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01/11/2010). When the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, the government promoted assimilation policies for Kurds and other ethnic groups. Only Turkish was admitted as an official language, and schooling and broadcasting in the Kurdish language was prohibited (Komatsu (a), 22/3/2013). In 2001, the government began to change the laws relating to Kurdish people and, in 2001, broadcasting in the Kurdish language was allowed. However it is still strictly limited (Komatsu (b), 22/3/2013). However, there are some Kurds who enjoy a high social standing. For example, Hikmet Cetin, who was a parliament speaker, is a Kurd (BBC news, 1998). Moreover, in the financial, academic and cultural fields, there also seem to be some Kurdish leaders (Toyama, 2001:69-70). Consequently, the Kurds seem to be able to live in Turkey peacefully, as long as they obey Turkish policies and laws

Some Kurds strongly desire to become independent from Turkey. Abdullah Öcalan began armed actions in 1984 with his group, the Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK). They attacked not only Turks but also Kurds who cooperated with the government. The PKK tried to destabilize the state and to

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overthrow the government. The number of victims who died as a result of PKK-related terrorist acts was more than thirty thousand. The Turkish government sought to suppress these actions and fought with the PKK for a long time (Toyama, 2001:69-71).

In 2005, the government introduced a new anti-terrorism law. However, this law was invoked to suppress demonstrators. Most demonstrators currently being prosecuted under this law are Kurds. The law is usually used in the mainly Kurdish-population areas of southeast Turkey. The people who are the members of organizations or are armed or took actions to assist the PKK are often imprisoned for at least 7 years (Human Rights Watch (b), 1/11/2010). In 2015, fighting between Turkey and the PKK broke out again (BBC news, 12/10/2015). The improvement of human rights legislation, including towards the PKK, is necessary in order to join the EU.

The Issue of Cyprus

The problem of Cyprus is the most difficult issue for Turkey's accession to the EU because the EU has demanded that Turkey acknowledge the

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authority of the Republic of Cyprus. However Turkey has rejected this request.

Cyprus became independent in 1960. The Treaty of Guarantee signed the same year by Greece, Turkey and the UK. Then the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities intended to guarantee the basic clauses of a constitution. Also they confirmed the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus. However, discontent over the amendment of the constitution came to the surface and eventually led to a political breakdown in 1963 and an increase in inter-communal violence. The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNEICYP) was sent and is still in place (European Court of Auditors, 2012:6). Then, in 1974, the Greek nationalists who sought unity with Greece and the Greek military government carried out a coup d'état. Therefore Turkey sent troops to the northern part of the island to protect Turkish people's lives and property in that area. After peace negotiations between both sides failed, the Turks in the northern part declared independence as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983. This entity is recognized only by Turkey.

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In 2004, the Republic of Cyprus was accepted as an EU member state, despite the divided situation on the island. Due to this event, it came more difficult for Turkey to join the EU because when the EU carries out a proposal, they need the unanimous consent of all member states. Cyprus can thus use veto power against Turkey's accession to the EU as a member nation (Kakizaki, 18/9/2013).

In 2005, negotiations between the EU and Turkey were reopened. The EU demanded that Turkey normalize bilateral relations with all EU member states, including The Republic of Cyprus, and follow the laws related to the EU-Turkey customs union. Following these stipulations meant that Turkey would have to acknowledge the authority of the Republic of Cyprus, and accept the entry of ships and planes from Cyprus. Turkey rejected this demand and this problem has become a major stumbling block in accession talks between the EU and Turkey (Hazama, 2007:180).

Turkey understands that they have to recognize the Republic of Cyprus and thinks they should solve this problem at the end of the negotiations. However the EU intends to solve this in the early phase of the negotiations

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(The Japan Institute of International Affairs, 21/11/2006). For example, France, a large and influential state in the EU, suggested introducing the recognizing of Cyprus's authority as a condition to start negotiation in 2005 (The Guardian, 08/08/2005). Thus, both sides are facing a difficult situation regarding the Cyprus problem. However, to join the EU, Turkey has to solve this problem.

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Chapter 3: The efforts of the EU and Turkey in Accession Negotiations

In this chapter, this thesis will examine and discuss the efforts of the EU and Turkey in paving the way for Turkey to join the EU.

The amendment to the laws in Turkey

Turkey has changed its constitution and laws to satisfy EU criteria and standards since the European Community (EC)-Turkey custom union was founded in 1995. However the European Parliament began to criticize the Turkish government after their clean-up operation against the PKK in 1995. They demanded that Turkey democratizes its constitution and amends its anti-terrorism laws.

The Ecevit Administration (1999-2002) conducted major constitutional changes in 2001. The changes implemented in 2001 incorporated characteristics that protected the rights of the vulnerable. For example, the restrictions pertaining to fundamental human rights were abolished and the rights of minorities were expanded. Broadcasting in the Kurdish language

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was also allowed. In addition, the law that prohibited demonstrations and associations as per the judgement of the authorities was abolished. In 2003, the Turkish government allowed religious communities to own their own properties, to promote their own religious views and to train churchmen (Hazama, 2007:151-160). Jews, Orthodox Christians and Armenian Christians are officially recognized. However Ankara does not protect them completely. There are several unsolved issues over property and prohibitions on the training of clergy remain (Freedom House, 2015).

Consequently, the EU admitted that Turkey had improved politically through reforms. It also recognized that Turkey's judicial system was now better equipped to fight corruption and organized crimes (European Commission, 10/11/2015).

However, recently the Turkish government has seriously regressed. According to a report by Freedom House, a non-government-organization (NGO) that observes and evaluates campaigns for greater freedom and democracy around the world, in 2013, there were antigovernment protests organized in Istanbul's Gezi Park. This large demonstration to mark May

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Day led to clashes between police and protesters. The police used tear gas and water cannons to suppress the demonstrators and also arrested hundreds of protesters. Moreover, in December 2013, three cabinet members resigned following a scandal that involved money laundering and government contracts. In February 2014, an audio recording was posted on YouTube in which Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, president of Turkey (2014-), and his son appeared to discuss hiding millions of dollars in cash. While Erdoğan claimed the recording was a montage, opposition parties insisted that the recording was genuine. Consequently, the government passed some laws to control information, particularly on the Internet. Soon after more than 2,000 police officers, judges, and prosecutors who had been investigating government corruption were dismissed from their jobs or transferred to different jurisdictions and assignments. From 2015, Freedom House lowered Turkey's freedom rate score to 3.5 (1 being the best and 7 the worst); the score was 3.0 in 2012 (Freedom House, 2015).

In recent years, some government attempts to suppress protesters and demonstrations have been noticed in Turkey. This may prove to be a

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significant barrier between the EU and Turkey. It is hoped that Turkey will obey its constitution and implement more reforms.

EU financial assistance to Turkey

Economic differences are another important factor that impedes Turkish accession to the EU. If Turkey joins the EU, lots of Turks probably will move to the EU to procure better jobs, which is matter of concern for EU member states; this is an obstacle for further negotiations. Turkey has a GDP that is less than fifty percent of the EU average (Eurostat, 08/12/2015). To join the EU, it is essential for Turkey to overcome this economic gap.

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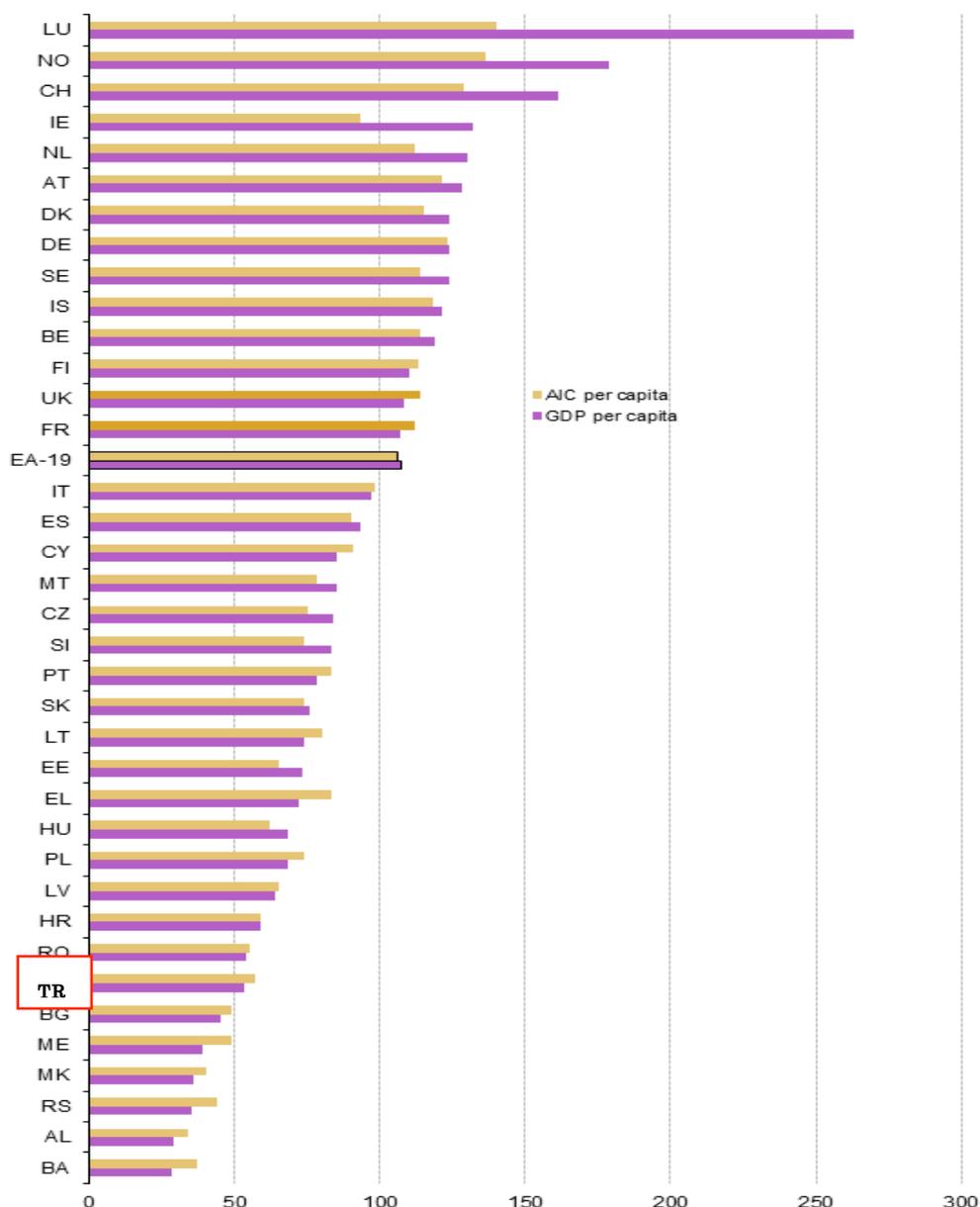
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The above figure indicates the volume indices of GDP and actual individual consumption (AIC) per capita, 2014. The average of the EU is EA-19, and Turkey is TR.

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/GDP_per_capita,_consumption_per_capita_and_price_level_indices

Accessed on 10/11/2015.

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The EU supports reforms in candidate countries with financial and technical assistance through the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance. For the period 2007-2013 IPA had a budget of some € 11.5 billion (¥1.5 trillion) (European Commission, 01/10/2015). Of this €4.8 billion (¥642 billion) or 48.2% was allocated to Turkey. Turkey used this assistance for transition projects and institution building, cross border cooperation, regional development, human resources development and rural development. Turkey felt the need to express dissatisfaction regarding this amount because the IPA for Turkey was €66 (¥9 thousand) per capita, while it was €171 (¥23 thousand) for Bosnia & Herzegovina and € 378 (¥ 50 thousand) for Montenegro, even though Bosnia & Herzegovina is only a potential candidate state (Ministry for Foreign Affairs: Republic of Turkey, 11/11/2015). In 2014, the EU started IPA II, new financial assistance until 2020, and € 4,453.9 million (¥596 billion) will be allocated for Turkey. In exchange for the assistance, the EU will demand some reforms. For example, the demands will include reforms to public administration, financial governance, ethical standards and the judiciary; promoting respect of fundamental rights and a

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culture of dialogue; developing sustainable, low-carbon, intelligent and safe

transport in line with EU standards, and so forth (European Commission,

07/05/2015).

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Chapter 4: The issue of 'Islamophobia', and Croatian Accession to the EU

In Chapter IV, this thesis will refer to the issue of 'Islamophobia', and investigate Croatia's accession to EU in order to compare it with the case of Turkey.

'Islamophobia' in Europe

Islamophobia, which means anti-Muslim feeling and sentiment, is arguably one of the most significant obstacles in the way of Turkish accession because ninety-nine percent of the Turkish population are Muslims (IndexMundi, 30/06/2015). If Turkey joined the EU and Turkish people come to EU member states, the issue of Islamophobia and cultural difference may cause serious problems within European societies.

The term 'Islamophobia' seems to have become a more important topic since the September 11 attacks in the US in 2001 and more recently following Islamic State attacks inside the EU and the Syrian refugee crisis. As Marc Helbling states, the terrorist attacks of new century changed the Western

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citizen's attitudes towards the Muslims. More Muslims were imprisoned and stopped by the police in Britain, compared with the situation before terrorist attacks in 2001 (Helbling, 2012:12).

In 2008, Friederich Ebert Stiftung (FES), a German political foundation associated with the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), surveyed the opinions of European people about immigrants and Muslims via telephone interviews. FES published the result of its survey regarding attitudes towards Muslims. The below table shows the results.

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No.	Item	D	GB	F	NL	I	PT	PL	HU
1	There are too many immigrants in [country].	50.0	62.2	40.3	46.0	62.5	59.6	27.1	58.7
2	Because of the number of immigrants, I sometimes feel like a stranger in [country].	37.6	45.8	31.0	37.7	27.0	19.1	19.4	44.6
3	When jobs are scarce, [country natives] should have more rights to a job than immigrants.	42.4	50.3	29.5	24.7	55.9	58.2	74.1	71.2
4	Immigrants enrich our culture.	75.0	71.2	70.8	74.9	61.0	73.7	64.2	57.0
Additional items in random half of each sample									
5	Immigrants are a strain on our welfare system.	40.8	60.2	54.7	20.3	31.7	42.5	45.8	77.2
6	We need immigrants to keep the economy going.	60.7	59.5	66.1	64.5	70.7	68.1	42.4	24.2

No.	Item	D	GB	F	NL	I	PT	PL	HU
18	There are too many Muslims in [country].	46.1	44.7	36.2	41.5	49.7	27.1	47.1	60.7
19	Muslims are too demanding.	54.1	50.0	52.8	51.8	64.7	34.4	62.3	60.0
20	Islam is a religion of intolerance. [France: Islam is a religion of tolerance.]	52.5	47.2	52.3*	46.7	60.4	62.2	61.5	53.4
Additional items									
22	The Muslim culture fits well into [country/Europe].	16.6	39.0	49.8	38.7	27.4	50.1	19.0	30.2
23	Muslims' attitudes towards women contradict our values.	76.1	81.5	78.8	78.2	82.2	72.1	72.1	76.8
24	Many Muslims perceive terrorists as heroes. [France: question not asked].	27.9	37.6	-	29.2	28.5	30.3	30.2	39.3
25	The majority of Muslims find terrorism justifiable. [France: not justifiable]	17.1	26.3	23.3*	19.9	21.5	22.4	26.0	29.6

These tables showed the percentage of anti-immigrants and anti-Muslim sentiment in each country. The chart above is for immigrants and the one below is for Muslims. D=Germany, GB=Britain, F=France, NL=Netherlands, PT=Portugal, PL=Poland, HU=Hungary.

Source: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/07908-20110311.pdf>

Accessed on 10/11/2015.

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As the charts show, more than fifty percent of them thought immigrants would enrich their countries' cultures. Also, except for Hungary and Poland, about sixty percent of them or more thought immigrants were necessary to keep their economies strong. However, half of them thought Muslim culture did not fit well into their countries and that Muslims were too demanding. In addition, there are the figures, which shows European citizens' feeling against each groups.

Figure 2: **Anti-immigrant attitudes in European comparison (mean scale)**

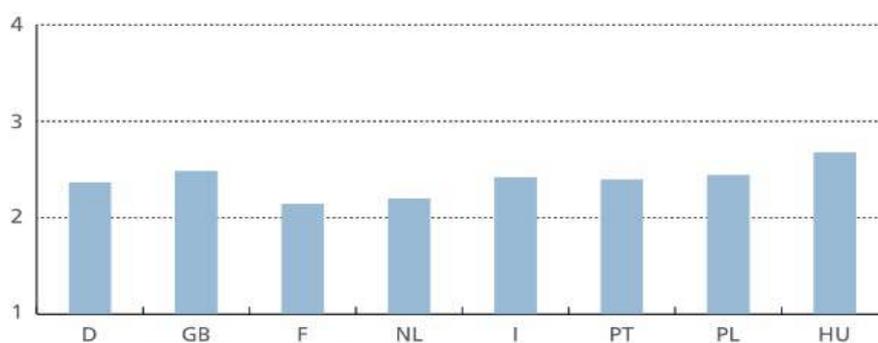
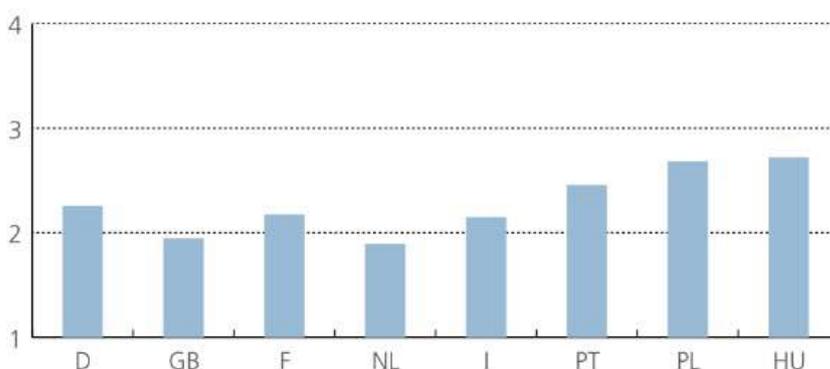


Figure 3: **Anti-Semitism in European comparison (mean scale)**



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Figure 4: **Racism in European comparison (mean scale)**

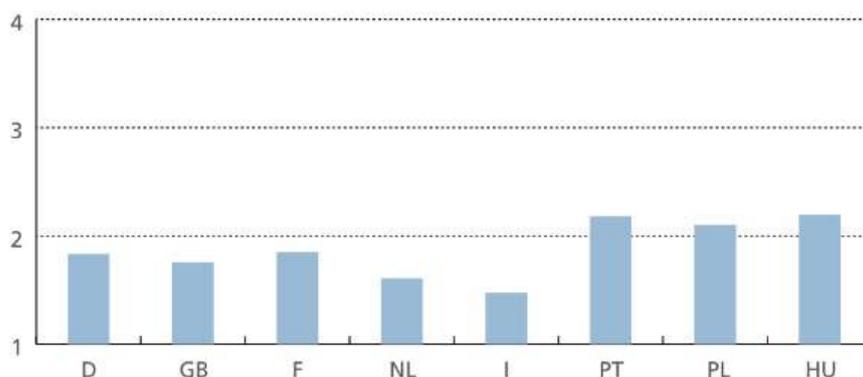
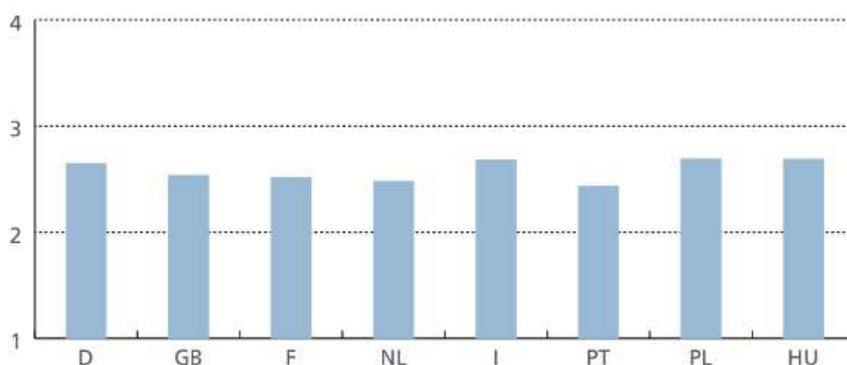


Figure 5: **Anti-Muslim attitudes in European comparison (mean scale)**



Answer scale: 1 = “strongly agree”, 4 = “strongly disagree”

Source: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/07908-20110311.pdf>

Accessed on 11/12/2015

In this survey, anti-Muslim feeling was generally higher than other figures in every country. According to the FES, the worst of the economic crisis was still to come, though there were some small effects in Europe. The GDP of Hungary, Poland and Portugal were lower than the European average in the survey year (2008) (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011:49-50). Lately, the

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economic situation in some EU countries is worse than the year of 2008,

Issues such as the Syrian refugee crisis have complicated the approach of some governments to economic recovery. Therefore anti-Muslim sentiment might actually increase in certain countries.

Helbling also showed the results of some other surveys. It revealed that over sixty percent of respondents in Britain believe Islam to be the most violent religion, although such views about Christianity, Judaism or Hinduism comprised of less than ten percent. Besides, the perceived military and social threat posed by Muslim countries, and the perceived threat of political violence and extremism were main themes relating to Islam in the British broadcast press in 2004 for example. In Norway, it was similar situation. Norwegian newspapers over the period between 30 April and 1 June 2003, “the finding show that Islam and Muslims were negatively portrayed in the Norwegian press, and much more negatively than other ‘non-Western’ immigrants. Of 145 newspaper articles that dealt with Norwegian Muslims and Islam, only four articles – or 3 percent of the total – described Muslims in

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a positive manner, as ordinary citizens or as a positive resource for Norwegian society” (Helbling, 2012: 43-60).

These surveys showed the clear cultural gap and suspicion of EU citizens against Muslims. Radical Muslims may be only a small part of the total Muslim population, but lots of people may have unfavorable images even to general Muslims because the media mainly broadcast the news of radical Islam. Recently, the issues of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the Syrian refugee crisis have come to the surface. Besides them, the terrorism attack in Paris in October 2015 cast a dark shadow over the relation between the EU and Muslim countries. Therefore anti-Muslim feeling might be increasing in Europe and it is inevitable obstacle in the way of Turkey’s accession.

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Croatia's accession to the EU



A map showing Croatia and neighboring European countries.

Source: <http://www.operationworld.org/croa>

Accessed 17/12/2015.

In 1991, Croatia declared its independence from the former Yugoslavia and fought a bloody war of independence until 1995. In 1992, it was admitted as a member of the United Nations and established diplomatic relations with the EU. Then, in 2003, Croatia applied to join the EU and became a candidate country in the next year. Croatia promised full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (in relation to the investigation of war crimes committed by all sides in the period of the Yugoslav Wars from 1991 to 2001) and began the negotiations for its accession to the EU in 2005. After that, in 2011, they completed the

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negotiations. Finally, on 1 July 2013, Croatia joined the EU as its twenty-eighth member state (EU MAG, 17/07/2013).

Croatia's accession process was very successful. From the beginning of the negotiation, they took just eight years to join the EU. In contrast to Croatia, Turkey's accession process is not going well and has still continued. What are the differences between Croatia and Turkey's applications? In this part, this thesis will investigate the issue this question.

In the 1990s, after the Cold War (1948-1991) had ended, some countries, including Croatia, declared independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Republic of Serbia and ethnic Serbians who lived inside Croatia's border opposed them, and internal wars occurred. As a result of the wars, large number of refugees flooded into nearby countries as Italy. Therefore European states recognized the importance of the stability in the Balkan. For the EU, accepting Croatia as a member was important for this reason (The page, 01/07/2013).

According to an evaluation in 2013 by Freedom House, Croatian freedom rate, civilian liberties and political rights were very high. Its constitution

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guarantees freedom of religion and respect for minority rights. However, anticorruption efforts was not effective enough and the EU demanded an improvement (Freedom House, 2013).

On the economic side, Croatia was unstable. First of all, Croatia's main industry was the tourist industry, like Greece (The page, 01/07/2013). The tourism industry is unreliable as a main industry because it is very vulnerable to the fluctuations of regional and global economic circumstances. At the time, in 2013, the Croatian economy was in relative decline and the unemployment rate was more than twenty percent. The Unemployment rate of Croatia's young people was the highest among EU member states and the Croatian government issued more and more national loan (New Sphere, 01/07/2013).

In 2015, The Croatian unemployment rate was still 15.5 percent and the youth unemployment rate was 43.1 percent in September 2015 (Ycharts, 2015). Its GDP per capita has been sluggish since 2008, so it is doubtful that Croatia can make much of an economic contribution to the EU as a member state (Trading Economics, 2014). In contrast to the Croatian situation, the

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Turkish economy is growing because of the development of its car industry.

In addition, Turkey has paid off its debt, \$26.5 billion (more than ¥3.2trillion), to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Asahi, 2015:311-317). Turkey is arguably more stable than Croatia economically.

Croatian has a better political condition than Turkey. However, the Croatian economy needs more reforms. The possibility that Croatians would immigrate to other EU member states was clear, but the EU accepted Croatia. This could be seen as a kind of 'double standard' against Turkey because of its Muslim population.

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Chapter 5: Turkish immigrants in Germany

In Chapter 5, the issue of Turkish immigrants in Germany will be examined.

Germany has the largest Turkish population in Europe. If Turkey join the EU, large number of Turks may live in other EU member states and this will present challenges and might cause some problems due to cultural and religious differences. Therefore this thesis will refer to the situation in Germany as a case study.

Background

In 1955, the former West Germany began to seek a labor force to address its labor shortage. West Germany was a full employment state because of its impressive economic growth, so they adopted this policy from 1955 to 1973.

They recruited ‘Gastarbeiter,’ or guest workers, from other European countries as well as Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey. The words ‘guest worker’ clearly showed that they were invited on a temporary basis to deal with the situation at that time. Under this policy, foreign workers engaged in works which required few qualifications and for low salaries.

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In 1973, first oil shock occurred and German economic rise came to a halt. As a result, the policy of hiring foreign workers ended. The next year the German government undertook a policy which limited the employment of guest workers. Residence permits for foreign workers who had lost their work permits were also limited and the government began to encourage them to go back to their own countries.

However, the foreign laborers had already encouraged their families to settle in Germany and the number of long-term residents increased because there were few good jobs in their own countries. Germany was seen as safe and had a better society than their homeland. In 1983, a law which encouraged them to return to their countries of birth was enacted. In this law, the laborers who wanted to go back could receive a bounty and also support after they had returned to their homeland. A report says that twenty-five thousand foreigners returned. However, this number was only five percent of the total number, so this policy was not seen as an effective approach (Ishikawa, 2012: 39-42).

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Challenges regarding Turkish immigrants in Germany

In Germany, there are three million people of Turkish origin (Ceyhun, 2015).

According to the 2011 census by the Federal Statistics Office in Germany, they are the largest ethnic minority in the country (Statistische Bundesamt, 10/04/2014) There are some problems relating to the Turkish communities in Germany.

In the former West Germany, the crime rate by foreigners was very high. The number of arrests of German Turks in 1989 was more than eighty thousand and it was about twenty-four percent of the total crime rate by foreigners. Moreover, seventy percent of the arrests in the fourteen to twenty-one years old age category were foreigners and ninety percent of that rate was made up of German Turks.

In 2015, the unemployment rate for people of Turkish origin in Germany stood at 10.4 percent against the national average of 6.4 percent (Yahoo News, 23/09/2015). After German reunification in 1990, more than three hundred thousand laborers from the former East Germany came to the western parts to find jobs and had some confrontations with foreign workers.

Then a neo-Nazism movement, an anti-foreigner movement, became more

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popular and it became harder for the foreigners to get jobs. German Turkish communities also had problem speaking the German language (Ikeda, 2014: 9-10).

In 2005, an immigration law was enacted and an 'Integration Course', a course in which German would be taught to immigrants, was started. German government had confidence in the course and thought that this course would be a model for integration in Europe. However, soon after this course began, lots of problems were revealed. First of all, a lot of immigrants did not participate in the course and then some people dropped out. In addition, the people who completed the course often did not achieve a high level of German. In 2005, approximately sixty thousand immigrants were required to attend, but actually the total number of participants was only about thirty-two thousand. Even though there were about three hundred sixty thousand participants from 2005 to 2006, just one hundred thousand people, or thirty percent of all participants completed the course. In Germany, there are some areas where mostly immigrants gather to live, such as Kreuzberg in Berlin. Therefore they could live and survive there by

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speaking only the Turkish language, so they could not find a compelling reason for joining the course (Kobayashi, 2009: 123-127).

In such a situation, the Turkish community has become a sort of ‘parallel society’. There the habitants do not want to be concerned with German society and form a linguistically and culturally closed society. Because of technical development, they can also watch Turkish TV programs via satellite dish. Consequently, second and third generation immigrants do not have many chances to talk German (Ikeda, 2014: 14).

Moreover, some German Turkish parents do not want to send their children to German kindergarten because they are afraid that their children will become so-called ‘Almanci.’¹ If they live in a Turkish area, most of the children in the kindergarten are Turks, so they cannot study German as a result. Therefore the children enter the Grundschule, the school for children who are from six to ten years old, without German language skills. Many such children often drop out of the schools because of linguistic difficulties. Many of their parents are from rural areas in Turkey and are not educated.

¹ The nickname given of Turkish Germans who cannot speak the Turkish language fluently and behave as Europeans.

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So they cannot understand the reason why it is important to go to school.

Additionally, their uneducated parents cannot teach them (Ishikawa, 2012:166-167). Consequently, many such children may not be able to find jobs and may live on social benefit from the government.

This 'parallel society' issue is becoming more of a serious problem. Of course there are many successful Turkish Germans, but the gap between both societies may be larger than in the past because they easily remain in touch with Turkey and watch Turkish TV programs. They might even be able to strengthen their identity as Turks, even though they live in Germany. European countries seem to be afraid that they might be in the same situation if Turkey joins the EU. On the other hand, they also seem to be paying attention how Germany is dealing with this problem as a future model of their own societies.

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Conclusion: Where now for EU-Turkey Accession Talks?

This thesis will refer again in closing to two of this research's central questions; 'what is the real obstacle to Turkish membership of the EU: Anti-Muslim sentiment or genuine obstacles?' and 'is it realistic for the EU to accept Turkey as a member state?'

As to first question, the real obstacle has been genuine obstacles until now. Anti-Muslim feeling is also important issue, but Turkey needs to get over genuine obstacles first. The Turkish government has to improve human rights and the situation for minorities such as Kurds. In Turkey, there is large Kurdish population and some Kurds who follow Turkish rule can live peacefully and successfully. However it is doubtful that this situation follows EU policy for minorities.

Additionally, it is necessary to recognize the legitimacy of the Republic of Cyprus. This is a very sensitive issue for the Turkish government and it may be seen as unfair because the EU accepted Cyprus, in spite of its divided situation. However, the Republic of Cyprus is already an EU member state,

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so Turkey needs to repair its relationship with Cyprus in order to join the EU.

The possibility that Turkey may join the EU has been slight until now.

President Erdogan declared in 2012 that Turkey would joined to the EU by

2023, but Turkey reached an agreement on only one topic of total thirty-five

topics, which are required to candidate countries, during ten years. It is not

realistic to obtain agreement about thirty-four topics in seven years.

Moreover, there was a serious suppression of demonstrators by the Turkish

government in 2013. The EU strongly criticized the Turkish government for

this action.

The issue of ISIS and Syrian refugees are also important. If Turkey joins the

EU, people can cross EU borders easily. Not only many refugees could

immigrate into Europe, but also ISIS fighters might enter the EU as well by

hiding among them because Turkey is by the controlled territory of ISIS.

Recently, the refugee problem and terrorist attacks by Islam

fundamentalists are the most sensitive topics in Europe. Most of EU member

states may not want Turkey to join the EU under present conditions.

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Therefore, consequently, it is arguably not realistic for Turkey to realize the accession to the EU for the next seven years.

However, Turkey is a developing country and its geographical, economic and political potential is very high. For example, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, the pipeline, which transports natural gas to Europe, is important.

Natural gas is in great demand in Europe and Turkey plays an important role in this project (Asahi, 2015, 312). For a successful European energy supply, Turkey's cooperation is essential. In October 2015, Chancellor Merkel, Chancellor of Germany (2005-), said that Germany is ready to support Turkey's accession process (Deutsche Welle, 18/10/2015). This was remarkable change because Germany opposed Turkey's accession until then.

The support of one of the most powerful countries in the EU for Turkey's future membership is very significant. It is apparent from such developments that the negotiations are approaching a turning point, and while Turkey might not be able to join the EU soon, the possibility of its eventual membership increases with each passing year.

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概要

本論文は、50年以上続くトルコのEU加盟交渉が達成されない原因が、文化的、宗教的対立によるものなのか、または外交的、経済的な課題によるものなのかを論じる。また、トルコの加盟実現の可能性についても言及していく。

EU加盟交渉の歴史は、1963年にトルコが欧州経済共同体に準加盟したときから始まる。1992年にEUが設立され、トルコは加盟申請を行うが、1997年のルクセンブルグ欧州会議において候補国から外される。その後一旦は関係悪化に陥るが、1999年にトルコは加盟候補国と認められ、2005年には加盟交渉が開始された。交渉開始から10年経ったが、EUから合意を得なければならない35項目のうち、今のところ達成したのは科学・調査の1項目だけであり、国内でもEUに対する反感が募ってきている。その状況の中、トルコの大統領エルドアンは、建国100周年記念である2023年までの加盟を目指し、もしそれまでにEUがトルコを受け入れない場合、EUはトルコが加盟する機会を失うだろうと宣言した。

トルコの加盟を阻む障壁の内、この論文ではアルメニア人虐殺問題、人権問題、キプロス問題を取り上げた。一つ目のアルメニア人虐殺は、第一次世界大戦中、1915年から1919年の間に、旧オスマン帝国内に200万人いたアルメニア人が、政府の主導で多数殺害されたという出来事である。アルメニア側は、この出来事を人為的に起こされたジェノサイドとしてトルコ政府に認めてほしいと訴えているが、トルコはこれを戦争中の、偶発的で不幸な出来事だったとして認めていない。しかしフランスなどの国々はこの出来事をジェノサイドとして認めており、対立の原因の一つとなっている。

またEU加盟には、コペンハーゲン基準という規定を順守しなければならず、コペンハーゲン基準は、政治的要件、経済的要件、法令上の要件の三つから成り立っている。トルコはこの政治的要件に含まれる、基本的人家の尊重において改善が求められている。トルコにおける人権問題で一番重要なものは、クルド人の存在である。クルド人はトルコ人口の約20パーセントを占めており、独自の言語を持つ。しかしトルコは、「トルコの国民はトルコ人」とする単一民族主義を押し進めており、クルド語での教育・放送などを一切認めていなかった。クルド人独立派武装組織であるクルド人労働党(PKK)はアブドゥッラー・オジャランをリーダーとし、トルコ人やトルコ政府に協力的なクルド人を相手にテロ活動を行っている。EUはPKKに対するトルコの弾圧を非難しているが、トルコ政府は、PKKはテロ組織として、一切の妥協をしていない。また近年、テロを取り締まる法律が強化され、それがデモ隊の鎮圧などに利用されていることもあり、EUは批判を強めている。

三つ目の障壁であるキプロス問題はトルコのEU加盟において最大の問題である。1974年の内戦以来、キプロスは南北に分裂している。トルコは北側の北キプロス・トルコ共和

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国（北キプロス）を支持しており、南のキプロス共和国（キプロス）を国として認めていない。しかしながら、分裂状態のままキプロスは 2004 年に EU に加盟した。トルコが EU 入りするためには加盟国すべてを主権国家として認めねばならず、北キプロスを支援するトルコにとっては最大の障壁となっている。

そういった状況下ではあるが、トルコ・EU 両陣営は互いに歩み寄りの努力を続けている。トルコは EU の規定に近づけるように国内の憲法や法律を改変した。しかし近年のデモ弾圧やエルドアン大統領の汚職疑惑など、まだまだ改善の余地は多い。また経済的に見ても、トルコは未だ EU の平均 GDP を下回っており、経済成長が求められる。EU には加盟候補国の経済発展を支援する、the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) という支援金制度があり、トルコも 2007 年から 2013 年まで、IPA を受けている。IPA の金額の約半分をトルコが受け取っているが、国民一人当たりの金額に換算すると、同じ加盟候補のモンテネグロや加盟交渉を始めてもいない潜在的加盟候補のボスニアヘルツェゴヴィナよりも明らかに少ないとして不満を抱いている。2014 年から 2020 年までの経済支援である IPA II の支給が決定され、民主化や基本的人権の更なる促進や教育、環境への対策、エネルギー開発の発展がトルコには求められている。

政治的・経済的な努力を続けるトルコにとってのもう 1 つの大きな障壁は、ヨーロッパにおける「イスラム恐怖症」の拡大という、心理的・文化的な壁である。近年のヨーロッパにおけるイスラム教のニュースといえば、過激派の現状やテロといった市民の生活を脅かすことを連想させる報道が一般的であり、それがイスラム恐怖症を一層拡大させている。ドイツの調査団体の示す資料によれば、調査を行った EU 加盟国 8 カ国ではイスラム教徒への反感・不信感は、他のどのグループへのものよりも平均的に高まっており、トルコを受け入れたくない EU 市民の感情を如実に示している。また、トルコより後に加盟申請を行ったにもかかわらず、2013 年に EU 入りを果たしたクロアチアとトルコの違いを比較した。NGO 団体の Freedom House の調査によると、EU 加盟を達成した年のクロアチアの政治的安定、基本的人権の尊重の状況などは、トルコと異なり非常に高い評価を得ている。一方で主要産業は景気の影響を受け易い観光業であり、国内の失業率も高く、若者の失業率は 50 パーセント近い数字となっている。国民一人当たりの GDP こそトルコより上であるが、ここ数年は経済成長も見られないという状況は、成長を続けるトルコとは対照的である。クロアチアが EU にとって負担になることは目に見えていたことであるが、その加盟交渉の過程は非常にスムーズであった。この明らかな差は、国民の 99 パーセントがイスラム教徒であるトルコと、キリスト教徒が多数を占めるクロアチアの違いからくるものではないだろうか。

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トルコの EU 入りに関して EU 諸国が懸念しているのは、トルコからのイスラム教徒の移民が増えることである。その可能性の予想図として、現状でトルコ移民を多く抱えるドイツをこの論文では研究した。第二次世界大戦後、急速に発展し始めた旧西ドイツは、足りない労働力を補うために諸外国から人を集めた。1955 年から 1973 年までにドイツに出稼ぎにきた、ガストアルバイターと呼ばれるこの外国人労働者たちには、トルコ人も多く含まれていた。しかし経済発展の鈍化と共にドイツは外国人労働者を必要としなくなり、彼らの帰国を促す政策がとられた。一方で多くのトルコ人は、安定した社会であるドイツへの移住を決め、彼らの家族をもドイツに呼び移住させた。結果として今では約 300 万人のトルコ移民、またはトルコ系ドイツ人がいるとされ、ドイツにおける最大のエスニックマイノリティーとなっている。そういった背景を持つ人々はドイツ語をうまく話せないこともあり、安定した職を見つけるのが困難である。彼らの失業率はドイツの平均失業率を超えており、生活保護などの社会保障に頼って生活している。そういった財政の圧迫も問題であるが、トルコ系の人々が集住することで、彼らだけの閉ざされたコミュニティが形成され、彼らのドイツ社会への統合を目指すドイツにとっては課題となっている。

この論文の主題である、「トルコが EU 加盟を達成できない要因は、文化的・宗教的対立によるものなのか、または外交的・経済的な課題によるものなのか」という問いへの結論として、答えは後者によるものであると考える。文化的・宗教的対立は確かに重要な壁ではあるが、外交的・経済的な壁はより基礎的な問題である。トルコはクルド人の権利の尊重を進め、またキプロスの主権を承認しなければならない。キプロスに関しては、北キプロスを支持するトルコにとって不公平な事案であるかもしれないが、すでにキプロスが EU 加盟国である以上、EU 加盟を目指すのであればその主権を認めざるを得ない。

また、トルコの加盟の実現性は、現在のところとても低いと考える。エルドアンはトルコの加盟の期限を 2023 年までとしているが、10 年の交渉を続けて 1 項目しか終わっていない現状を考えると、現実的ではない。またシリアの難民問題や ISIS の台頭によって、これまで以上にイスラム教徒への不安感を強めている EU が、トルコを現状のまま受け入れるとは考えにくい。

しかしながら、トルコは地理的、経済的に見てとても潜在的な能力の高い国である。天然ガスの需要が高まるヨーロッパに、バクー・トリビシ・シェイハンの三か所をつなぎ、天然ガスを送る BTC ラインはトルコを經由しており、またシリア難民の問題に対しても、ヨーロッパの玄関口であるトルコの協力は不可欠である。2015 年 10 月には、ドイツがトルコの EU 加盟を支持する動きも見せたことで事態は変化を迎えている。それがトルコの加盟実現につながるかどうか、今後数年間が重要な転換期になるかもしれない。