

Synopsis

Welcome TURKEY!

Adhesion, the dawn of a new Europe

Preface

by **Gianpaolo Scarante**

Presentation

by **Mariano Giustino**

Editorial

The undeniable advantages of Turkey's EU adhesion

by **Emma Bonino**

The vice-president of the Italian Senate considers mystifications, prejudice and narrow-minded views as the true obstacle to Turkey's EU adhesion, employed as a religious, geographic and cultural alibi. Although such fears are ungrounded, they prevent the acknowledgement of a set of undeniable advantages linked to Turkey's accession such as its role as an energy *hub*, its demographic vitality, along with its foreign policy and common defence strategies. Nor should the question of Cyprus hinder accession. On the other hand, Turkey must pursue the path of reforms and democracy, preserving secularism, the Rule of Law and civil rights, notably the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech, along with the respect of the rights of minority groups. In the course of history Turkey has always acted as Janus, the two-faced God, and its recent political behaviour towards neighbouring countries complies with the Country's traditional Europeanist and Atlanticist vocation. But without the thrust triggered by EU adhesion its reform programme risks being deadlocked, leading Europe to lose a precious candidate country.

The reasons for adhesion in open Europe

Inter/view

Egemen Bağış / *Turkey has been looking West for the past one thousand years*

The minister for European Affairs and Chief Negotiator recalled that the Republic of Turkey has always acted as a major regional player, committed in the resolution of conflicts and the establishment of peace in the framework of international organizations. Turkey's dynamic and young population, along with its geo-strategic position, would make the Union much more prosperous. For the past thousand years it has been looking up at the West and EU accession negotiations are a reflection of that orientation. Moreover Turkey has been a part of the historical process which led to European integration. It supported the reasons of the European project describing it with the words of İsmet İnönü, namely, the bravest undertaking that human intelligence ever conceived for the progress of humanity. And it considers itself part and parcel of that project, a view that was put into practice with a major national reform process. But Turkey can't fail to extend its glance to the East and its neighbours, in the interest of the stability of Peace and democracy in the region and across the world. Also economic growth has been impetuous and is bound to undergo further substantial developments. It is widely believed that the false obstacles preventing EU adhesion will be removed given the evident reality of a democratic, modern country, young and endowed with a complex, age-old historical background, such as Turkey.

A historical mission, comparable to the fall of the Wall of Berlin
by **Carlo Marsili**

EU accession of a country like Turkey, capable of entertaining fruitful relations in the Middle East, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Africa, would enable the European Union to handle the integration of an ever-increasing Islamic community at best. The contribution of a country at the juncture of gas and oil pipelines is crucial, not to mention that Turkey represents the most dynamic community in Europe. On October 3 2004 membership negotiations began, but an irrational diffidence was harnessed in a number of European countries, and markedly in the approach of certain governments. The Cold War between the East and West has ended, thus the "cultural cold war" against Turkey must equally come to an end, and fend off to the risk of a decline, as recently declared by Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoğlu.

A difficult, demanding, and absolutely necessary accession

by **Graham Watson**

Turkey and the European Union are bound by close relations, which encompass politics, the economy and foreign policy. Common strategic interests couple with historical and cultural bonds. However, it appears that EU accession process is losing momentum. And this must be overcome. Turkey's progress along the path of much-needed reforms is undeniable, while notably, over the past decade the country's economy has registered steady growth rates. The fact that Ankara has legitimate geopolitical interests in the region, playing an important political role, is a fact that should be welcomed. As a liberal and economically developed country, which it is, Turkey could stand as a model for the entire Middle East thus providing thrust for decision to the EU *Common Foreign and Security Policy* (CFSP). It must pursue its yearning for change while the European Union must rediscover and reaffirm its underlying values, which are the ideals pertaining to a free and open society.

Breaking the vicious cycle

by **Pier Virgilio Dastoli**

The European Commission acknowledges Turkey's commitment for significant reforms, complying with EU requirements. The Commission welcomed the country's recent Constitutional reforms as well as the openness – albeit still symbolical – shown in the framework of religious freedoms, in the protection of minority groups and cultural rights; the progress made in judicial reform, in the relations between the civil and military spheres; the reinforcement of the legal framework providing for the recognition of women's rights and gender equality. We must continue working for Turkey's transformation into a truly pluralist democracy with full freedom of the press and of speech, and for an appropriate response to the question of the Kurdish minority. The Commission has equally noted growing interdependence between the EU and Turkey's economy. Nonetheless, Turkey's EU integration process is experiencing a standstill. European governments must respect their commitments and the vicious cycle sparked off by the negative statements of European leaders and by the lack of determination of the Turkish government in the Country's modernization process must be urgently

interrupted, in the interest of Turkey and of the European Union.

The European spirit of openness to avoid retreating from the world
by **Daniel Cohn-Bendit**

According to the German MEP, Europe must resist the dangerous illusion linked to its inborn unchangeable identity feature whilst rejecting discrimination on religious grounds. Intergovernmentalism, closures and national egoisms risk extinguishing the spirit of openness to the world which has characterized the European Union until today. EU membership negotiations with Turkey must resume with renewed thrust. The challenges of globalization highlight the benefits of this country's accession to the European Union, also in the light of the fact that Ankara has become a point of reference for all the countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, which have been demanding freedom and change since the beginning of 2011. On the other hand, Turkey must continue along its path of reforms. A lot still needs to be done at the level of fundamental freedoms. Europe must overcome rigid and false identity barriers and recover its original spirit of openness, which constitutes its richness, welcoming Turkey and projecting itself on a world scenario and towards the future.

Turkey's accession for a secular, democratic Europe in peace.
by **Hélène Flautre**

For the co-president of the joint EU-Turkey parliamentary Commission, Turkey's accession would show that the EU is not a closed, confessional area but a place for freedom where democracy, sustainable development and solidarity can coexist, a large open and lay area, acting as a tool for peace, rejecting all barriers erected by prejudice and intolerance. There's the risk that Turkey may reflect Europe's inability to project itself into these high standards, in conformity with its vision and inspiration, which constitute its foundation and project it towards the future.

A new concept of sovereignty
by **Andrew Duff**

According to the ALDE Group MEP, Europe is experiencing a moment of "tiredness", marked by increasingly rigid accession requirements. In its historical development, European enlargement has been an important

act of political science and foreign policy. If this process were interrupted, the European Union's moral authority and its political credibility might be imperilled and the EU would thus be a major victim of the ensuing collapse. If Turkey's EU membership request should be rejected, the thrust for the country's modernization - triggered by EU adhesion - would wane, preparing the grounds for the instalment of ultra-Kemalist and fundamentalist factions with their own foreign policy. If that should be the case, Turkey risks taking as role model a realm – that of the Islamic Conference Organization – that is distant from universal human rights and fundamental freedoms, with serious consequences also for the Atlantic Alliance. After World War II European democracies transformed their autocratic Constitutions into liberal and democratic constitutions. A similar, decisive leap in the direction of national reforms is expected of Turkey. The best way to honour the memory of Mustafa Kemal, the founding father of the Republic and a major reformist leader, is to pursue the path he traced, in the direction of a modern, European concept of sovereignty.

A story of unfulfilled promises and ancient spite
by **Niccolò Rinaldi**

The Italian MEP retraces the story of Turkey's accession and the related complexities, pointing out that EU membership is at the same time inalienable and unavoidable. The EU project has led to the establishment of an area of freedom and democracy, capable of relinquishing ancient traumas and thousand-year-long antagonisms, wiping away deep-rooted prejudice, hatred, mistakes and responsibilities. Turkey is an extraordinary workshop of Islamic laicity, for a European Islam conceived as an integrating part of liberal democracy.

Revitalizing EU-Turkey relations
by **E. Fuat Keyman**

The resumption of EU-Turkey relations is a necessary step. For this reason, maintains the director of the *Istanbul Policy Center*, a new paradigm must be adopted whereby all stakeholders are aware of the mutual benefits deriving from a great opportunity of cooperation based on common decisions. An a-symmetrical partnership no longer characterises Europe - Turkey relations. Rather, today's mutual relations are based on "intermingling". Turkey mustn't

interrupt its ongoing reform process and the EU must have the courage to be far-sighted, remaining loyal to the Country.

Exploring the US-Europe-Turkey triangle

by **Nathalie Tocci**

The vice-director of the *International Affairs Institute* believes it is necessary to instil new life into Ankara's EU accession process, so as to overcome the difficult ongoing opacity and standstill. There is a thriving commitment for change in Turkey. Regrettably, the absence of a European umbrella initiative has contributed to the rupture of the alliance between the Liberals and the government's *Justice and Development* Party, which largely endorsed the country's reform process. EU hesitations risk undermining the credibility of accession negotiations as well as the very credibility of the Union as a whole. Turkey represents a great opportunity given its geographic location; an important junction of precious energy sources. Its secular, moderate political establishment would constitute an opportunity for addressing multifarious challenges at global level, thus stepping up the Atlantic Alliance: the US could help reconcile the country's "Europeanness" with its trans-regional nature.

A demographic resource for Europe

by **Andrea Furcht**

Turkey is the seventeenth most populated country in the world. In 1950 the country's mortality and birth rates were still high. However, both rates rapidly started to decrease since. Moreover, Turkey is completing its modernization process also in terms of demography. According to UN forecasts that cover the period until 2050, within forty years we will reach the threshold of 100 million inhabitants, especially because of the "demographic inertia" in the transition dynamics. But today Turkey enjoys its "golden" time of working-age population, which would enable the EU to account for – albeit temporarily – its increasing population ageing. The debate on accession is greatly influenced by the demographic burden of the country, which, in case of accession, would become the most populated EU member state. As regards the migration problem, according to scholarly views, immigration flows would decrease if Turkey became an EU country.

FACT SHEET/ *Turkey's reform process according to Brussels*

The 2010 European Commission Report highlights the circumstances of the reforms promoted by Turkish authorities and analyses the progress as regards all thirty-three EU-accession chapters.

A secular mix of history involving Byzantium, Istanbul and Western Europe

Europe's Ottoman roots?

by **Luca Berardi**

According to Naples' 'Orientale University' scholar, in the becoming of modern Europe the Ottoman presence was not without influence. For five centuries a common identity was shaped on the basis of opposition to the Ottoman Empire. But despite this ideal exclusion from Europe, starting in the 16th century the Empire played a critical role in the emergence of the political and economic asset of the Old Continent.

The Vatican and the Ottoman Empire in the years from the 19th to the 20th century

by **Giorgio Del Zanna**

In the course of the 19th century the Ottoman Empire, which was marked by multiethnic and multi-religious cohabitation, served as the battlefield of European colonialist powers. At internal level the Balkan populations' centrifugal nationalization thrusts, based on a territorial State-nation model that mirrored the European model, acted as disestablishing forces. The crisis of the Sublime Door was the result of this twofold disestablishing internal thrust, which affected its modernization process since the first decades of the 19th century. The Ottoman reality was an original area of religious pluralism. Its religious communities were thus affected by the changes that invested the Empire. The *Tanzimat*, the reform era that began in the first decades of the 19th century, acknowledged in principle the equality of all subjects, without confessional distinctions. In that same century also the Catholic Church showed a renewed interest for the Ottoman world. The Mediterranean was an area of primary importance for its ties with the Holy Land and the Biblical accounts. But the interest for the Eastern world was also linked to the presence of a number of Catholic churches of Eastern rite and by the "Uniate"

communities, a product of missionary zeal. In the 19th century the Catholic Church rediscovered her universal vocation and the Ottoman area was also viewed as a “land of mission”. Against the new protagonism of *Tzarist*, Orthodox Russia, Vatican intervention was aimed at bringing the Ottoman Orthodox Church back to the communion with Rome, through an “Oriental policy”. The Holy See and the Sublime Door were tasked with reducing European powers’ interference as well as that of their religious protectorates. With the Russian-Ottoman war, ensuing the Tzarist victory, Rome was called to address the Petersburg’s Panslavist designs with the conviction that the destinies of the entire European continent were at stake in Istanbul. The Ottoman system was to be preferred to ethnic-religious nationalisms that emerged in the Balkans and the breaking up of the Empire left an unbridgeable void.

The Italians of Constantinople-Istanbul
by **Rinaldo Marmara**

The first Italian colonies in the Byzantine Empire, motivated by commercial reasons, laid the grounds for the establishment of the Levantine Community of Constantinople. People arriving from Amalfi, Venice, Genoa and Pisa – the Maritime Republics – settled down in Constantinople along with West-European populations from other areas such as Ancona, Ragusa, Florence, Provence, Spain and Germany. In 1082 the concession of the first Venetian quarter marked the beginning of the Italian colonies. When in 1261 Michael VIII Paleologos, Emperor of Nicaea, recovered Constantinople from the Latin Empire’s short-lived rule, increasing numbers of Genovese settled down in the city. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 led to the destruction of the Levantine/Latin community of the Byzantine Empire. Since then, the Latin community - which until that moment consisted of foreigners with different nationalities - was reformed around the Ottoman Latins and the foreign Latins who defined themselves with the term Levantines. Mehmet II put an end to the Roman Empire of Orient. The Sultan conceded the Genovese of Galata privileges, which for over four centuries were to constitute the juridical basis of the Latin Community, regulating their religious rites and the preservation of the churches. From the mid 19th century till

the beginning of the 20th century the Latin Community of Constantinople experienced its apogee.

Genesis and transformation of Turkish Islam

From anti-systemic to systemic: the transformation of Turkish Islam
by **Gönül Tol**

The director and founder of the *Centre for Turkish Studies* at the *Middle East Institute* in Washington DC, challenges the essentialist, monolithic interpretation of Islamism, viewed as an unchangeable trans-historical phenomenon. Indeed there exist multifarious forms of Islam, that constitute the expression of specific socio-political contexts with different readings of the text and of the tradition. Notably, Turkish Islamism has always opposed Islamist movements in the Middle East and has not produced terrorism. Instead, it took part in the democratization process and entered a post-Islamist era, relinquishing anti-Western rhetoric speech and interiorizing democratic rules. The so-called “State Islam” created by Kemalism was aimed at subordinating religion to the establishment and at marginalizing popular Islam. In 1960 a coup d'état created a new political realm. In 1969 Necmettin Erbakan founded the *National Order Party* (MNP). The Constitutional Court ruled its closing in 1971. The new NWM Islamist party (*Millî Görüş, the National Vision Movement*) adopted a political agenda that opposed State secularism, considered to be against religion. With the third Millî Görüş Party Islamism became an important player in Turkey's political scenario, but in 1997 the Constitutional Court decided that it violated the secular constitutional system and ruled its cancellation. The AKP Party, founded in 2001, relinquished anti-Western rhetoric speech of the NWM tradition and embraced democratization, human rights, as well as the right to the freedom of worship, speech, and political organization, highlighting the ontological priority of individual rights, in manifest contrast with the Islamist identification in the Koran. Thus Turkish Islamism turned into a centrist political party through interaction with Kemalist ideology. The growth of AKP well represents the current post-Kemalist and post-Islamist phase of Turkish politics. Its Communitarian-liberal synthesis combines the free market and the values of the community, religious tenets with secularism, the local and the global spheres.

Muslim political parties in Republican Turkey

by **Michelangelo Guida**

The author briefly retraces the history of Muslim political parties in Turkey starting with the constitutional period (1908-1919), which marked the birth of Turkey's major political ideologies – and most of those in the Middle-Eastern region. Here are described the complex dynamics of a political process that has led to the instalment of the country's present government. After the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) a positivist current emerged, whose goal was to reform society as well as the Ottoman Empire from a secular angle. Such current prevailed and it inspired the creation of the Kemalist movement, which took the lead in 1925, implementing radical secular reforms. The positivistic current was opposed by the Muslim fringe, which intended to sustain State reforms in agreement with Islamic principles. Moreover, the Kemalist regime was determined to eliminate religious reference from public discourse whilst undertaking a reform of Islam, namely, a form of laicism whereby religion was controlled by the State. In the second half of the 1940s new Muslim movements emerged. Intellectuals such as Nurettin Topçu and Necip Fazıl Kısakürek were the inspirers of the present political class. These new conservatives were influenced by the French culture between the two wars and by Sufism, the mystic current of Islamism. Necmettin Erbakan, founder of the first Muslim-inspired MNP Party (*National Order Party*) was widely acclaimed. He openly criticized the Kemalist institutions along with the Country's widespread laicism, criticised for having marginalized religious discourse, to the benefit of the political, economic and cultural élites. After the coup d'état in 1971, which caused the dissolution of MNP, followed by another in 1980, Turgut Özal took office as president of the Republic in 1991. The return of Erbakan followed suit, and after alternating fortunes he founded the *Happiness Party* (SP). In the congress of May 2000 a group of innovators led by Abdullah Gül and by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan sought to assume the lead of the new party and decided to found the *Justice and Development Party* (AKP). The "green" business (with entrepreneurs from Anatolia) required a moderate political movement inspired by liberal pragmatism, avoiding clashes with the Kemalist establishment. This led to the birth of movements such as

the one headed by Fethullah Gülen, an open organization that is dedicated to (private) education with a network of entrepreneurs committed in the implementation of political stability. The AK Party, of which Erdoğan - elected Prime Minister in 2002 - became the leader, incorporated these new forces and the related innovative thrust. His is a moderate - albeit conservative - movement aimed at establishing good relations with the European Union and solving all issues with Turkey's bordering countries. The *AK Party* has promoted a program of political and economic liberalization, which prompted the country's major economic development. Indeed, liberalization policies have promoted Islam's visibility in the public arena stepping up the role of civil society, media freedom as well as foreign relations, with a conservative middle-class that calls for the implementation of market economy and democratic freedoms.

An added value at global level

Inter/view

Ahmet Davutoğlu/*The interpretation of a great role in the region and in the world*

In the opinion of Foreign Minister Davutoğlu Turkey must adequately contribute to the ongoing historical process, in the awareness of the role and responsibility ascribed by its ancient history and its peculiar geographic collocation. In fact, Turkey is currently experiencing its most intense Westernization period since the *Tanzimat*. Its foreign policy is rooted within a "deeply historical" background; namely, through the tool of dialogue, through the recognition of the rule of law, freedom and security, it aims to create a peaceful atmosphere of cooperation with bordering countries and across a large regional area. "Security for everyone", "high-level political dialogue", "cultural harmony" and "economic interdependence" are the pillars of this aspiration and its policy, which is designed to integrate the contribution of global players. The use of diplomatic seats, with efficient diplomatic activity, is a fundamental part of such a far-reaching policy for the creation of a "new Turkey". It's the accomplishment of a "zero-problems-with-neighbours" policy that is yielding precious fruits throughout the entire region, stepping up stability along with commercial and economic interdependence. The ultimate goal is to create a

large area where peace and wellbeing prevails, for the defence and the revival of universal values. EU adhesion is a sacrosanct choice. Greater involvement in the Middle East and in the Caucasus will give greater strength to the Union. Multilateral and multidimensional foreign policy is turning Turkey into a global player, bound to become a cornerstone of regional and global peace.

A political axis focused on liberal values

by **Ramazan Gözen**

The dean of the Faculty of Economy of the University of Abant in his articulated essay illustrates the informative principle of Turkey's foreign policy, marked in the last period by determined activism. The area of interest of such policy has extended from a regional and continental dimension to a global one. Turkey is addressing internal and international problems with liberal tools, employing diplomatic, juridical, political and economic instruments, notably through dialogue, negotiation and cooperation at international level. The dynamism of Turkey's foreign policy has transformed the country into a global player, capable of giving a decisive contribution to important processes with the motto: "problem resolution through peace." Cultural, historical and civil principles of brotherhood are employed in the Country's relations with Islamic nations. Two main events have determined Turkey's foreign policy activism. These are: September 11 2001 and the government election of the *AK Parti*. Turkey enjoys the esteem of the Western world for its adhesion to NATO and to EU values, for the exercise of democracy and for having adopted a capitalistic form of economy, for the reform process it has undertaken and for the practice of a secular and moderate Islam. In the light of all this, it is widely believed that Turkey could play a significant role in promoting the dialogue between the East and the West, as well as between Islam and Christianity. An important role is ascribed to AKP, notably for its openness to liberal values. And although it isn't an Islamic political party it welcomes cultural Islam whilst opposing all forms of radicalism and terrorism. The activism of Turkish foreign policy is mainly due to the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who gave renewed thrust to EU accession as well as to the negotiations with the US and with Iraq. Davutoğlu's "strategic profoundness" vision, extended to the

entire region, has equally provided a significant contribution to the country's development. His political approach aims at providing renewed impetus to democratization and reform processes, triggered by accession talks, and conceived also for evident economic – and security - reasons. Thus cooperation relationships were developed with all neighbours and at regional level, according to the well-known “zero problems” criteria, to the benefit of rapprochement and pacification without losing track of the ties with the US, the EU and the global actors. As relates to its international responsibilities, Turkey has undertaken significant initiatives in its capacities as temporary member of the UN Security Council from 2009 to 2011. Turkey has always acted on the basis of international agreements for peaceful resolutions. The dialogue with the US is ongoing, but Turkey will continue “criticising the allies’ mistakes” rooted within Western culture, by “insisting on the truth”. As should happen in Eastern culture.

Ahmet Davutoğlu and the role of religion in Turkey's foreign relations

by **Luca Ozzano**

According to the author the claim that the foreign policy of Erdoğan is directly linked to religious motivations is wrong. It is equally evident that Islamic culture and Islamic religion play a fundamental role in the vision of the world and in the concept of international relations which includes the role that Turkey could play in contemporary society. This concept recovers possession of the Ottoman heritage, going beyond the paucity of a Nation-State based on ethnicity, advocating that the Country could act as a major regional and global power in the framework of a Western society with an uncertain, faded identity.

The realistic and non-ideological nature of Turkey's Middle-Eastern policy

by **Stefano Torelli**

A large number of observers wrongly believe that Turkey's foreign policy has undertaken a no-return journey towards oriental and Muslim realities, departing from the European Union once and for all. Moreover, such an analysis doesn't take into due account a series of factors that compelled Turkey to review its foreign policy, which doesn't entail a change in strategies or alliances. In fact, the new framework

is conceived at tactical level, and not against Western interests. And it could even serve to achieve the goals set by Turkey and Europe, involving the entire region. With the end of the Cold War and the creation of a new global order, one of the objectives of Turkey's foreign policy has been to preserve regional stability, critical to the achievement of yet another goal, namely, to become an hegemonic player in the Middle-Eastern region and act as the interlocutor of the Western world from a position of strength. It's a cliché to believe that the rapprochement of Syria and Iran, considered the two regional players that are most hostile to the West, stems from the ideology of a government party, since that policy began years ago and thus Erdoğan's government, wrongly viewed as excessively pro-Islamist, cannot be held accountable. Rather, the reasons are to be found in pragmatic and realistic considerations given a no longer bipolar context. The new doctrine of Turkey's foreign policy, the so-called "in-depth strategy", aims at creating a balance between security and democracy whilst establishing an area of influence along its borders. With the cooperation of Ankara the EU and the West could implement a more effective policy in the Middle-Eastern region.

Turkey and Israel: an alliance in the doldrums

by **Valeria Talbot**

ISPI researcher describes the gradual deterioration in Turkey-Israel relations, with disagreements that had emerged already before the Israeli attack on the humanitarian flotilla aimed at forcing the Gaza blockade on May 31st 2010. There has been a fissure in the bilateral relations, which at present appears hard to mend. The Middle Eastern context has changed as compared to the mid 1990s and the changes occurred at regional level have had considerable repercussions on the relations between the two countries. Turkey's policy, aimed at redefining its role at regional level and in the bipolar context through commitment and dialogue with all countries in the area, is targeted at the implementation of stability and economic integration. The Israeli approach, viceversa, has remained anchored at the defence of the national territory and at its neighbours' hostility.

An economic policies workshop at the doors of the European Union

A growing economy in the midst of three continents

by **Hakki Akil**

The ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Italy provides a detailed account of the country's economic take-off. Turkey is here depicted as the large workshop of a relentlessly flourishing economy. Its peculiar geographic location, in a universe interspersed with three continents, inspired a political initiative aimed at creating stability; pursuing important objectives with the incessantly reiterated inalienable value of democracy and peace. The 16th greatest world economy, the 6th in Europe, has been recognised as the one recovering at the greatest speed amidst OECD countries in a period of widespread serious economic crises. Relevant data regarding business volume, and the ability to attract investments abroad, testify to the serenity, stability, and establishment of the Rule of Law that ensued. The ambassador points out that the commercial regulations of his Country, which joined the Customs Union of the EU already sixteen years ago, comply with EU standards. He describes the acceleration of the country's privatization process along with the innovative reform of the banking system that is attracting foreign investors. But Turkey is also an important geopolitical intersection with the existing gas pipeline and the one under construction that make it a precious partner in European energy policies. Indeed, some problems still need to be solved. But with optimism it is expected that by 2023, in the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, such problems will be solved. And the European friends must attentively consider this.

Ankara's stock market: the financial hub of a region

by **Alessandro Volpi**

Turkey understood as an emerging country, a workshop of unconventional economic policies at the gateway to the European Union. The major contribution to Turkey's revival after a harsh recession is the reconstruction of public finances that took place under the determining direction of the *International Monetary Fund* and of the government, through the reduction of debt implemented with a massive privatization process. The decision of the Turkish central Bank to adopt a fluctuating exchange system; the adoption of anti-inflation targets after having replaced the lira with a much stronger currency; the innovative reform of the banking system; the adoption of tools and products closely

linked to real economy which - according to the government – are capable of limiting financial volatility with initiatives that combine Islamic finance and large international banks. Observers maintain that the IMF has undergone an innovative process that encompassed public intervention and monetary policies aimed at addressing difficulties bound to emerge with the financial crisis of sovereign debts that came to the fore after 2008. Turkey is also a fundamental geopolitical junction with its gas pipeline system and its water resources. The flow of foreign investments thus should not have a merely speculative trait.

New commercial routes and extra-European strategies for a growing economy

by **Vittorio Da Rold**

In the analysis of the correspondent of the Italian daily *Il Sole 24 Ore* Ankara's "neo-Ottoman" policy is extending its glance to Asia, identified as the elective place for Turkey's interests. The author underlines the increasing business relations with Syria, Iran, Iraq and Kazakhstan. With a seemingly everlasting and unsuccessful adhesion process, the prospect of EU adhesion appears hazy when compared to the changes that Turkey has implemented in the area of foreign policy and in the economy. It is therefore necessary for the EU to resume political initiatives with Turkey and that adhesion negotiations continue efficiently so as not to lose Ankara's precious contribution.

Roots and evolution of Turkey's energy policy

by **Carlo Frappi**

Turkey is at the centre of a complex system of regional infrastructures whereby energy diplomacy has become a tool for dialogue with other interlocutors in the area. With its energy policy strategy, during the course of the 1990s it aimed to act as a point of reference for countries in the Caucasus and in central Asia, which emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, with the objective of Russian and Iranian containment. Today, economic interdependence and energetic cooperation are the tools for political rapprochement between traditionally enemy countries. Moreover, the creation of a North-South energy corridor, wanted by AKP governments, provides to the European Union a further possibility of hydrocarbon

purveyance while benefiting the stabilization policies promoted by Ankara.

Cyprus: beyond resentment, a federal solution

For Cyprus, a shared, equal and long-lasting solution

by **Derviş Eroğlu**

That of Cyprus is a yet unsolved question, although it's on the political agenda of the international community, and despite the United Nations' attempts and bilateral negotiations between the two sides of the island. According to the president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Eroğlu, the real obstacle to an equal and long-lasting solution to the crisis is represented by the intolerant and maximalist positions of the Greek-Cypriots. Turk-Cypriots underline that an overall resolution agreement must have the status of EU primary legislation, so as to prevent amendments in future appeals. The President of Northern Cyprus in his article recalls that the proposals for a Turk-Cypriot solution have been welcomed by the United Nations. He underlines that the right to development is a universal, inalienable right. It's a fundamental right that includes the right to equal trade. The Secretary General of the United Nations in his report to the UN Security Council on May 28 2004, submitted a request calling for the abolition of Turk-Cypriots' isolation claiming that the Turk-Cypriots' pro-unification vote "annuls any rational motivations ... to keep them under pressure and isolate them." The President's hope is to reach a just solution for peace, security and for the wellbeing of the island and of the entire East-Mediterranean region.

The island of Mars

by **Pietro Paolo Amato**

Senator Amato retraces the story of an ever-contended island under foreign rule that terminated with the end of Britain's control. The first upheavals for self-determination broke out at the end of the 1940s, but the yearning for independence was integrated by the «enosis» ideology, namely, the union with Greece. The rhetorical cult of "Greekness" divided the Cypriots and in fact, the dispute triggered the conflict that ensued, which involved the two communities after the Country's independence from the United Kingdom in 1960. The civil war was interrupted by the arrival of UN peace

forces, which imposed a ceasefire that lasted until 1974. In that year Athens' Regime of the Colonels gave its support to a Greek-Cypriot coup d'état, with the objective of uniting Cyprus and Greece. Turkey's military intervention, the occupation of the northern part of the island, was to be viewed as a guarantee. The "green line" boundary divided the island and the capital in two areas. In 1983 the Turkish-Cypriot community founded the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. In 2003 the Annan Plan envisaged the fusion of two autonomous States in one common State: "The United Republic of Cyprus". The European Union thus asked the two communities to ratify the Plan with a referendum, and without awaiting for the results, granted accession to the Republic of Cyprus and to the Greek-Cypriot community (which, conversely from the Turk-Cypriots, had rejected the plan) as the representative of the entire island, which triggered the latter's outraged reaction. Negotiations resumed only in 2008 with the purpose of creating a federal State with two autonomous regions and with a sole sovereignty, respectful of the identity of each community. Since then, at the 2010 Geneva Summit Eroğlu pragmatically proposed a federal State solution, taking the cases of Switzerland and Belgium as models, with an undefined agenda. But it all remained unspecific. For the author of the article a second solution could be followed, acknowledging that there are two peoples and two states, with the recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the ensuing EU accession.

Three scenarios for a time-honoured conflict

by **Ahmet Sözen**

According to the director of the *Cyprus Policy Center*, the solution to the question of Cyprus was not found in order to prevent other more relevant issues to be solved, notably Turkey's EU adhesion. It's a crisis that has distant origins and which is marked by a yearning for dialogue and peace that is constantly threatened by closures and misunderstandings, until the current standstill and the isolation of the Northern Republic of Cyprus. The bi-communal Republic of Cyprus, established in 1960, was a "functional federation" system with which the two communities shared the Republic's powers and responsibilities. Thereafter the Greek-Cypriot ruling class sought to reduce the Turk-Cypriot co-founders to a minority

presence with the use of Greek-Cypriot militia forces. Thus in 1964 the UN sent a peace force - UNFICYP - to Cyprus, where it has remained to date. Professor Sözen envisages three possible scenarios. The first, the “Belgium” solution, provides for an agreement based on UN parameters for a bi-zone and bi-communal federation founded on the political equality of the two parties, with a common government. But it might happen that after some time the communities consider a common government an overpowering engagement and decide to split in two separate States. This is the so-called “Czech” scenario: a divorce with civil relations under EU umbrella. In the second scenario, namely, in case the Greek-Cypriot side abandoned the negotiations, the “federation” would cease being the model solution; the links between Northern Cyprus and the rest of the world would thus become normal and stronger, but without a formal recognition, with a «taiwanization». The «Kosovar scenario» would imply for the TRNC to be recognized by certain States, but as in the case of Kosovo it wouldn't be a UN member State (Russia and other countries in fact wouldn't recognize it). Scenario number three refers to the possibility for the Turkish side to abandon the negotiating table. In this case Turkey-EU relations might be frozen and Turkish-Cypriots would remain isolated with the risk of a «Middle-Eastern” scenario and the “Islamization” of Turkey. The last scenario, the “darkest” one, is also the least possible one, but it must be taken into due account in order to be prevented. If Turkey were distant from the EU it would be less motivated in its national reforms process and it wouldn't succeed in being a model of democracy for “post-” Tunisia.

Profiles of international legality in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

by **Giampiero Buonomo**

The political response offered by the Annan Plan was rejected. Negotiations need momentum to enable the entire population of Cyprus to relinquish past resentment and confrontations. The members of the Turkish-Cypriot community cannot continue being considered as international pariahs.

Does the European Union wish to die in Northern Cyprus? by **Maurizio Turco**

Political incapacity and mala fides, according to the MP of the Radical Party, preserved Cyprus' barrier after the island's EU accession with the exclusion of the Northern part of the Country where the Turkish minority lives. It is necessary to overcome historical recrimination and pursue the objective of a Republic with two communities with full rights, the Turkish-Cypriot community and the Greek-Cypriot community. The author retraces the known episode of the Annan Plan and the referendum held in 2004 in Cyprus. He provides a detailed account of the debate at the European Parliament that took place in the days before the referendum, highlighting the widespread delusion and regret for the Greek-Cypriot leadership's failure to carry out a public-awareness campaign on the targets of the Plan, and for the fact that in their official statements there is no mention of peace and reconciliation between the two parties. Concern is conveyed for the Turkish-Cypriot community and for its isolation. The EU's attitude in those circumstances was marked by naivety. Since then everything was in a deadlock. And Turkish-Cypriot citizens, according to the Republic of Cyprus that became a EU member state, should be contented with being a minority group. Thus they were deluded and betrayed. The proposed solution is a repeat referendum, as happened in the Irish Republic.

UNFICYP: another open wound inflicted to the European Union
by **Marco Perduca**

A clear analysis of the question of Cyprus understood as an open wound in the quest for global peace and security. For Senator Perduca the UNFICYP mission, established on March 4 1964, designed to ensure the respect of legality for war-prevention between the two parties, is anachronistic. On July 15 1974 there was an attempted coup d'état – with the support of Athens' government – aimed at annexing Cyprus to Greece. In response, Ankara's government sent its troops in defence of the Turkish-Cypriot community. The UN Security Council proclaimed a cease-fire, laying the grounds for negotiations between Greece, Turkey and Great Britain, which until then had guaranteed for the status quo between the two communities in Cyprus. After the armed clashes in 1974 the UNFICYP mandate was extended to supervise ceasefire lines maintaining a buffer zone, the so-called *Green line*. This was followed by the famous episode of the referendum for the ratification of the Annan Plan on April

24 2004, while on May 1st of the same year all of Cyprus became part of the EU. Moreover, the Greek part of the island was recognised as the sole legal representative of the entire island. Since then 250 thousand Turkish-Cypriot citizens live in a limbo as relates to their individual and collective rights, in a situation of economic isolation that contradicts international law. The United Nations and the EU should consider the possibility for the peacekeeping force to acts as an “international police force” enabling the de-militarization of the “Green Line” that divides the island. The modification of the mandate could pave the way to an authentic solution, which only dialogue and cooperation can ensure.

From the theory of national sovereignty to democratic reform

Inter/view

Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu/*Renewed thrust in CHP politics*

In this interview, the leader of the *People's Republican Party* (CHP) underlines his party's constant endorsement of the reform process initiated by Atatürk, marked by openness to change. Its political vision mirrors European understanding of social democracy, according to which the establishment of freedom and equality should draw its force from the population at large. Kılıçdaroğlu affirms that CHP - whose political view centers on the concept of “citizenship” - welcomes the possibility of establishing close relations with the EU and with the US, whereby Turkey would play a significant role for the affirmation of peace, human rights and democracy at global level. CHP leaders uphold the primary need for a Constitution that would guarantee and extend civil rights and fundamental freedoms. Such Constitution should be drawn up by means of democratic tools, involving all political parties and civil society as a whole. In the interview, President Kılıçdaroğlu also mentions the reform programme launched in his country's recent congress. CHP has conveyed its appreciation over a series of amendments to the Constitution contained in the reform package approved in the referendum of September 12 2010, while it rejects some articles which it considers detrimental to the judiciary's independence. It wasn't possible to express consent on favourable articles, as the vote regarded the reform package as a whole. As relates to the Kurdish question, CHP is committed in its support to the region, rejecting all forms of discrimination and social exclusion. The *People's Republican Party* won't fail to give its contribution to the creation of a Europe of peace along with all European social-democratic friends,

in the awareness that Turkey is a crucial resource for a strong European Union.

AKP and conservative democracy

by **Valeria Giannotta**

AKP, a non-identitarian and pragmatic party, is undoubtedly, according to the scholar, a democratizing force whose political program is based on a moderate form of reformism and cultural conservatism, linked to economic neo-liberalism and open to the European Union. It rejects political Islam and describes itself as a “democratic-conservative” party that supports the public visibility of religion and the neutrality of the State. AKP has been repeatedly accused of undermining the Kemalist principles underlying modern Turkey. Its main criticism regards the government’s anti-secular roots and the concern that liberal reforms may give excessive powers to the elected élite. AKP considers a political threat not *laiklik* (*laicism*), but rather the Kemalist state-centric traditions. The implemented reform process culminated with the positive outcome of the referendum of September 12 2010, that laid the foundations for amending 30 Constitutional Articles. But the opposition now fears religious and conservative deviations. The risk is the establishment of a superficial modernization process. Turkey’s politics must therefore be hinged on a truly democratic public apparatus that will implement the liberal concepts of modernity so as to prevent social polarization and dangerous extremisms.

Reform of the judiciary and democratization in Turkey

by **Ozan Erözden**

The democratization process includes the need for judicial reforms. In fact, the independence and the impartiality of the judiciary are part and parcel of the reform process. In the first stages of Turkey’s republican history the legal system triggered social transformations, modernization, westernization, and secularization on the basis of an absolutistic interpretation of national sovereignty, understood as a guiding principle at the outbreak of the fight for the nation’s independence. The secularist reform of the second half of the 1920s took this “legalist positivist” framework as its benchmark. But without a new understanding of legislation on human rights – which are beyond national sovereignty – it won’t be possible to

establish a democracy founded on the universal principles of the Rule of Law.

FACT SHEET/*From millî görüş to AKP democratizing force*

The difficult relationship between laicity, religion and politics in contemporary Turkey.

A richness in terms of civil society and minorities

The unsolved question of Turkey's identity

by **Nicola Melis**

Ottoman multiculturalism and universalism understood social belonging and political fidelity as corresponding to loyalty to the Sultan combined with a multi-national view, whereby one single organism represented various peoples. Only in the late 19th century the Turks were finally considered citizens of a state with a national territory. The Balkan wars (1912-13) brought about a major breakthrough. Nationalist ideologies inspired by the aggressive Germanic model were embraced and further upheld after the military defeats that ensued, culminated with the end of World War II. In 1923 was proclaimed the Republic of Turkey that owes its redefinition to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In the post-war period Anatolia witnessed a gradual but relentless process aimed at its “turkeyzation”. The *National Pact* stipulated that the areas inhabited by the “Ottoman Muslim majority” were part of a whole that couldn’t be divided, providing for the legal protection of minority groups. The regulation on minorities set down in the Lausanne Treaty (1923) was to become a juridical source that is still adopted today. But the reference to the Society of the Nations makes the regulation obsolete compared to current international standards. In fact, it refers to non-Islamic minorities: Armenians, Greeks and Jews. Those not mentioned in the Treaty were thus compelled to conceal their non-Turkish identity and language in the wake of a “Germanistic” ethno-racial policy: a secular, statist, Turcophone, Sunnite form of nationalism. Kurds, Armenians, Jews, Turcophones and other Balkan minorities, (along with a minority within other minority groups: the Alevis - extreme Shiite heretics -) according to a republican understanding underwent forced assimilation while all Islamic non-Turkish and non-Sunni minorities failed to be officially recognised and were subjected to forced “sunnization”. But now things are changing. The

“Kurdish question” is no longer considered a taboo. Also the “Armenian question” is now being debated from a more objective angle. Moreover, the murder of Hrant Dink, Armenian intellectual from Turkey, in 2007, marked a watershed in the debate on the Genocide. Much progress has been made since in the protection of minority groups. The EU adhesion process was a powerful catalyst of this renewed attitude.

A civil society in transition: the case of the *sivil toplum*
by **Laura Tocco**

In this essay Turkey’s civil society is highlighted as a multifarious, vital milieu. Those groups that opposed Ottoman rulership and called for the birth of a national State anticipated an upcoming change. Gradually, the *sivil toplum* concept (civil society) became part and parcel of democratic life with its considerable amount of movements, foundations, associations and organizations. It provides ongoing thrust for growth to institutions, in a free and open environment that is open to the challenges of democracy.

A historical complex realm of cultural synergisms

Inter/view

Elif Şafak/*Culture must create bridges*

Turkey is a unique reality in the Muslim world, endowed with a phenomenal capacity to change – points out the Turkish writer. And it is also a “melting pot.” Moreover, a large number of Turkish women and youths look at the European Union with vivid interest. Notably, Turkish women should enjoy EU gender equality standards. Writers play a very important role in overcoming the barriers of prejudice, racism and fanaticism. The author mentions the works of Sufi, Jewish, Buddhist and Taoist mystics, emphasizing her deep interest for universal spirituality and her yearning for freedom. Turkey’s EU accession would say to the world that the existence of a Muslim majority country, marked by a modern, Western kind of democracy, is possible.

İpek Çalışlar/*Turkish women cherish a fervent yearning for change*

The writer and biographer mentions the first struggles for freedom of Turkish women in 1908, when Halide Edip Adıvar, a prominent Turkish intellectual who lived at the turn of the 20th century, founded the “Society for the Elevation of Women”, but was later prevented from being actively engaged in politics. However, a transformation is under way, and in the latest national elections the number of women MPs has doubled. Turkey has been thoroughly committed on the path of national reforms and renewal, aimed at fulfilling EU accession requirements. Now İpek Çalışlar fears that because of the absurd resistance of those harbouring an irrational hostility to EU adhesion, her fellow citizens may have lost all interest for Europe.

Turkey: a bridge or a cultural melting pot?

by **Emin Mahir Balcioğlu**

Professor Balcioğlu, ex-director of the Museum of Modern Art in Istanbul, describes the birth of the Turkish Republic, in 1923. Those were years of feverish activity in very difficult conditions. There was the need for a leap forward in the modernization and progress of a society marked by lingering backwardness. Significant initiatives were undertaken in the cultural realm, marked by the establishment of institutions such as the Opera House, symphonic orchestras, conservatories, theatres, museums and art schools. A flourishing middle class emerged, notably in the 1980s, and major investments were made in the cultural sector. The Biennial of Istanbul is now one of the most important contemporary art events. İstanbul is developing into a global metropolis, a major artistic centre with a remarkable art market for local and international artists. And contemporary Turkish art is becoming ever more acclaimed worldwide in spite of old-dated scepticism. Thus Turkey, with its historical complexity, provides major opportunities for cultural synergy and thus once more, it could represent the point of reference for South-Eastern Europe, for the Middle East and for the Caucasus.

FEATURES

European diary

The Turkish diaspora in Europe: a land of conquest for Islamists?

by **Luca Ozzano**

A distinguishing feature of Turkish immigrants in Europe is their strong sense of belonging to a community, with a homogeneous presence marked by ethnic, clan, religious and ideological bonds. Starting in the 1980s, Turkey's initiatives within those communities were aimed at countering the view of those movements wishing to undermine State integrity and laicity. A sort of competition thus developed between "official" mosques, with the proposal of a "moderate" Islam, and independent Islamic groups. With the emergence of Islamic terrorism, European authorities had reasons for concern. Immigrant associations were suspected of supporting terrorism. Such fears now appear to be ungrounded, as extremist groups are a stark minority in the framework of the overall immigrant population. The real problem in this case probably doesn't consist in the presence of extremists and religious dissidents, (or of other nature) among Europe's immigrant population, but in the fact that they would become the sounding-board for claims that cannot (or could not until a few years ago) be freely discussed or solved in their countries of origin, because of the limitations imposed by the constitution.

Daring Europe: if not now, then when?

By **Valter Coralluzzo**

The European integration process appears to be experiencing an involution. Prominent commentators have described it as an "elephant-like creature" that is distant from the global arena; a "sleeping power", "living in a lunar atmosphere"; a "melancholy Europe" marked by an ongoing asymmetry: ever closer economic integration is coupled by an ever weaker political integration. Adopting a common currency without stepping up political unity was absurd. The functionalist illusion was nourished. Accordingly, a currency without a State, such as the euro currency, would have encouraged the birth of the institutions needed for its governance. Enlargement took place almost automatically, without an information campaign that could prevent nationalist revivals and fears. The EU will be a true political union provided there is a founding agreement and a reform of its institutional framework, regardless of claims that defend religious cultural identity supposedly based on Christian roots. Europe precedes Christianity and contemporary Europe can only be secular, democratic and inclusive. Against a declining and marginal Europe it is

necessary to adopt a new paradigm: the return to the federal project conceived by Rossi and Spinelli with the creation of a federal budget. Not a Super-State, rather, a federation with a great vision of democracy and freedom.

Puck's notebook

EDMONDO DE AMICIS/*Costantinopoli*

CARLO MARSILI/Turkey knocking at the door

ORHAN PAMUK/The Black Book

ELIF ŞAFAK/Black Milk

ALL THE ISSUES OF DIRITTO E LIBERTÀ FROM THE FIRST TO ...

A special thanks to artist Bedri Baykam who has kindly given us permission to publish some of his works in this issue of *Diritto e Libertà*.