

TRT
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Closed Session

The Future of EU - Turkey Relations

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The TRT World Forum 2019, recognised as one of the most significant political events of the year, took place from October 21st- 22nd at the Istanbul Congress Center with over one thousand esteemed guests and panellists. Consisting of nine keynote speeches and exclusive talks, 12 public sessions, and 15 closed sessions this year's Forum succeeded in providing a platform for serious engagement with the most pressing challenges of our time. The themes of the sessions ranged from the rise of far-right terrorism, populism and nationalism, environmental issues, the future of the Middle East, trade wars, the future of the European Union and cooperation of emerging powers. Uniting all of these themes was a focus on the fragmented state of today's world and a sincere desire to offer meaningful solutions.

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Summary

EU-Turkey Relations since 1959

The future of EU- Turkey relations was discussed during the TRT World Forum in both public and closed sessions, from 22-23 October 2019. Approximately 40 participants were present, including experts, politicians, academicians and bureaucrats in the closed session. The speakers shared their own perspectives and experiences who came from different background as academic, diplomat, bureaucrat from both Turkish and European side. The relationship between the EU and Turkey first began with Turkey's application for membership to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959, a short time after the EEC's establishment in 1957. The main points of the session which addressed bilateral relations included the following: The Customs Union Agreement and its amendment; the Readmission Agreement; the situation involving immigrants; security; the rising far right and nationalism in Europe; and the state of mutual economic relations. The question of what should be done to maintain a

more advanced level of relations between Turkey and the EU was examined during the closed session. Moreover, the crisis between Turkey and the EU was one of the most important issues discussed during the session. Distinguished speakers and participants discussed the following topics during the session:

- Could the modernisation of the Customs Union agreement lead to progress in the improvement of EU-Turkey relations?
- EU-Turkey Refugee Cooperation and Visa Liberalisation Dialogue: What's next?
- What is the significance of Turkey toward EU security?
- What are alternative models for future cooperation between Turkey and the EU?
- What are the effects of Turkish and EU domestic politics on EU-Turkey relations?
- How do increasing nationalism and the far-right impact EU-Turkey relations?

Introduction

Progress in Relations

The historical background of EU-Turkey relations has often been debated. The first speaker began by emphasising the fact that EU-Turkey relations have been heavily discussed by both sides for at least fifty years. It was emphasised that the desired progress could not be achieved during this period. Turkey was given Candidate Country status by the EU in 1999 and the full membership negotiation pro-

cess began in 2005. This negotiation has lasted for 15 years.

Turkey made its first application to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959, only two years after the Treaty of Rome established the EEC. This application by Turkey, as a NATO member, was economic as well as strategic given the time period of the Cold War (Kuneralp, 2017). This application period was considered Turkey's first step into Europe, initiated by the Prime Minister of the time, Adnan Menderes

(Süleyman Demirel University, 2015). The EEC Council of Ministers, which accepted Turkey's application, proposed an Association Agreement to Turkey. The Agreement, which had the full name of 'Agreement Creating an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey', known as the Ankara Agreement, targeted full membership for Turkey but tried to sustain economic and cultural convergence. It created a three-stage plan which consisted of preparatory, transitional and final periods (Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Directorate for EU , 2020).

The Agreement, which had the full name of 'Agreement Creating an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey', known as the Ankara Agreement, targeted full membership for Turkey but tried to sustain economic and cultural convergence.

The purpose of the agreement was as follows: 'The aim of this Agreement is to promote the continuous and balanced strengthening of trade and economic relations between the parties, while taking full account of the need to ensure an accelerated development of the Turkish economy and to improve the level of employment and living conditions of the Turkish people' (European Parliament Delegations, 2020).

In the treaty, which was signed in 1963 and entered into force in 1964, Turkey had no obligations. With the Additional Protocol, which was signed in 1970 and came into force in 1973, the preparatory period had ended, and conditions were set for the Transitional Period. During the Transition Period, which was expected to last 22 years, the EEC unilaterally abolished the custom tax. During this period, the free movement of people, as well as industrial and agricultural products, was envisaged (Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Directorate for EU , 2020). As envisaged in the Additional Protocol in 1995, the Transition Period had ended and the Final Period stage had begun. The Customs Union therefore entered into force on 1 January 1996. In around 1999, a turning point in the relations between the EU and Turkey was also observed. As with other Candidate Countries, Turkey was given Candidate State status at the Helsinki Summit with equal rights. There were no pre-conditions, as with other Candidate States.

During the 2000s, the greatest transformation was observed in EU-Turkey relations. The initiation of accession negotiations took place on 3 October 2005. Unfortunately, since 2005, 16 out of 35 chapters have been opened for negotiations. Only the Science and Research chapter has been temporarily closed.

The Implications of the EU Project and Values in World Politics and Turkey

The European Union project caused an important change in the international political arena. This change was important in two ways. First, nations began to meet on a common basis and with common values, and there was establishment of supranational institutions. Second, if we consider a common dream, we can say that there emerged a European Dream, which took the place of the American Dream (Rifkin, 2013).

In this context, the second speaker mentioned that the European Union has been the most important peace project in the history of humanity, despite all of the problems which it has entailed. He emphasised that all the wars ended between the member states with the establishment of the EU. Wars within Europe had caused the death of millions of people for centuries. There has been no bloodshed among member states so far. It was pointed out that the most important factor has been the economic base, with common values created by the EU. The European market's enormous size contributed to an increased level of welfare and high per capita gross national product (GNP). A high quality of life was created in EU countries, and food, water and air quality added to the comfort of EU citizens. Furthermore, it was stated that one of the most important advantages was that EU citizens could travel freely within the Schengen Region without visas.

The example was given that the EU was a kind of personal trainer for Turkey. A personal trainer shows the way to better health, giving guidance about what to eat, what to drink, what sports to play and how many hours to sleep. In this context, the EU was going to give Turkey a sort of regimen to make the process go more smoothly: Increase democracy, embrace the idea of rule of law, promote freedom of speech, respect women, children and minority rights. This program had advantages for both Turkey and the EU.

First of all, Turkey has a population of 80 million and it has a young generation which will lead to a great market and human resources. Both parties might have had faults in the membership process, but the promises that were broken were significant in shaking trust in the relationship. Nevertheless, Turkey has been trying to continue with the membership process for sixty years; no other country has had to wait this long. The speaker compared today with the past and emphasised how the EU has repeated itself. He mentioned that arguments about Turkey's membership led by France's former President Sarkozy was the biggest challenge for Turkey. Also, General de Gaulle's rejection of the United Kingdom becoming a member had the same ideas. As a matter of fact, the situation with the UK is a case in point: Brexit. The discourse of rejection and strong critics has been ended with more problems.

According to the second speaker, Brexit opens up a new era in the history of the EU. This process will require the EU to undergo a transformation within itself. The second speaker indicated that Turkey is the only

Both parties might have had faults in the membership process, but the promises that were broken were significant in shaking trust in the relationship.

country with which the EU has negotiated alternative membership proposals, and this has never been seen before in the history of the EU. Furthermore, he added that every country which has been carrying on membership negotiations has become a member of the EU, and there is no other alternative.

According to the second speaker, at this point member states are questioning their membership, and this will require the EU to restructure itself. Today, the central decision-making process cannot be continued where the EU is involved. Some member states are a part of the Eurozone, and some are not. In addition, supranational structure of EU for defense and security has been opposed by many. This situation requires the EU to concentrate on alternative memberships and to find ways to reduce the Brussels bureaucracy. Alternative membership models should be created for countries such as Iceland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Norway. It is necessary to draw lessons from the mistakes of the past and to look for future opportunities.

The speaker referred to the immigration crisis, mentioning that all sides share a multicultural obligation to prevent the war environment in Iraq and Syria from spiralling into increased human tragedy. Turkey and Germany have shown special effort in this regard. Turkey's care for four million immigrants clearly demonstrates the level at which Turkey and the EU share common values.

In recent years, the number of immigrants and refugees coming into the European Union has increased due to civil wars, environmental problems and globalisation. The traffic of immigrants, which started to be felt in 2013, reached its highest point in 2015 as a result of conflicts in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and South Asia. While the first places where migrants set foot in

Europe are Greece and Italy, the target countries are Northern Europe's welfare states, Germany and Sweden. The most important reasons why immigrants choose these countries are that they are economically strong, socially stable, they have experience with immigrants and they accept the most immigrants (Congressional Research Service, 2018).

The event known as Europe's Migration Crisis in the literature began with the doubling of the number of irregular migrants as immigrating to Greece via Turkey in 2015. The majority of irregular migrants consist of people fleeing the war in Syria. The advantage of this highway route is that it is available during all seasons of the year, in contrast to the Libyan route. The immigrant route through Libya can only be used if the weather makes sea conditions favourable. Although the EU has tried institutionally to find a solution to the immigrant problem, these efforts have been largely inconclusive (Parkes & Pauwels, 2017). The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) has criticised the EU for failing to implement a common immigration policy or a common asylum policy. The EESC stated that the Council and the Commission must force countries to comply with non-EU rules (Dimitriadis, 2018).

In February 2016, the EU decided to end the 'wave-through'¹ approach (European Commission, 2016). In addition, an 'Implementing Relocation'² policy has been adopted in order to distribute immigrants equally among EU countries, thereby relieving pressure on states such as Greece, Hungary and Italy (European Commission, 2016). According to the Common European Asylum System, any member of EU has the right to send an entering immigrant back to the country where he or she first stepped into the EU. However, it was not possible to implement this system when almost all of the immigrants entered the EU through

¹ Wave-through expresses mass migration from one place to another. Here mentioned the Mass-Migration to Europe via the Mediterranean and Balkan routes after the Syrian War. EU says: Most importantly, all Member States must commit to ending the 'wave-through' approach to those who indicate an interest in applying for asylum elsewhere. Those who are not in need of protection must be swiftly returned, in full respect of fundamental rights. (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-271_en.htm)

² Relocation means a fair allocation and placement of immigrants entering the EU into all member states after the country they entered.

Greece or Italy. Another EU measure has been to encourage immigrants not to come to the EU. In the face of the increase in the number of immigrants traveling through the Mediterranean Sea, the EU has warned that this journey is very dangerous and has initiated efforts to encourage potential immigrants to remain where they are. While EU member states received 562,680 asylum applications in 2014, this figure increased to 1,257,030 in 2015 and 1,204,280 in 2016. The majority of these applications were made from citizens of Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, respectively (Eurostat, 2017).

The most inclusive precaution taken by the EU towards the migrant refugee crisis is the Readmission Agreement. This Agreement was signed with Turkey on 16 December 2013 and partially enacted on 1 January 2014 (European Union, 2014). In 2015, when the refugee crisis doubled, the EU wanted Turkey to fully enact the Agreement. In accordance with the Joint Action Plan adopted on 29 November 2015 as a result

of negotiations, the Agreement was fully implemented on 1 June 2016 (Ekinci, 2017). Pursuant to this agreement, persons who enter an EU country via Turkey, or come to Turkey from an EU country, and who have no legal status to stay, must be turned back to their original location. The EU will have the right to return those without legal status to Turkey, including Turkish citizens, stateless or any other divided and conflict-based countries. The EU also agreed to accept one registered migrant from Turkey in exchange for each illegal migrant returned to Turkey, otherwise known as the One to One Agreement. In addition to this. The EU would provide Turkey with 3+3 billion Euros to support the migrants in Turkey, they would revive Turkey's membership process, and they would lift visa procedures for Turkish citizens. It was decided that 1.3 billion of the first 3-billion-euro portions from the EU would be spent on humanitarian aid, and 1.7 would be spent on education, health, municipal infrastructure, migration management and socioeconomic support projects.

The Issues with EU Enlargement Policies and Turkey

The EU's enlargement policy was also on the agenda of the session. It was emphasised that proceeding the membership process for some countries without resolving existing problems among EU members or Candidate Countries revealed a significant problem. The third speaker began the speech by emphasising that the Candidate Countries should first solve the problems that they have among EU members or Candidate Countries. In this context, it was stressed that the Southern Greek Cypriot Administration (GCASC), an EU member, was continuing to have problematic issues and was blocking Turkey's accession process.

In 2004, within the scope of Eastern Enlargement, the EU's biggest enlargement wave, the GCASC was made a member of the EU along with nine other countries. However, during the accession process of the GCASC, it was assumed that the GCASC represented the entire island of Cyprus, and it was given full membership (Pavlic, 2018) which undermines the rights of the Turkish part of Cyprus. Furthermore, the GCASC has been blocking the following six negotiation titles, including number of articles, by abusing its EU membership advantage against Turkey:

- 2) Free Movement of Workers
- 15) Energy
- 23) Judiciary and Fundamental Rights
- 24) Justice, Freedom and Security
- 26) Education and Culture
- 31) Foreign, Security and Defense Policy

The European Economic Community considered the conflict involving the GCASC as an 'internal problem of Cyprus' (TUIC Academy, 2011) during the first period when problems in Cyprus emerged. However, in 1981, Greece began to be more involved with EU membership (Rat der Europäischen Union, 2020). The Customs Union Treaty, signed in 1995, was expanded with an additional protocol after the EU's enlargement wave.

The third speaker underlined the fact that religion and culture hold an important place in Turkey's member-

The most important problem that Turkey encounters at this point is that the EU does not keep its promises to Candidate Countries.

ship process. The speaker also mentioned that the cooperation of the EU with Turkey during the immigration crisis of 2015 carried vital importance. He also highlighted that if the EU and Turkey moved together, this would open up new horizons for EU-Turkey relations. In this context, it was stated that the crisis should be turned into an opportunity. It was stressed that actions that Turkey must take for visa liberation are also necessary for the country itself.

With the signing of the Visa Liberation Dialogue Reconciliation Text and Readmission Agreement on 16 December 2013 in Ankara, the visa liberation talks formally began between the EU and Turkey. Pursuant to the Agreement, visa liberation for Turkey was expected to happen in 2018 following the Readmission Agreement. According to the Agreement, Turkish citizens holding biometric passports would have the opportunity to travel to the Schengen region for three months without a visa. Turkey should have fulfilled 72 articles of the Agreement, and Turkey has fulfilled 66 of them.

The third speaker, like his predecessor, underlined that membership alternatives should be developed. It was pointed out that mutual trust is very important for a more stable, safe and sustainable relationship. In an environment of mutual trust, relations can proceed more optimistically.

The most important problem that Turkey encounters at this point is that the EU does not keep its promises to Candidate Countries. This is because of EU internal policies and the right wing. The increasing strength of politicians and parties, especially those with extreme right speech, combined with an increase in immigration, contribute to important problems between the EU and Candidate Countries. The best examples of the EU turning back on its promises are Turkey, Macedonia and Albania. All three countries expect the promises which were made during the candidacy process to be fulfilled by the EU.

Disputed Approaches in EU – Turkey Relations

It has been observed that there are different approaches toward EU-Turkey relations. Although conditions and criterias for EU membership are given as reasons, the speeches of some politicians in the EU, especially from the far-right, which is now at the centre of political activity in many European countries, have created prejudice against Turkey and its culture. The slow membership process, despite the fulfilment of criteria, has created a negative view in the eyes of society as well as among bureaucrats. In addition to the trust issue, it was stated that an important stage in economic relations between the EU and Turkey has now come into question. Despite all of the difficulties which have occurred, it was emphasised that the EU has been a significant project for peace. The speaker, who mentioned that his own family had also been affected by the European wars of the past, reiterated that Europe is now engaged in its most significant peace project.

In addition, the fifth speaker, who highlighted that Turkish students who participate in programs like Erasmus should also be allowed to obtain visas. These students are sometimes forced to forfeit some time in the programmes for which they are enrolled. The purpose of the Erasmus programme is to allow students to gather and learn about various languages and cultures. However, cultural convergence is interrupted when some students must wait to enter Europe and deal with many questions in order to obtain their visas. Although businesspeople who are EU citizens do not require visas to enter Turkey, Turkish businesspeople must still obtain visas. This does not coincide with the principle of Equality. The speaker particularly emphasised that there will be no visa requirement for Turks due to the Association Agreement.

One speaker underlined that economic relations are the most important ties between Turkey and the EU and that the Customs Union Agreement establishes the foundation for these relations. He also stated that the Customs Union Treaty was signed on the basis of

a full membership perspective. The abnormal amount of time that it has taken for Turkey to become a member has made it difficult for the Customs Union Agreement to be adapted to today's requirements. According to the Customs Union Agreement, Turkey must accept the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) made by the EU with third countries. However, those third countries do not need to sign FTAs with Turkey. Therefore, those third countries who have signed FTAs with EU countries, but not with Turkey, have created a unilateral disadvantage for Turkey (World Bank, 2014).

In addition, even though Turkey may not contribute to decisions made by the EU, it is required to abide by the agreements which the EU mandates. Turkey is not allowed to sign additional agreements with other countries without permission from the EU. Furthermore, the Customs Union Agreement covers only industrial products and processed agricultural products. Turkey has demanded that the Customs Union Treaty should be updated as described below: (Dünya, 2016)

- Turkey should be allowed to take advantage of the treaties signed by the EU with other third countries
- Turkey should be allowed to take part in the decision-making mechanisms of the Customs Union
- There should be mutual expansion of agricultural production, services and public procurements
- There should be removal of highway quotas and free passage for drivers

At the time the Customs Union Agreement was signed, Turkey was still a developing economy. Today, however, Turkey is the 19th largest economy in the world (International Monetary Fund, 2020; Statistics Times, 2020). In the report about updating the Customs Union of 2014, the World Bank revealed that the agreement between Turkey and the EU was a unique and leading effort, indicating that the scale of trade

between Turkey and the EU had enlarged very quickly during the previous 20 years. In addition, it was emphasised that the Treaty, which made an enormous contribution to bilateral relations during the previous period, included designed deficiencies in the global economic order. Considering the fact that the EU has undergone waves of expansion since the 1995 Customs Union Treaty, including the 2004 enlargement, the World Bank indicated that the Treaty should be updated. It was emphasised that the expansion of the Customs Union to cover agriculture and services necessary in order to increase trade volume. It was therefore expressed that the asymmetric arrangement in the decision-making mechanism should be corrected (World Bank, 2014).

The fourth speaker highlighted the key role of economic relations, stating that in the past 20 years, mutual economic ties have progressed on very solid ground. Economic relations between Turkey and the EU, despite ups and downs in the political arena, are showing a rising trend in momentum. Turkey is the EU's fifth most important trade partner. With the amount of approximately 100 billion euros in 2008, the EU-Turkey trade volume amounted to around € 153.4 billion in 2018. While the EU exports machinery, transport materials and chemical products, Turkey is also exporting these same goods to the EU. Turkey exports 50% of its total exports to the EU. The amount of EU-Turkey trade is 4% of the EU's total trade (European Commission, 2020).

Direct investments make up an important part of EU-Turkey commercial relations. In 2017, EU countries contributed 67% of the direct investments made in Turkey. Of the top 10 countries, 7 are EU member states. The foreign investments of these 7 countries make up 51% of the foreign direct investments made in Turkey (International Investors Association, 2018). The reasons why the EU makes foreign investments in Turkey can be listed as follow: Turkey has advantages as it is on the border of the EU, making transportation easy; Turkey has a young working class; the value of the euro compared to the Turkish lira is advantageous for trade; Turkey generates trust due to political sta-

bility; and facilities are provided for foreign investors.

The fifth speaker also emphasised the Customs Union (CU). Turkey does not see the CU as a target, but as a means of settling commercial activities with the EU on a solid and safe basis. The CU itself is not seen as a process or a stage; it is the third and last step taken by Turkey in order to get closer to the EU. Indeed, the aim of the Association Agreement is not the Customs Union, but full membership for Turkey. Being part of the Association Agreement and the Customs Union allowed Turkey to rise to a level where it could compete with other EU countries in terms of economy and trade. In the meantime, Turkey has to come to a sufficient level where it can compete with EU countries. It has reached a competency level which is greater than expected. However, the visa obstacle interferes with Turkey's ability to compete with EU countries. When Turkish businesspeople want to attend fairs or simply need to make a business trip, they face a bureaucratic process which decreases their motivation and causes losses in time and money.

On the other hand, it is underlined that the EU has made decisions on the behalf of Turkey under the scope of the Customs Union, but it did not ensure that Turkey would be included in the decision-making mechanism. The speaker mentioned the issue that Turkish people have contributed 500 million euros to the diplomatic representatives of EU countries for visas during the last eight years; on the other hand, Turkey does not require visas for citizens of EU countries. If it is considered that the EU has required visas from Turkish citizens for the past 30 years, the numbers become enormous. It was also mentioned that this is an injustice. The speaker mentioned that the EU Court of Justice decided that the EU should not require visas from Turks, especially in the 'Soysal Case' (Euractiv, 2009). He stated that the visa fees received were illegal and that they should have been returned. The European Commission, which is obliged to implement the decision of the Court of Justice, has not implemented the decision. The EU is expected to respect the decision of the Court of Justice and implement the decision regarding visas. However, this has not hap-

Total Goods: EU Trade Flows and Balance

Period	Imports			Exports			Balance	Total Trade
	Value Mio €	% Growth	% Extra-EU	Value Mio €	% Growth	% Extra-EU	Value Mio €	Value Mio €
2007	47,378		3.3	52,830		4.3	5,451	100,208
2008	46,288	-2.3	2.9	54,476	3.1	4.2	8,188	100,764
2009	36,446	-21.3	3.0	44,486	-18.3	4.1	8,040	80,932
2010	43,062	18.2	2.8	61,929	39.2	4.6	18,867	104,991
2011	48,820	13.4	2.8	73,336	18.4	4.7	24,516	122,156
2012	48,822	0.0	2.7	75,491	2.9	4.5	26,669	124,314
2013	50,657	3.8	3.0	77,624	2.8	4.5	26,966	128,281
2014	54,409	7.4	3.2	74,743	-3.7	4.4	20,333	129,152
2015	61,696	13.4	3.6	78,966	5.7	4.4	17,270	140,662
2016	66,765	8.2	3.9	77,934	-1.3	4.5	11,169	144,699
2017	69,760	4.5	3.8	84,490	8.4	4.5	14,730	154,251

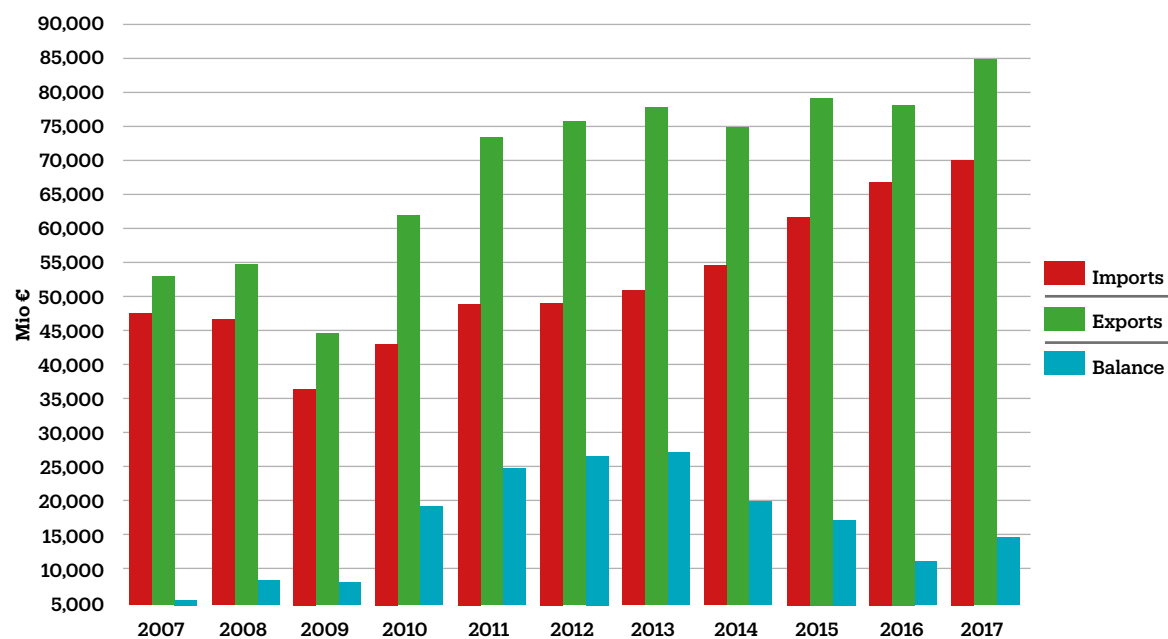
% Growth: Relative variation between current and previous period

% Extra-EU: Imports/exports as % of all EU partners i.e. excluding trade between EU Member States

Source: European Commission, 2018

European Union, Trade with Turkey

Total Goods: EU Trade Flows and Balance, Annual Data 2007-2017



Source: European Commission, 2018

pened for political reasons. This is an example of the EU's own internal contradictions.

While free movement of goods is required by the Customs Union, it is not possible for firms to send personnel to repair and service goods in EU countries. This situation results in the failure of Turkish firms to provide adequate warranties and service for goods sold in the EU; therefore, Turkish firms meet with unfair competition. At the same time, a road quota is applied to vehicles traveling to EU countries from Turkey. EU countries have been applying quotas to Turkish vehicles since 2001. These quotas are determined by mutual agreements signed by Turkey and the countries concerned. As a result of the applied quotas, Turkish vehicles arrive at the destination country through longer roads. They waste time in this process, have higher fuel consumption and higher road fees. The cost for Turkish companies amounts to 5 billion US dollars annually (Cihangir & Kurtbag, 2015).

Austria is one of the leading countries where Turkish transporters face difficulties. Austria, due to its geographical location, is an area through which Turkish vehicles must pass to reach Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries. Austria provides only 15 thousand transition passes to Turkey, despite the fact that Turkey requires 145,000 of these transition passes. When

the relevant passes have been exhausted, the cost of using the Ro-La railway line, as proposed by Austria, is approximately 300 euros per vehicle (Cihangir & Kurtbag, 2015). The number of transition documents which are provided by EU countries to Turkey is far below what is required, as seen in the table below. Therefore, this measure does not comply with the Customs Union's principle of free movement of goods which is one of the significant chapter of EU membership process. This situation creates pressure on Turkish exporters and adds extra costs. As a result, Turkish companies face unfair competition.

The fifth speaker stated that the European Commission asked the World Bank (WB) to prepare a report on the Customs Union. The World Bank sent ten experts to prepare the report. However, the European Commission did not consider the results of the report and mentioned that they had forgotten about it which had not any political and economic implications to EU-Turkey relations. The report revealed that quotas could not be applied for road vehicles, and that a visa could not be applied to Turkish citizens. For this reason, the Customs Union should be updated, but this update should not be an alternative to the full membership target. The speaker mentioned the coup attempt of 15 July 2016 and added that the EU should be more understanding toward Turkey.

Countries	International Direct Investment Inflow (Million USD)	%
Netherlands	1.768	24
Spain	1.451	20
Azerbaijan	1.009	14
Australia	459	6
Austria	326	4
England	324	4
Germany & Japan	295	4
Belgium	225	3
USA	171	5
Italy	124	5
Others	99	13
Total	7.437	100

Source: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey

For detailed information about the quota issue, please visit: THE QUOTA ISSUE OF THE TURKISH ROAD TRANSPORT SECTOR IN THE EU. [https://www.ikv.org.tr/images/files/brief\(1\).pdf](https://www.ikv.org.tr/images/files/brief(1).pdf) accessed on 18.03.2020

Number of Transition Documents Determined by Bilateral Agreements between EU Member States and Turkey and Number of Transition Documents Required by Turkey

Countries	Number of Transition Document Determined (For the year 2010)	Number of Transition Documents Required (For the year 2010)
Austria	15.000	145.000
Spain	5.260	8.000
Italy	31.000	38.000
Italy	6.000	12.000
Hungary	21.500	45.000
Romania	25.000	50.000
Greece	20.000	30.000

Source: Sier, 2010 (Cihangir & Kurtbag, 2015)

The Past, Present and Future of EU – Turkey Relations

Although EU-Turkey relations have had ups and downs, when analysed overall there has been a positive trend in their relations. In this context, although the problematic areas of today might lead to the interpretation that relations have reached irreversible dimensions, EU-Turkey relations have the potential to improve.

From the perspective of Turkey, the EU seems to have conflict with its own values and behaves ambivalently when it comes to Turkey's membership. The EU, which is considered the world's biggest peace project, has remained under the influence of populist politicians when it comes to Turkey's membership. The EU has accepted many countries that are far from meeting the Copenhagen and Maastricht criteria, especially during the post-2000 enlargements. However, the case for Turkey has fallen upon deaf ears throughout this process. The EU Member State process for South Cyprus is the biggest example of this.

The refugee problem, which is taken into consideration under Europe's new values, has an important part in EU-Turkey relations today. In this aspect, Turkey has done its part in developing new policies with the EU for solutions to the problem, and it has tried to respond to the plight of millions of refugees. The migration crisis of 2015 has shown Turkey's importance for

the EU one more time. Although many EU countries have avoided responsibility for the refugees, Turkey on its own maintained border security and prevented many refugees from reaching Europe. Turkey therefore prevented Europe from experiencing additional internal problems.

The economy is one of the most important aspects of EU-Turkey relations. In regard to the Customs Union's World Bank data, the renewal of the Customs Union for both sides were one of the most important topics of the session. Within this framework, the importance of economic integration to move forward from Custom Union was discussed, keeping in mind that economic integration with the EU establishment has provided institutional and political unity, combined with a supranational structure with a spill-over effect.

In discussing the Customs Union, it was mentioned that the EU must take positive steps toward removing quotas and facilitating visa liberation for Turkey. Consequently, it is important to take into account the political, historical and economic perspective for moving forward to EU-Turkey relations. Rather than focusing upon problems, it is necessary to evaluate the progress that has been achieved throughout last more than 60 years.

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