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Welcome to the first Newsletter of the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University. Istanbul Bilgi University is a private, non-profit institution. With more than 10,000 students (27% of whom are on scholarship) and a faculty of nearly 650, BİLGİ offers undergraduate and graduate programs in social sciences, economics, business, communications, arts and law. The teaching language - except in the Faculty of Law - is English.



Since its foundation in 1996, Istanbul Bilgi University has had a firm commitment to establish, develop and support academic study programs and research on the European Union. From the very start, Istanbul Bilgi University has also adopted an open and progressive position in political and social debates, and has been involved in the discussions concerning the EU integration process. BİLGİ has been very active in raising public awareness on the EU and related issues and has organized a number of conferences and workshops on sensitive topics linked to EU integration, migration, poverty, exclusion, human rights, democratization, religion, nationalism and social outreach projects.

The European Institute at Istanbul Bilgi University was established in 2007 with three main pillars: EU politics, EU economics and EU law. The first pillar is designed to undertake in-depth research on EU politics with specific emphasis on foreign policy, EU neighborhood policy and relations between Turkey and the EU within the scope of EU enlargement. The primary research focus of the second pillar is the economic integration of the EU and Turkey, where the research also intends to provide an analysis of the economic implications for Turkey and the European Union of a Turkish accession and especially the economic costs of "non-Europe" for both sides. And finally, the third pillar aims at focusing on the evaluation of the level of compatibility of Turkish law with EU law, especially conducting research on the process and methods of adopting the Acquis Communautaire, developing proposals for laws and bylaws and offering specialized education on the law of the EU.



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This is the first of a series of Newsletters produced by the BİLGİ European Institute with the aim of providing evaluation of developments in EU-Turkey relations and the developments in the EU enlargement process, as well as creating an international platform for the announcement of relevant meetings and conferences. Future issues will include editorials on specific topics, original documentation and an overview of the developments of the year.

The Institute aspires to provide substantial support to the already existing EU-oriented academic programs offered at BİLGİ, notably the BA program in European Union Studies, the MA Program in European Studies and a Certificate Program. The European Institute is also enriching her academic

activities through the Double Degree MA in European Studies Program in collaboration with European University of Viadrina (Germany), and an Exchange MA Program with the Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE) and Institut Europeen des Hautes Etudes Internationales (IEHEI). We are also pleased to announce that such international cooperation has so far brought about other successful projects such the International Summer School on EU-Turkey Relations in cooperation with CIFE - thanks to the generous support of the Bosch Foundation.

Having been established just one year ago, we are happy to inform you that we have launched a French Studies Unit and a German Studies Unit, following the successful example of the Turkish-Greek Studies Unit, which has been running for the last four years. For the launching of these two units we are grateful to the Institut des Sciences Politiques -Paris, Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes (IFEA), European University of Viadrina, Germany, and German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for their valuable support. We are also pleased to announce that we have recently started the INTERACT project together with Sciences-Po Paris and IFEA. INTERACT is a civil society dialogue project supported by the European Union Commission that aims at the intensification of civil dialogue between the French and Turkish societies.

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What is the role of a European Institute in Turkey, such as the newly founded institute at BİLGİ, particularly at a time when this country is feeling increasingly excluded and alienated from the EU, and when many Europeans have become fearful of a Turkey in Europe? The issue of Turkish membership in the EU is central not only to Turkey's identity and its modernization and democratization projects, membership also raises issues in Europe which have led both to a reevaluation of the role of religion and culture in the identity of the continent, as well as raising disturbing doubts about the extent to which Europe can or will be an open and tolerant society in the coming years.

Turkish Muslims resident in the millions in Europe have, along with the millions of other Muslim immigrants, come to be perceived as a threat to a rather vaguely defined "European way of life." Since at least the 15th century an advancing Turkish presence in Europe was seen as a threat to a predominantly Christian civilization. Indeed, it was the Turkish threat that was one of the major factors in the emergent identity of the idea of Europe in the early modern period, just as today the issue of the accession of a predominantly Muslim Turkey is challenging the oftentimes complaisant and still predominantly Christian identity of that continent now shaken by the increasing visibility of its Muslims residents. Ottoman Turkey was a poorly understood and largely unwanted part of Europe for centuries - until the defeats of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Balkans led to the demise of Ottoman rule in those parts. Today Turkey, in a new guise, is once again standing at the door of Europe, wishing to step in, this time as a full partner. The BİLGİ European Institute is one of the pioneers in this country and in Europe in bringing into the fore issues such as these relating to Turkey and Europe, issues equally vital to understanding both Europe and Turkey at a time when clear and decisive thinking is so essential for both sides.



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Development of Turkish Law under the Influence of EU-Law

In spite of not being a member state to the European Union, Turkish law has long been under the influence of the law of the EU due to the Ankara Agreement of 1964 establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey and the Additional Protocol of 1970. However, the need for full harmonization was felt first with the Decision No. 1/95 of the EC-Turkey Association Council of 22 December 1995 on implementing the final phase of the Customs Union. Especially with regard to adapting Turkey's business law to European standards, special laws passed or amended in areas such as protection of intellectual and industrial property, consumer protection, competition law or trade defence instruments. In 1999, upon recognition of its status as a candidate country for full membership in the EU, Turkey finally obliged itself to comply with the so-called Copenhagen criteria and to adopt the *Acquis Communautaire*, that is the Community legislation in total. In order to fulfil this commitment and to lay down the means of implementation the Parliament issued two National Programs, one in 2001 and the other in 2003. Due to the beginning of the accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU in 2005 and the so-called screening process regarding Turkish law and its compatibility with EU law, Turkish law today is in a constant state of revision.

The major changes initiated in the last decade and the effects of candidacy can be summarized best under the following headings:

A. Developments in respect of strengthening the rule of law, human rights, fundamental freedoms and cultural rights

- Decrease in the involvement of the Military in civil affairs
- Increase in the number of civil representatives in the so-called

National Security Council as opposed to military representatives

- Improvements on freedom of expression
- Right to publish and broadcast in Kurdish and other ethnic languages and freedom to use Kurdish in public cultural activities
- Stronger fight against corruption
- Adherence to various treaties and protocols on human rights and the prevention of torture and ill treatment

B. Changes in criminal law and enforcement

- Modernization of the criminal code and code of criminal procedure
- Abolition of capital punishment
- Stronger sanctions against crimes of torture and ill treatment
- Reduction of the duration of police custody
- Stronger sanctions against "honor killings"
- Reform of the prison system

C. Changes in the judicial system

- Abolition of State Security Courts (which were courts in charge of political crimes and terrorist activities; one judge out of three was from the military)
- Establishment of specialized courts, e.g., for intellectual property, juveniles, family affairs, consumers
- Recognition of the Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights as grounds to revise a criminal case

D. Modernization of private law

- Modernization of intellectual property laws and strengthening of efforts to fight against piracy
- New antitrust and consumer protection laws
- Improvement of the investment environment, decrease in bureaucracy
- Reform of the civil code to ensure equal rights between spouses, that is, in marriage.
- Reform project of the commercial code - better corporate governance - more transparency and accountability (IFRS standards/compulsory independent audit)

All in all the impact of the EU rapprochement on the law of Turkey has been immense - in terms of democratization and in terms of solidifying the regulatory framework of a strong market economy.

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Turkey and the EU: Costs of non Europe

One of the most heavily debated EU integration processes in EU history is the Turkish economic integration. Even after the negotiations have been completed it is unknown whether Turkey can be a member of the EU. In our current world, national economic independence no longer exists; instead, blocs of countries form economic powers. For Turkey within the EU membership concept, there are two major scenarios; the scenarios with accession and the scenarios without accession. In the latter option, Turkey does not accede to the EU, and the country's first choice is to integrate economically without becoming a full member, that is, by reformulating trade relations with the EU, leaving the Customs Union and remaining, perhaps, on the lines of free trade area agreements (i.e., the EU external tariffs are no longer implemented by Turkey). Currently this may be the most realistic scenario but the EU-Turkey economic relations need to be redefined in this case. The second major non-access scenario is that Turkey decides to move on, and is so disappointed with its cooperation with the EU that it forms another alliance with Russia and the Turkic-speaking Central Asian countries, with the possible inclusion of India and/or China. This scenario is politically very difficult since Turkey is a member of Western cooperations such as NATO, the founding member of OECD, Council of Europe, etc. The second scenario requires a major political change in Turkish foreign policy and it is very difficult to predict economic costs and benefits. What we generally do is talk about the predictable scenarios.

Under the first scenario (predictable), Turkey has full accession to the EU and there could be three major areas of impact: impact of Institutional-structural reforms, impacts of economic integration and impacts of different EU budget scenarios (impacts of CAP and structural funds). Under the current theoretical and empirical studies, overall gain of all three impacts for all parties involved is positive. Since it is predictable and measurable, first scenario is economically a better choice for all.

In fact what economists should be doing right now is to measure the impact of all the scenarios for Turkish non-membership and present the results to the politicians instead of time wasting repetitions of the known impacts of the scenarios before it is too late.

Virtuous and Vicious Circles: The European integration process

Ayhan Kaya

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Despite political, ethnic and religious predicaments in neighboring countries, Turkey has experienced one of the steadiest periods in the history of the Republic. At the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, the European Heads of State and Government for the first time offered Turkey the concrete prospect of full membership of the European Union, more than four decades after its application for association with the European Economic Community in July 1959. The decision taken in Helsinki was in almost direct opposition to that taken at the Luxembourg Summit of 1997, which was designed to crush Turkey's hopes for EU membership. In the aftermath of the Luxembourg Summit, the public response in Turkey was immediate and harsh. Popular nationalism, minority nationalisms, Kemalism, religiosity, Occidentalism and Euroscepticism all reached their peak shortly afterwards, but thanks to the Helsinki Summit, this destructive atmosphere in Turkey did not last long. The EU perspective delivered to Turkey in Helsinki owed much to the letter that had been sent by Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit to the German Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, in May 1999. The letter was crucial because in it Turkey expressed its willingness to undertake structural reforms in the political, social and economic spheres in order to fulfil the Copenhagen political criteria. These commitments were optimistically interpreted by the political elite of the EU member states, and particularly by the German Greens and Social Democratic Party. The letter was sent in the immediate aftermath of the arrest of the PKK leader, Abdullah Öcalan, in January 1999. As one can imagine, the capture of Abdullah Öcalan was regarded as the end of a traumatic reign of terror and violence, both for the political establishment and the nation in general.



Virtuous Circle

The European Union perspective offered in Helsinki has radically transformed the political establishment in Turkey, opening up new prospects for various ethnic, religious, social and political groups. Kurds, Alevis, Islamists, Circassians, Armenians and a number of religious and ethnic groups in Turkey have become true advocates of the European Union in a way that affirms the pillars of the political union as a project for peace and integration. The EU provides a great incentive and motivation for numerous groups in Turkey to reinforce their willingness to coexist in harmony. What lies beneath this willingness no longer seems to be the retrospective past, full of ideological and political disagreements among various groups, but rather the prospective future, in which ethnic, religious and cultural differences are embraced in a democratic way. The EU currently appears to be the major catalyst in accelerating the process of democratization in Turkey.

"If, in December 2004, the European Council, on the basis of a report and recommendation from the Commission, decides that Turkey has fulfilled the Copenhagen political criteria, the European Union will open accession negotiations with Turkey without delay" state the conclusions of the European Council, summoned in Copenhagen in December 2002. However, both the political establishment and the general public in each of the European Union countries are aware of the fact that Turkey's membership of the Union will further stimulate discussions about "European identity" and "the limits of Europe". There have recently been heated public debates on Turkey's EU membership in several countries, mostly disfavoring membership of a large state like Turkey with its overwhelmingly Muslim population and socio-economic conditions below the European average (Kubicek, 2005). Some arguments put forward the socio-economic disparities between Turkey and the EU, some underline the Islamic character of Turkey, and some emphasize Turkey's undemocratic and patrimonial political culture, whilst others even raise the clash of civilizations in order to reject Turkish membership. Nobody can deny the fact that it will be difficult for the Union to absorb Turkey in the short term. However, a more constructive discourse needs to be generated with regard to Turkey's full membership in order to revitalize one of the fundamental tenets of the European Union, that of "a peace project". There is no doubt that a peace project requires constructive rather than destructive criticisms. The discourse developed by

the Independent Commission on Turkey is constructive, and thus deserving of admiration. The decision taken by the Union on 17 December 2004, and reconfirmed on 3 October 2005, to start accession talks with Turkey immediately, has also reinforced the Turkish public's faith in the EU. What is even more important in Turkey is that 'the peace project' discourse has become quite popular and political. One comes across articles in the newspapers and speeches on TV and radio that address the EU as a peace project that has been able to settle the deep-rooted animosity between Germany and France and, more recently, between Germany and Poland. It is believed that the EU is not only a peace-making political union, but also one that exports peace.



The 1999 Helsinki Summit decision stimulated a great stream of reforms in Turkey. In fact, the country achieved more reforms in just over two years than during the whole of the previous decade. Several laws were immediately passed in the National Parliament to fulfil the Copenhagen political criteria. These included the right to broadcast in one's mother tongue; freedom of association; the limitation of military impact on the judiciary; more civilian control over the military; bringing extra-budgetary funds to which the military had access within the general budget of the Defense Ministry; removing military members from the High Audio Visual Board (RTÜK) and the Board of Higher Education (YÖK); removing military judges from the State Security Courts (DGM) and eventually the abolition of those Courts; the extension of civil rights to officially recognized minorities (Armenians, Jews and Greeks); reformation of the Penal Code; the abolition of the death penalty; release of political prisoners; the abolition of torture by the security forces; and greater protection for the press. Furthermore, strict anti-inflationist economic policies have been successfully enforced along with the International Monetary Fund directives; institutional transparency and liberalism have been endorsed; both formal nationalism and minority nationalism have been precluded; and socio-economic disparities between regions have also been dealt with. However, much remains to be done and to be implemented. The EU perspective has also provided the Turkish public with

an opportunity to come to terms with its own past, a Turkish "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" (coming to terms with the past). Two widely debated and polemical conferences on the "Ottoman Armenians during the Demise of the Empire" and the "Kurdish Question" were organized at İstanbul Bilgi University, on 25-26 September 2005 and 11-12 March 2006 respectively, a point to which we shall return later. Although the judiciary acted favorably towards the lawsuits claimed by some ultra-nationalist lawyers, both conferences paved the way for public discussion of two subjects that had hitherto been taboo in contemporary Turkish history.

Another international conference was hosted (26-27 May 2005) by the İstanbul Bilgi University's Centre for Migration Research, on the theme of the emigration of Assyrians who were forced to leave Eastern Anatolia in the aftermath of the foundation of the Republic in 1920s. Assyrian-origin participants from various European countries including Sweden, Germany, France and Belgium openly expressed their excitement at seeing the radical democratic transformation that Turkey had recently gone through. Another conference, on the theme "Meeting in İstanbul: past and present", was organized by the Greek-origin minority in İstanbul, to bring together intellectuals from the Anatolian-Greek diaspora and the Greeks of İstanbul (30 June - 2 July 2006). Apart from the fact that such conferences could be organized in contemporary Turkey without encountering any major public intervention, the latter conference was even hosted by the AKP-affiliated İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. All of these legal and political changes bear witness to the transformation of Turkey regarding its position vis-à-vis the notion of diversity. This transformation corresponds to a discursive shift, which officially recognizes Turkey as a multicultural

country. That is to say that multiculturalism is no longer just a phenomenon in Turkey: it is also an officially recognized legal and political fact.

Virtuous Circle

From 17 December 2004 to 3 October 2005, when EU state and national government leaders decided to start negotiations with Turkey, tensions began to rise between nationalist, patriotic, statist, pro-status-quo groups on the one hand and pro-EU groups on the other. This was the time when the virtuous cycle of the period between 1999 and 2005 was replaced with the vicious cycle starting in late 2005. A new nationalist wave embraced the country, especially among middle-class and upper middle-class groups. The electoral cycle of presidential and general elections, witnessed militarist, nationalist and Eurosceptic aspirations coupled with rising violence and terror in the country. The fight between the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the other statist political parties, backed by the army, crystallized during the presidential election in May 2007. The AKP had nominated the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdullah Gül, as presidential candidate, but Mr Gül did not fit the expectations of Turkey's traditional political and military establishment and he failed to reach the required two-thirds majority in the assembly sitting. This failure resulted from the fact that the presidential post has a rather symbolic importance in Turkey since it was first occupied by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey. However, the establishment argued that, as someone with pro-Islamist values and a wife who wears a headscarf, Mr Gül was inappropriate for the office of president. The conflict even led to military intervention in politics on 27th April 2007, an intervention notoriously labelled "e-intervention" because of the way it was announced on the web page of the Chief of Staff. However, the nationalist and militarist alliance against the AKP was unsuccessful in the general election

and on 22 July 2007 the party won a landslide victory, with 47% of the votes cast. Following the elections, Abdullah Gül was also elected to the Presidential office. It could simply be concluded that, instead of heeding the nationalist and militarist electoral campaigns, based on a parochial, local, anti-global and anti-European discourse that aimed for 'nationalist closure', the Turks opted for Europeanization, globalization, stability and progress. However, this time the EU was not in a state of being a lighthouse for Turkey again. This is why, the political divide present at the top of the Turkish State is now being turned into a social divide between moderate Islamists and secular fundamentalists, involving a wide variety of political and non-political actors such as the political parties, parliament, judiciary, army, academia, non-governmental organizations, media and business circles.

The social and political divide in Turkey has both internal and external sources. There actually seems to be economic reasons for the divide, as the ruling party, Justice and Development Party (JDP) has so far represented the interests of newly emerging middle-class groups with rural origin - conservative background, who are competing against the established middle and upper middle classes with urban background. The divide also springs from the fact that the legitimate political center is now accessible to several social groups including not only laicists, republicans, Kemalists and liberal business circles but also Muslims, Kurds, conservative business circles and several other groups. International sources of the divide include the internal crisis of the European Union, enlargement fatigue of the Union, ongoing instability in the Middle East, changing American interests in the region, the rise of political Islam as a reaction to the ongoing Islamophobia in the world, and the global evocative ascendancy of civilizationist/culturalist/religious discourse.

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A Mediterranean tale: the invigorated Barcelona Process by France

President Sarkozy's new policy for the European Union definitely faces many problems in order to be implemented. First of all, a new platform of cooperation and integration had been

devised by the candidate Nicolas Sarkozy, before his election, to invigorate a moribund Barcelona Process and to give a new impetus to the ongoing peace initiatives around the Mediterranean, especially in the Middle East. The initial project included, as members of this "union reborn", only riparian countries to the Mediterranean Sea, with France holding a so-called "primus inter pares" role. This initial model would also take advantage of a tiny part of EU funding, in the minds of its founders, which

basically rendered it stillborn. Germany vehemently opposed the use of any EU funds exclusively for Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries, invoking the "right" of North Eastern neighbor countries to take advantage of such generous funding.

The initial plan also foresaw a functioning permanent secretariat, with periodic high-level political summits. Almost an would forge the long-sought solution to the "status" to be granted to Turkey. This "alternative

membership solution" infuriated Turkey, whose very exceptional mediation between Israel and Syria for their indirect peace talks gave her a more preponderant role than ever in the stability of the Middle East. Facing and containing both Turkey, Germany and incidentally Spain, who was less than amused by the unilateral and total abandonment of the Barcelona process without even being consulted, has proved to be too much even for France.

But Sarkozy's France had a new weapon, seldom mastered by the French diplomacy during the entire EU saga: her newly discovered pragmatism gives Nicolas Sarkozy's France a much wider margin of maneuver than she has ever had in intra-European and international affairs. The "Mediterranean Union" would have initially been an international organization, with more than an ad hoc working system; it was turned into a "revised EU cooperation program", with no real opposition on the part of President Sarkozy. That was new, France accepting to play the game without wanting to dominate the political debate. The whole project turned into a brilliant political show in Paris, where the new "Barcelona Process" has been launched under the French Presidency, with the participation of no less than 43 heads of state or government. Turkey, extremely cautious and recalcitrant vis-à-vis the project, decided at the last moment, possibly after having strongly negotiated, to participate at the level of the Prime Minister.

The whole evolution of the Mediterranean Union is eloquent as to showing France's "new" policy within the European Union. France, under Sarkozy, seems to have abandoned her "primordial" role of politic guide. It is not anymore the very self-centered approach that could be defined as "what is good for France is certainly good for Europe". Such a shift should certainly be welcomed, together with again a very noticeable shift in external policy: not to oppose the USA at all costs. Will these changes secure France her once preponderant role within the EU? Nothing is less certain. For the time being, the EU is in a huge quagmire as regards to how to define her future structure and functioning. In that sense, opening the way to workable solutions would require certainly more than flexibility and understanding in intra-European relations. Still, the new French EU policy remains much more promising than the old one.

Lisbon Treaty and Enhanced Cooperation

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Despite the Irish no-vote, the Treaty of Lisbon remains as the only current alternative to major institutional reform of the Union. Abandoning it would not only hamper institutional reform, but could seriously damage the credibility of the Union, while a new treaty would be politically infeasible.¹ Assuming that the contents of the Treaty will eventually be adopted, with or without the Irish vote, this piece briefly focuses on the provisions of the Treaty in relation to the mechanism of 'enhanced cooperation' and its implications for a 'multi-speed Europe' triggered by debates on enlargement and the neighborhood policy.

The Amsterdam Treaty created a mechanism called "enhanced cooperation" to allow countries to deepen integration amongst themselves in certain fields, on condition that it remains within the legal framework of the EU. This mechanism can only be employed when the aims of the cooperation cannot be addressed in the foreseeable future by the Union. The goal of "enhanced cooperation" is to facilitate deepening together with widening in the face of increasing differences among the member states. Existing differences between the member states were expected to increase with Eastern enlargement, which would then lead to the creation of sub-groups like Schengen. Enhanced cooperation was thus envisaged as a mechanism that would keep these sub-groups within the institutional framework of the EU. The member states which do not join enhanced cooperation cannot participate in decision making and are not liable to implement the decisions taken. In line with the principle of openness, any willing member state may take part in enhanced cooperation at any stage.

Despite the considerable effort spent in developing the mechanism of enhanced cooperation, it has so far never been used. Enhanced cooperation has been employed only as a threat during negotiations between the member states. One of the most important reasons for its lack of popularity is that intergovernmental arrangements between the member states outside the

¹ Daniel Gros and Sebastian Kurpas (2008). *What Next? How to Save the Treaty of Lisbon*, CEPS Policy

institutional structure of the EU still remain as a strong alternative. One of the best examples of this is the Prüm Treaty, signed in May 2005 between seven member states² to facilitate further integration in the field of justice and home affairs. Another reason behind low support for enhanced integration is the fact that the legal framework of the EU already allows a flexible integration policy. From this perspective, the Schengen acquis which was opted out by the UK, Ireland and Denmark and the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) which was opted out by the UK and Denmark may be regarded as different enhanced cooperation models.

The Lisbon Treaty takes some further steps to make enhanced cooperation a more attractive option. The policy areas of enhanced cooperation are no longer limited to the legislative proposals rejected by the Council and the cooperation groups are now given more autonomy. The countries participating in the cooperation will be able to define the enhanced cooperation procedures, meaning that they will be able to adopt a unanimity rule or qualified majority rule according to their own will. The enhanced cooperation mechanism can be employed for all of the areas covered in the EU treaties, but it cannot go beyond those areas.

Enhanced cooperation is most likely to be adopted in the areas of justice and home affairs and economic and monetary union. For both of these areas, the flexible integration policy is already in use. At present, the UK, Ireland and Denmark have opt-outs from several policies under justice and home affairs. Enhanced cooperation could be implemented with respect to social policy, employment and taxation policies that are related to the monetary union as well as in coordination of national economic policies. However, due to the structure of the enhanced cooperation mechanism, policy cooperation will be limited to the legal framework of the EU.



² Brief, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels. Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Luxembourg

The Lisbon Treaty also allows forming enhanced cooperation in the area of foreign policy. However this requires a unanimity vote in the council, which reduces the possibility of adopting enhanced cooperation in the area of foreign policy. It can be argued that security policy also falls within the scope of enhanced cooperation. However, flexible integration mechanisms already exist in this area. Furthermore, permanent structured cooperation introduced by the Lisbon Treaty provides the possibility of deepening cooperation between those member states that have a certain amount of military capacity.

Thus it can be argued that enhanced cooperation will under these circumstances remain as a marginal option. Although the Lisbon Treaty details the enhanced cooperation mechanism and makes it more attractive and efficient, there are still some legal ambiguities that remain about its implementation. It is not yet certain how this mechanism will affect the legal system of the Union. It also does not help that some member states see enhanced cooperation as a divisive threat and hence adopt a rather reluctant approach to it. Thus it can be expected that mechanisms of intergovernmental cooperation outside the Union or flexible integration policies within the legal framework of the Union surpass the enhanced cooperation mechanism.³

The fact that the enhanced cooperation mechanism is not likely to be popular does not change the fact that the EU is moving towards a multi-speed structure.

One can expect an increased use of flexible integration policies in the future. The Lisbon Treaty contributes to this trend by introducing permanent structured cooperation in defense, new opt-outs for the UK and Ireland in the field of justice and home affairs and the exemption of Poland and the UK from the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Provided that integration is open to all members who wish to participate and that no exclusive clubs are formed outside the institutional remit of the Union, this could help in the successful co-existence of deepening and widening.⁴

A multi speed Europe or a Europe of variable geometries would also bear direct influence on the future of EU policies vis-à-vis its neighbors. Thus these concepts necessitate assessments of the EU's relations with the candidate countries and those countries that have not yet been given a membership perspective.

³Treaty of Lisbon: Implementing the Institutional Innovations, Joint Study by CEPS, EGMONT and EPC, November 2007, pp. 97-121.

⁴Ibid.

The Future of Enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)

There are currently three candidate countries for EU membership: Croatia, Turkey and Macedonia. The negotiation process for Croatia and Turkey is still underway but has not yet been initiated for Macedonia. Other Western Balkan states (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo) that are parties to the Stabilisation and Association Agreements are potential candidate countries. These Agreements provide financial assistance and tariff-free access to EU markets in return for commitment to domestic reforms.

The European Neighbourhood Policy targets those countries that do not currently have a membership perspective.⁵ Action Plans outlining short- to medium-term political and economic reforms together with EU assistance are agreed between the countries and the Union.

Debates over the future of the EU enlargement intensified after the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands. Many European leaders argued that the EU was not ready for new accessions in the short to medium term and that there should be a pause in enlargement policy after the accession of Croatia. It was argued that new enlargements would put pressure on the Union's absorption capacity. The concept of 'absorption capacity' (renamed as 'integration capacity' by the European Commission) with its social, institutional and financial dimensions, thus became a popular theme in the aftermath of the Constitutional referenda.⁶

The social dimension of the concept corresponds to the argument that the European public is against further enlargement. Recent studies confirm that popular support for enlargement has declined over time, yet they also find that opposition at the level of political elites remains stronger than at the popular level. Among the most significant reasons for the decline of popular support are the fear of unemployment, fear of the loss of the welfare state, and fear of crime and immigration, demonstrating that support for enlargement is highly

⁵The countries included in the ENP are Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine.

⁶Michael Emerson et al. (2006), *What is this Absorptive Capacity of the European Union?*, CEPS Policy Brief, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

connected to efficient governance by member state governments and the Union.⁷ However, as far as Turkish membership is concerned, the situation is different. Among both old and new members of the Union, a negative consensus has started to emerge regarding Turkish membership. Studies have shown that among the main sources of this negative opinion lies anxieties regarding the loss of identity.⁸ Essentialist identity constructs that are based on the argument that Turkey is not culturally, geographically or historically European are also often observed among European political elites. As long as the discussions about Turkish membership continue to be framed by essentialist arguments, one can expect little increase in support for Turkish membership.

The institutional dimension of the concept is based on the idea that enlargement will have a negative impact on decision-making in the EU. It can be argued that this thesis has been weakened by the institutional reforms introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. In fact, the countries of the last enlargement wave have been integrated into the culture of consensus-building where the number of states opposing a proposal in the Council has not yet risen above the usual number of one or two countries.⁹ Research also shows that the Commission has successfully adapted to Eastern enlargement.¹⁰ These can be considered as precedents to ease the concerns for future enlargements. Turkish membership, however, deserves special attention. The double majority rule of the Lisbon Treaty accords a large amount of voting power for large member states. While this would surely constitute a major debate regarding Turkish accession, there is neither an 'a priori' reason nor any evidence to suggest that Turkey would disrupt the 'consensual' mode of policy making in the Union by importing divergent or destabilizing policy agendas into the EU. It would most likely join existing coalitions on given issues and hence do little more than reinforce existing trends in EU politics.¹¹

⁷Antonia M. Ruiz-Jimenez and Jose I. Torreblanca (2008), *Is There a Trade-Off Between Deepening and Widening? What do Europeans Think?*, CEPS EPIN Working Paper No.17, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

⁸Antonia M. Ruiz-Jimenez and Jose I. Torreblanca (2007), *European Public Opinion and Turkey's Accession: Making Sense of Arguments for and Against*, CEPS EPIN Working Paper No.16, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

⁹Michael Emerson et al. (2006), *What is this Absorptive Capacity of the European Union?*, CEPS Policy Brief, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, p. 16.

¹⁰Sebastian Kurpas et al. (2008), *The European Commission after Enlargement: Does More Add Up To Less?*, CEPS Special Report, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

The financial dimension of the concept focuses on the pressure put by new members on the EU budget. The fact that Turkey, like Bulgaria and Romania, is still very poor compared to other EU members makes it a central country in this debate. The large agricultural sector as well as regional imbalances will have to be tackled during the course of negotiations. Studies however suggest that, as in the case of the last enlargement, the cost to the EU budget - estimated at a maximum of around 0.20 percent of the EU's GDP - will be manageable.¹² Nevertheless, by introducing the possibility of derogations and permanent safeguards in structural policies and agriculture (as well as free movement of persons) in the negotiating framework with Turkey, the Union can be argued to have reinforced the logic behind the model of multi-speed Europe.

The future of Neighborhood Policy is at least as ambiguous as the future of enlargement policy. Neighboring countries which do not currently possess a membership perspective form the outermost circle of the EU's variable geometry. The policies that are geared under ENP, however, have many deficiencies. It is well known that the perspective of full membership, through the exertion of conditionality, plays a key role in triggering domestic reform in the candidate countries. The lack of such conditionality in the case of the ENP severely impedes the fostering of political and economic reform in these countries. Another issue of concern is the way in which the countries of the eastern and southern neighborhood are brought together under a single policy. This is especially problematic for those countries of the eastern neighborhood which demand a full membership perspective. The Union recently took a decision to review and strengthen the ENP. Nevertheless, the recommendations (i.e., increased economic integration, strengthening of civil society dialogue, facilitation of visa procedures, etc.) seem to be far from adequate. The idea of the 'Union of the Mediterranean', proposed initially in May 2007 by the French President Nicolas Sarkozy, can be considered as an alternative for the Union's southern neighbors in the light of the problematic nature of the ENP. However, the exact contents of this project still remain highly underdeveloped, while discussions around it continue.

¹¹ Senem Aydın Düzgüt (2006), *AB'nin Türkiye ile ilişkilerinde Kant'ı Aramak*, TESEV Yayınları, İstanbul, p.13.

¹² Daniel Gros (2005), *Economic Aspects of Turkey's Quest for EU Membership*, CEPS Policy Brief, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

Graduate Programs and Collaborations

MA in European Studies in collaboration with European University Viadrina (Germany)

Launched in 2000, the BİLGİ European Studies MA Program is entering its ninth year with over fifty graduates and fifty students currently enrolled. The MA Program, organized in collaboration with European University Viadrina (<http://www.euv-franfurt-o.de>) near Berlin, offers a study-abroad semester in Viadrina and various scholarship opportunities for successful candidates. The BİLGİ European Studies MA Program is designed to provide a thorough knowledge of the European Union, its historic development, its institutions, systems and policies. Turkey's longstanding EU integration process, which started in 1963, continued with the Customs Union (1996), making Turkey part of the European Single Market. Within the framework of the program, Turkey's EU accession period is analyzed and researched with a focus on recent developments. The Program, concentrating on themes such as enlargement and the societal transformations it brings to countries involved (peace, stability, democratization, regional cooperation, human rights, rule of law, etc.) and European Neighborhood Policy, also offers a wider perspective of European Studies with emphasis on issues such as migration, environmental issues, and intercultural dialogue. The academic cooperation with the European University of Viadrina will be further expanded in 2009 by creating a joint Double Degree MA Program in European Studies between the two Universities.

MA in Turkish-Greek Studies in collaboration with the Institute of Social Sciences

Turkish-Greek Studies is a teaching and research division functioning under the auspices of the European Institute, İstanbul Bilgi University. As a field of study it was established in September 2005, following a generous donation by the J.F. Costopoulos Foundation, Kokkalis Foundation and a contribution by İstanbul Bilgi University.

Building on the initial experience of a series of successful summer programs, the division aims at fostering institutional collaboration between the academic communities of the two countries, with a view to contributing to the spirit of rapprochement that characterizes the current state of bilateral relations through joint seminars, conferences, summer programmes, and exchange of students and scholars.

İstanbul Bilgi University's Turkish-Greek Studies Division, as well as the M.A. program with the same concentration, is the only one of its kind, not only in Greece and in Turkey but internationally. Through a full schedule of activities and the engagement of key figures in the field, the program has already quickly become a point of reference for Turkish-Greek studies on both sides of the Aegean.

Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales (I.E.H.E.I)

The Centre International de Formation Européenne (C.I.F.E.) and Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales (I.E.H.E.I) are amongst the oldest European institutes offering study programs. For more than 40 years they have been teaching European integration, and over this time they have taught over 5.000 students from more than 70 countries. Their former students have gone on to become today's ministers, diplomats, members of national parliaments or even members of the European Parliament as well as European and international officials. I.E.H.E.I. benefits directly and indirectly via C.I.F.E. from different forms of financial support, both public and private, particularly from the European Commission as well as from several national governments and miscellaneous foundations.

Starting from the 2009 academic year onwards, our European Institute will be collaborating with I.E.H.E.I. to foster broad academic collaboration and exchange and to develop an innovative interdisciplinary program on MA in Advanced European and International Studies. The program includes terms in İstanbul, Nice, Berlin and Poznan complemented by a study trip to European and international organizations. The first term takes place in İstanbul Bilgi University (October-December), the ideal place to study what is at stake when it

comes to EU enlargement and relations with its neighbors. Students have classes in the two modules, International Relations and European Integration. For the second term, students have classes in four modules with a focus on Democracy and Society and Federalism in Nice (January and February), which are brought to a conclusion by means of an oral examination. The program is complemented by a study trip to European and international organizations. The last term will be in Berlin, where the program focuses on the experiences of Eastern and Central European countries following their accession to the EU, as well as those fundamental problems with which Turkey and other future accession countries are faced. During the stay in Berlin, the students will benefit from lectures given by a variety of experts specialized in European Integration and international relations. With a unique cultural and artistic life, Berlin offers a world of discoveries. The stay in Berlin will be interrupted for a one-week stay at their partner university in Poznan. The last phase of the program, the writing of the theses and their defence, as well as the final exams, takes place in Istanbul (May, June, July).

With its various university partners from different countries, a study trip and a dialogue with experts and stakeholders from politics and business, the program offers a unique and extraordinary experience. By taking part in this high-level academic program, students can experience real-life "European integration": by living the EU motto, "Unity in diversity".

Undergraduate Programs

BA in European Union Studies

In 1999, upon recognition of its status as a candidate country for full membership in the EU the relations between Turkey and the European Union gathered an unprecedented momentum. The new and enhanced scope of the relations require the active involvement of a diverse range of political, economic, legal and societal actors, including experts, researchers and support staff in governmental institutions, non-governmental organizations,

private companies and research institutes. The EU Studies Undergraduate Program sees its mission as training a new breed of EU experts in Turkey.

Considering the diversity of actors involved and the variety of their needs, the program is designed with a multidisciplinary approach and allows students to concentrate on specific aspects of European studies of interest to them. The EU Studies majors are required to be proficient or acquire proficiency in one other EU language, such as French or German, in addition to English, which is the medium of instruction at Istanbul Bilgi University.



Certificate Programs

Since 2006, the European Institute offers a Certificate Program each year. The Program, which runs for 10 weeks, covers a variety of thematic issues ranging from EU Competition Law to EU research funds and is taught by experts in each field. Based on the demand from the local administrations, special training programs have also been organized by the Institute for the personnel of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2006 and for the personnel of the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality in 2008.



Summer Schools and Seminars

"Partnerships for Sustainable Development": Sustainable Public Policies and Business Practices for Black Sea Countries, 15 - 24 June 2008, Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey, and 29 September - 7 October 2008, Venice, Italy. The

program has been developed by the Regional Environmental Center (the REC) together with Venice International University and Istanbul Bilgi University based on the needs of the private sector and governments.

"The Relations between Europe and Turkey": From 15 July to 2 August the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University organized a Summer University program on 'The Relations between Europe and Turkey' in collaboration with Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE). The two-week Summer University program has hosted 19 Turkish and 21 foreign students, who were accepted on a scholarship provided by the Bosch Foundation.



EU Related Research Centers at BILGI

Human Rights Law Research Center

The Human Rights Law Research Center at Istanbul Bilgi University was established in December 2000. Since that time the Center has been active in the pursuit of raising the awareness of, protecting and developing human rights law and humanitarian law both domestically and internationally. In addition to organizing conferences, symposiums, seminars and round-table discussions, both at home and abroad, the Center is also working in unison with a number of national and international organizations, both public and private, on various projects on the subject of human rights, especially in the areas of "Prevention of Discrimination and Violence Against Women", "Health, Medicine and Human Rights", "Social and Criminological Studies", "Refugee Law" and "Judicial Reform and Access To Justice". The Center monitors all national and international judicial decisions regarding human rights and humanitarian law. Through its unique website, the Center presents and publicizes the ratification of

related conventions and their subsequent implementation by Turkey. The reports and decisions of United Nations, International Labour Organisation, the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human rights regarding human rights in Turkey can be viewed at this site. The Center's web site is currently the only source that provides information on human rights in Turkey along with related news and documents presented in Turkish with detailed summaries in English for the international audience.

Marine Law Research Center

The İstanbul Bilgi University Marine Law and Policy Research Centre seeks to provide an interdisciplinary forum for the research and study of a broad range of maritime-related issues involving private and public law as well as national and international policy making. The distinction between private maritime law and public international law of the sea has increasingly lessened over the years. The marine environment and safety of shipping have brought together interests once considered disparate. The Center's mission is to serve as an academic bridge between Turkey and the international maritime community with the aim of preparing a new generation of scholars and practitioners.

IT Law Research Center

The Information Technology (IT) Law Research Center was established on 06.01.2004 and is the first and only center in Turkey dealing with IT Law. As an academic organization, the Center promotes diversified contribution to its activities as well as transparency. Having been closely connected with the global IT law agenda, the Center conducts a variety of research and is involved in IT law projects at academic, business and practice levels. Among others, it has prepared the E-Government National Report of Turkey for the European Commission (2006), a Digital Rights Management Report for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2006), the E-Signature Working Group Report for the Turkish Telecommunication Authority (2006), a study on Legal and Administrative Practices Regarding the Validity and Mutual Recognition of Electronic Documents in Turkey for the European Commission (2008).

Intellectual Property Law Research Center

One of the goals of BİLGİ Intellectual Property Law Research Center is to support the process of harmonization of Turkish intellectual property law with European law. To this end, the Center participated in a Twinning Project in copyright law organized by the Ministry of Culture with the support of the European Union in 2006 and 2007. The Center also became a member of a Coordination Committee in the field of Intellectual Property Law established as part of Turkey's action plan regarding the EU accession negotiations. In order to improve the quality of implementation of intellectual property law in Turkey, the Center is currently preparing an intensive training program for intellectual property judges, in a joint project with the Ministries of Culture and Justice, as a follow up of a previous EU Project in the same field. Furthermore, the Center organized an international conference in the field of copyright law and collecting societies, where the latest developments in European copyright law were also discussed.

The Center is also helping to enhance the understanding of Turkish audiovisual law in Europe, by acting as Turkey correspondent for a monthly newsletter called IRIS - Legal Observations of the European Audiovisual Observatory, published under the auspices of the Council of Europe. In the audiovisual sector, the Center also contributed last year to the development of a legal database set up under the Euromed Audiovisual II program funded by the European Union.

Social, Economic and Political Research Center (TESAR)

TESAR's activities have been concentrated mainly on education and research: In terms of education, its major programs have a social orientation, as it offers honorary training certificate courses to high school graduates resident in the two districts where the University campuses are located, namely Kuştepe and Dolapdere, as well as to public servants engaged in public institutions located therein. The social content of the honorary training certificate programs offered is associated with the fact that both of the University campuses are located in the so-

called shanty towns of İstanbul, hence the course participants come from low-income families.

Center for Migration Research

The Center for Migration Research, active since 2002, has formulated its mission to strengthen institutional coordination among researchers working in the field of migration; to promote multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research on diverse aspects of the causes, dynamics and consequences of internal and international migration; and to develop projects for implementation and provide research and advisory services for policy and decision-makers at the national and international levels.

CMR's activities concentrate on both the theoretical and empirical areas. The Center conducts academic research and organizes conferences, seminars and lectures as well as developing implementation models in the field of migration. The Tarlabaşı Community Center, funded by the European Commission, "The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights: Turkey 2004 Micro Project Programme" during 2007 and by the "Strengthening Civil Society in the Pre-Accession Process: NGO Grant Facility" in 2008, provides a unique example as a community center established by a university in Turkey.

NGO Training and Research Unit

An increase can be observed in the number and areas of activities of NGOs in the last ten years. This change also emphasizes the increasing importance of NGOs for the functioning of participative democracies. However, NGOs also experience the need to improve their institutional capacities. In this context, İstanbul Bilgi University established the NGO Training and Research Center in March 2003 in order to respond to the needs and problems of NGOs, to contribute to the solutions of these problems and to institutionalize the support for civil society. The Center is the first of its kind in Turkey founded in a university, and it aims to contribute to efficient functioning of NGOs and to strengthen the role of NGOs in participative democracy.

Projects

Interact - EU, France, Turkey-Universities Dialogue

Istanbul Bilgi University's European Institute is conducting a project for the "EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue Universities Grant Programme 2007" in partnership with the Institut des Sciences Politiques - Paris and the Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes (IFEA). The "Interact -EU, France, Turkey-Universities Dialogue" project will have a duration of 18 months, during which a large number of joint activities such as scientific exchanges of academics, two weekend schools, a summer school, meetings of an experts network, three thematic conferences, a multidisciplinary joint research project and a variety of publications (working papers, books, reports) as well as a final Evaluation Conference will take place.

This project will also institutionalize collaboration between BİLGİ's European Institute and Institut des Sciences Politiques and IFEA, by way of launching of a French Studies Unit at BİLGİ. On a larger scale, the project will aim at contributing to the strengthening of contacts and mutual exchange of experience between civil society in Turkey, France and other EU Member States; providing for better understanding of Turkey, its culture, history and values within France and the EU and ensuring better understanding of EU's values and common culture as well as its policies and institutions in Turkey. The members of our network and our contacts will be kept informed regularly of the project activities and events.

Cooperation with EU Communication Group Initiative (ABİG)

In 2008, İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute organized a conference series on the Intercultural Dialogue between Turkey and the EU with the support of Turkey's EU Communication Group Initiative (ABİG)



- Ankara. The Conference Series gathered academicians, members of European and Turkish Parliaments, journalists, diplomats, representatives of the business community, EU analysts, representatives of NGOs and students. The first conference was on

the topic, "Turkey's EU Accession - Contribution and Role of Euro-Turks and of EU Citizens in Turkey to the Accession Process," and was organized in Antalya with the collaboration of Akdeniz University (14 - 15 February 2008). The second conference took place in Kayseri on "EU Turkey Agenda for the 21st century: Justice, Security and Democracy" (6 March 2008, Erciyes University) and the final one focused on "Turkey's EU Accession Process - Role of the Private Sector" (31 March 2008, Eskişehir, in collaboration with Anadolu University). The Conference series paved the way for durable collaboration between BİLGİ, three Universities in Anatolia and European Academicians and experts. The conferences were attended by large groups of students, opinion leaders and NGOs in each city. The project was also highly visible in the local and national press.

German Studies

In November 2007, the German Studies Unit was chosen for funding by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) starting in September for a period of two years, which may be extended to five years. In the framework of this program, a German scholar (Dr. Jörg Baudner) has been appointed to the European Institute in order to establish a German Studies program at BİLGİ.

Support for EU funded Research at BİLGİ

The European Institute aims to provide BİLGİ academics and researchers with relevant information and support on EU-funded programs and other funding opportunities from different institutions such as TUBA and TUBITAK. The services the European Institute provides and plans include: information about EU funded programs matching the needs of groups or individual BİLGİ researchers, organization of training sessions, liaising with official bodies in Turkey and in the EU and a "help-desk" function covering information on funding possibilities, submission of proposals, partner search and queries during the project .

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José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the European Commission, visited İstanbul Bilgi University on 11 April 2008 Winning Hearts and Minds: The EU/Turkey Partnership



I am honored to be here today to address this distinguished audience, in this magnificent setting of İstanbul Bilgi University and santralistanbul. This is indeed a very cosmopolitan city, İstanbul. I see that you are here launching this platform for global challenges with a great demonstration of openness. In this world more and more globalized, openness is the key. It is important to understand that we have global challenges and for those global challenges we need to find global answers. It is not with narrow views; it is on the contrary with an open mind that we can win this battle of global challenges.

BİLGİ is a relatively young university. Yet it has already made its mark, and become one of the finest in the country. BİLGİ maintains deep roots in the rich past of your country, while at the same time looking forward. İstanbul Bilgi University is known for promoting an open intellectual debate on Turkish society and on what lies in the future. It must be a pleasure to be a student at BİLGİ, especially on the santralistanbul campus, a superb example of post-industrial urban renewal.

And in fact I have seen the mission statement of your university; I was really impressed to see your commitment to openness, to values of free thinking and to the values of modernity. I will say that they are more necessary than ever in a world where we are seeing fundamentalism, extreme nationalism, racism, xenophobia and all kinds of populism that are indeed threats to the values of freedom, solidarity and peace. It is precisely these values that I like to see and look for at the European Union. Last year, we have celebrated the 50th

anniversary of the European Union. The EU is also a relatively young political actor on the international stage. Yet, the impressive success of the European Union is that through deep integration between nation-states, we have overcome a past of war and mutual hatred. Thanks to the long-term vision of our founding fathers like Robert Schumann, Konrad Adenauer, Jean Monnet, Alcide de Gasperi and many others, we have achieved a new and better European political order based on reconciliation, peace, democracy, freedom. We are proud of our success.



And we are for the future. The European Union is the best answer to the challenges of the 21st century when you consider what answer the Europeans should have for this. In this globalized world, we are seeing global challenges like climate change, security or threats to security, international terrorism, pandemics, problems of energy security. And it is quite obvious that even the biggest member states in Europe alone, they do not have the instruments, the means to face these challenges alone. But together, together we can make a difference, not only for Europe, but also for the world, giving a contribution to defend our interest together but also to promote our common values on the larger stage. And I think we can be proud of the European Union because it has been a successful example of democratic governance in the globalization process. Look at enlargement for instance. The European Community started 50 years ago as six countries. Now we are 27 member states, proud of themselves, of their respective histories, of course with patriotism, but at the same time accepting that you can add to our national citizenship a common European citizenship. And that to become a member of the European Union is not reducing the capacity of our member states. On the contrary, it is value added to what we can do as a single European member state. The fact is that today the European Union is viewed with much more respect because when we speak with our American friends, Russian, Chinese or Indian partners, they know that they are speaking with a group of countries that together represent the first economy of

the world. In fact together the aggregated GNP of our countries is indeed superior to that of the USA, by large the first trade partner in the world, by far the most important export power, and the first donor of development aid. So it is indeed an important economic but also political and social project. And this was done by successive enlargements. At least five waves of enlargement. And this has been compatible, this wave of enlargement, with the deepening of cooperation between the European Union member states. And this indeed has helped the transformation of the countries in Europe because it has helped the democratic transformation and also the consolidation of democracy.

I could speak about my own country Portugal, which was until 1974 a non-democratic regime. And the prospect of becoming a member of the European Union was a way of consolidating a democratic regime. What I said about Portugal I could also say about Spain or Greece or other democratic countries south of Europe. And I could also say more recently about all Central or Eastern European countries that are living through a post-totalitarian system. They have looked at Europe as a way of consolidating their new democratic countries, new democratic regimes. And now you have these countries united around the values of peace, freedom and democracy. Proud to be independent like the Baltic States that some time ago were not independent countries. But now they are dependent but at the same time they are participating in a joint program, a joint project with those values at the very heart.

Today, Turkey is an integral part of our agenda for enlargement. Our commonly shared objective is that Turkey becomes a full member of the European Union, with equal rights and equal duties like any other current member.

Many people, both in some EU member States and in Turkey, like to dwell on what goes wrong sometimes in our relationship, on the short-term hurdles and difficulties we may encounter. In the EU sometimes they may say that Turkey is not ready for membership; while many people in Turkey may say that at the end of the day the EU will not want Turkey in or that Turkey will want to stay out. To all these people, I say that our present and our future are closely intertwined. It is clear to me that Turkey and the European Union have a shared destiny. It is clear to me that it is in the interest of both the EU and Turkey to be together and share a common future.

Let me just look at three examples of close links between us.

Our economies and trade have a high degree of interdependence. Turkey and the EU have enjoyed a Customs Union

since 1995. The EU is by far the most important trading partner of Turkey, while Turkey is the seventh biggest trade partner of the EU, ahead of countries such as India or Canada. In just four years, EU investment in Turkey has grown from half a billion dollars in 2002 to 15 billion in 2006. With Turkey growing at dynamic rates and expected to become one of the top 10 economies in the world by mid-century, this interdependence is bound to increase.

As regards foreign and security policies, Turkey already plays an important role side by side with the EU. Turkey enjoys fruitful relations with many countries here in the neighborhood of Turkey. And Turkey is indeed living in a very important neighborhood. Turkey in the Balkans, in the Middle East and in other areas plays a crucial role. The EU and Turkey cooperate to make the world more safe and secure. Turkey is a key partner for Europe on foreign and security policy, not least as a member of NATO. Its responsibilities can only increase in the future, to address the challenges of our common neighborhood.

Energy is a third example of our interdependence. Turkey is a major partner for energy supplies to Europe from Central Asia and the Middle East. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline is a major step towards increasing security of supplies and mobilizing Caspian oil reserves. In the light of the challenges that the European Union faces regarding diversification and security of energy supplies, Turkey-EU co-operation is certainly set to grow further in the coming years.

These are only a few examples showing that Turkey and the EU have a mutual short and long-term geo-strategic interest in coming together. These are only some few examples. It is only together that we can engage indeed the forces of globalization.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Since my predecessor Romano Prodi



visited Turkey in early 2004, we have come a long way on the road to Turkish accession.

- In October 2005, EU Member States unanimously agreed to start accession negotiations with Turkey.

- In the year up to October 2006, more than 2,000 Turkish civil servants came to Brussels to discuss and analyze, with the Commission, the content of the EU legislation that Turkey will have

to implement to become a Member.
- We started in-depth negotiations on six policy areas, covering sectors as important as industrial policy, statistics, financial control, health protection and trans-European networks.

- In the first months of 2008 the Turkish administration has moved forward on more chapters. This should allow us to advance further this year.

Meanwhile, the EU pre-accession programs in Turkey have attained new records: a pipeline of active operations worth 1.5 billion in grants, to which the European Investment Bank is adding 2 to 2.5 billion of lending every year. These programs enhance Turkey's capabilities in all conceivable fields, from Customs modernization to road transport standards, from food safety to waste water treatment, from human rights in the security forces to the protection of women and children. We are jointly upgrading Turkey's policies and institutions towards EU standards and this I believe is for the good of the Turkish citizens.

This is what I call real progress.

We are not just speaking about vague political concepts. We are speaking about realities on the ground. Just as when I spoke before about 80% of the foreign investment coming to Turkey coming from the EU. This is not just good for business. This is employment; these are positions for work for young people who want to have a first job. So we are creating jobs in Turkey and in the European Union through our closer relationship.

However, accession negotiations are not just a technical process of gradual alignment and enforcement of legislation. Negotiations are based on shared values and a common understanding of the rule of law, democracy and human rights.

For Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, it was a priority to reach the standards of what he called "contemporary civilization". This implied allowing all Turkish citizens to benefit from the same degree of freedom and democracy enjoyed by the citizens of the countries which now, most of them, form the European Union.

Turkey has come a long way and brought about a number of far-reaching reforms. These include the abolition of the death penalty, the policy of zero tolerance on torture, the measures undertaken to strengthen the civilian supremacy in the military as well as an extensive review of the Civil and Penal Codes. More recently, the Turkish Parliament adopted the new law on foundations which we believe is a step towards addressing the specific problems of non-Muslim religious communities.

We all know that a lot remains to be done for Turkey to comply fully with what we usually call European standards. Freedom of expression remains an area in which reforms are overdue. This is why I am very pleased to see that the proposal was put forward to amend article 301 of the Criminal code. On the basis of this article, hundreds of cases have been brought against Turkish citizens expressing non-violent opinions. We look forward to the adoption of the amendment in parliament and their implementation in line with European standards.

I could come up with a long list of issues on which further progress is needed for Turkey. They range from the creation of an Ombudsman, the reform of the Court of Auditors, to civil-military relations, judicial reform; it also includes cultural and minority rights, social rights including trade unions, women's and children's rights. I am aware that Turkey is undergoing a crucial political debate at the moment. Debates such as the one on the headscarf and secularism are for Turkish democracy to handle. The EU accession process provides of course an distinct framework for such debates. But, in more general terms, EU democratic requirements are clear enough to provide an anchor to the Turkish domestic debate. The main yardstick, I think, concerns tolerance for each other's beliefs and opinions. Democracy is of course about institutions, but democracy is also a culture, the culture of tolerance, the culture of dialogue, the spirit of compromise, the need to establish platforms, platforms between different political forces in the parliament or in the society. This is the culture of democracy. Democracy is much more than a set of laws. It is a spirit, the spirit that has to be impregnated in society through the dialogue of all the citizens in that society.

There is also another feature which is a part of the EU democratic tradition, and that it is precisely this need to bring a consensus. No democratic system can prosper in today's complex and open world without a strong political debate but also with a strong political commitment to reach some points of agreement in the society. This is the way the European institutions work. Consensus and compromise are part and parcel of everyday life. Can you imagine how difficult it is to bring consensus to EU? Today we are 27 countries with 27 governments plus the regional governments, and national parliaments and sometimes regional parliaments, and the European Parliament, Council and Commission. In the Commission

I have the honor to preside over, we have 27 members of the Commission: some are liberals, some are conservatives or Christian Democrats, some are Socialists or Social Democrats, and some have no party. Yet every Wednesday we reach a consensus, precisely because there is this culture of a compromise and a consensus, coming from different views, but at the end reaching a decision for the sake of the common good. And this is the important thing to understand when we speak about democratic development: the need of different opinions, the need of debate, of controversy, sometimes very, very intense political debate but at the same time the need to come to a common understanding of some basic principles and values. That is why we are following with great attention and interest the debate taking place in your country.

I would say it is very important, not only for your country, for the region, for Europe and for all the world. It is very important to show that it is possible in a country with a predominantly Muslim population, to have a real democracy and to have a democratic secularism. This is very important, because it can be a great example for other parts of the world, it can be also be a great contribution for the dialogue between different political cultures and different civilizations in the world. That is why I encourage all of you who are actively participating in that debate to give this contribution to the spirit of openness and tolerance. Because this is indeed the best way to give a concrete contribution to our European, I would say common, because I really believe it is common, project.



Ladies and gentlemen, let me conclude.

Turkish accession will not be achieved in one day. It will require sometimes difficult choices and it will be sometimes a difficult journey. But we have to keep in mind the strategic objectives. Once again, I am convinced that the EU and Turkey share a common destiny.

Our mutual duty today is continuing our engagement on these accession negotiations. The EU commitment remains strong, and I have reiterated it yesterday once again. I met the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister; I had the honour also of addressing the plenary forum of the Parliament of Turkey. That is the message I conveyed on behalf of the European Commission, and I can say also on behalf of the EU, because all the member states, even if there are sometimes different opinions, but all the member states have agreed to give a mandate to the Commission to negotiate on their behalf and to go on with those negotiations.

The need for domestic political reforms in Turkey also remains strong. Turkey will need to continue vigorously its process of internal transformation, so that Turkish citizens can fully share in the EU community of values, rights and freedoms.

At the same time, fostering the broadest possible consensus on Turkish accession among the population as a whole, both in the EU and in Turkey, this is our most challenging task ahead. I have said it yesterday in the Parliament in Ankara and I would like to repeat it today here at İstanbul Bilgi University in İstanbul. This process is not just a process for the governments or for the diplomats, with all the respect we may have for governments and diplomats. It is a process for you; it is a process for all the forces in our civil societies, for universities, for think tanks, for the business community, for trade unions, for NGOs. It is a process where we have to convince each other. We have to convince Turkey that it is in the interest of Turkey to become a full member of the EU. And Turkey also has to convince the EU that it is in the fundamental interest of the EU to have such a member among the current member states of the EU. So it will be a very challenging process where we need to go beyond traditional diplomacy or traditional intergovernmental relations. And I believe in the force of democracy, the force of open societies, and the force of open political debate. I know I am in a university that trusts in those values and that is why I can tell you with confidence that I am looking at the future of Turkey and the EU with a real hope that it will be a giant and common future around the values of freedom, solidarity and peace. Thank you for your attention.

European Union Information (EUI) Interview with Serdar Katipoğlu Director and Head Librarian



Refika Saldere: What are the aims of the European Union Information (EUI)?

Serdar Katipoğlu: The goals of the European Union Information are to support the educational and research efforts of universities and research institutes in the European integration process and to provide institutions and citizens with extensive knowledge on European politics. The European Union, within the framework of freedom of information policy, has striven for a better publicity for its projects and policies of science and technology around the world and with this aim it has established European Documentation Centre (EDC) and Information Offices in many countries. The Union provides its publications - free of charge - to these centres, which have different institutional status depending on their respective university's orientation.

RS: Could you please talk about the history and evolution of the European Union Information?

SK: The first documentation centre was established in 1963. Today there are 697 Centres around the world. 403 of these are located in EU member countries. In these Centres, students, researchers and professionals have access to all official publications of the European Union. EDC in İstanbul Bilgi University is one of the four Centres in İstanbul (and of thirteen around Turkey). By a decision in 2007, EDCs around the world were transformed into European Union Information (EUI).

RS: And the history of EUI in our university?

SK: EUI in İstanbul Bilgi University, opened in 2000, holds in its collection books, journals, CDs, DVDs, brochures and regulations published by the European Union along with domestic and international publications on the

European Union. Through the online resources gateway of the University library, access is provided to the electronic publications of the European Union. Printed journals are catalogued in metadata along with online access to the full text of their content. On-campus and off-campus access is available to the databases of EuroStat, European Library, Europa, EUR-Lex and the online content therein.

RS: Could you please give more information about these databases?

SK: Let me tell you the databases that we have in our library. We have five different databases: EuroStat, EUR-Lex, Europa, the European Library, and Sources in the EUI collection of the İstanbul Bilgi University. EuroStat is the official database of the European Union Statistics Office headquartered in Luxembourg. It provides access for EU institutions, national administrations and the public on all quantifiable issues related to the EU through periodic statistical analysis and forecasting. EUR-Lex provides access to the acquis of the EU. Through EUR-Lex, all interested parties are provided with information on both existing and new legislation. Europa is the official website for the EU. Information regarding the EU Commission, the Council, the European Parliament, economic and social committees, regional committees, European Central Bank and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development are made available through this website. It allows a search option in 23 different languages. Europe provides access to 6 million documents in PDF and HTML format. The European Library provides access to the national libraries of the EU member states from a single website. And finally, Sources in the EUI collection of the İstanbul Bilgi University are also accessible in the library.

RS: Thank you very much indeed.

Meaning	Record Count
NEWSPAPER	9
E-BOOK	450
BOOK	1200
DVD	16
ELE. RESOURCE	125
SERIAL	129
CDROM (COMPTR)	861
Totals:	2790

EVENTS

8 June 2007, İstanbul: "Freedom of Expression and its Limits - Penal Law and Freedom of Expression in Turkey and EU Countries", Symposium organized by İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law and Friedrich-Ebert Foundation Turkey;

4 - 6 October 2007, İstanbul: "Whose Memory - Which Future?", Symposium organized by Citizens without Boundaries together with İstanbul Bilgi University and Mimar Sinan University in İstanbul in cooperation with Centre for European Studies at Lund University, supported by the Consulate General of Sweden in İstanbul;



26 November 2007, İstanbul: International Forum on "Culture, Women, Violence: rejecting 'cultural' justifications for violence against women". The event commemorated the International Day for the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (designated as 25 November by the United Nations);

27 November - 6 December 2007: Prof. Dr. Luzius Wildhaber, former president of the European Court of Human Rights, conducted an eight-day seminar program on the European Human Rights



Protection System as a visiting scholar of the Faculty of Law. All students who completed the program successfully were awarded a certificate;

14-15 December 2007, İstanbul: "Compatibility of Turkish Business Law and European Union Law", Symposium organized by İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law together with the Max Planck Institute for Comparative and International Private Law, Hamburg;

14-15 February 2008, Antalya: "Turkey's EU Accession - Contribution and Role of Euro-Turks and of EU Citizens in Turkey to the Accession Process", İstanbul Bilgi University with the collaboration of Akdeniz University;

6 March 2008, Kayseri: "EU-Turkey Agenda for the 21st century: Justice, Security and Democracy", İstanbul Bilgi University with the collaboration of Erciyes University;



31 March 2008, Eskişehir: "Turkey's EU Accession Process - Role of the Private Sector", İstanbul Bilgi University with the collaboration of Anadolu University;

2 May 2008, Berlin: "Turkey at Focus in the European Integration Process", İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute in collaboration with BATI (Berlin European Turks Initiative), Europaeische Academy, Berlin;

9 May 2008, İstanbul (Europe Day): "Turkey's EU Accession Process: Where We Stand Today", European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University in collaboration with Turkey-Europe Foundation;

27-29 June 2008, İstanbul: "Nationalism and Human Rights", Conference held by IPSA (Human Rights Research Committee of the International Political Science Association) and İstanbul Bilgi University Human Rights Law Research Center.

5-6 September 2008, İstanbul: "Which Competition Policy for



Regulated Industries? Governance and Sector-Specific Perspectives", Conference organized by İstanbul Bilgi University Law Faculty, University College London (UCL) and Institute for Studies in Competition Law and Policy (IMEDIPA).

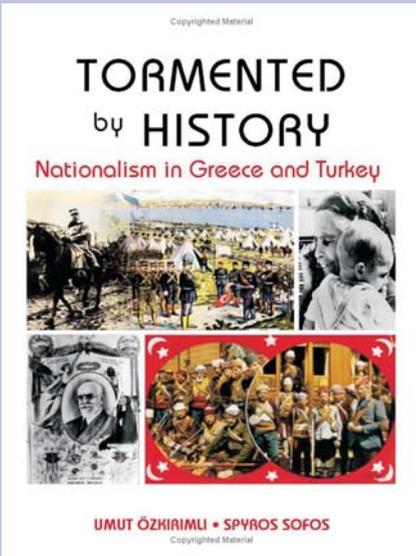
23-24 October 2008, İstanbul: "The Republic in Turkey and France", French and Turkish Comparative Seminar organized by the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University and by the French Institute of Anatolian Studies (IFEA) in İstanbul.

UPCOMING EVENTS

7-8 November 2008, İstanbul: "Religious Instruction in Secular Societies and Laicist States", Conference organized by the German Unit of the European Institute in collaboration with the Goethe Institute.

4 December 2008, İstanbul: "Management of Diversity in France and Turkey", Conference organized in collaboration with the Sciences Po-Paris and IFEA.

PUBLICATIONS



Tormented by History, written by Umut Özkırmılı and Spyros Sofos (2008), is the first study of nationalism in Greece and Turkey to date from a comparative perspective.

Grounded on an extensive critical review of historiographical sources and literature on Greek and Turkish nationalism, the book traces the emergence and development of the Greek and Turkish nationalist projects throughout the past two centuries, taking issue with established views about the inevitability of the rise of a 'Greek' and a 'Turkish' nation.

Acknowledging the complexity of the relationship between the two nationalisms, the book documents the ways in which crucial socioeconomic, political, intellectual and cultural moments affected the formation of collective identities in both countries, the often symbiotic relationship between Greek and Turkish nationalist discourses, and the unique and distinctive features of each of the two national images.

Belgian-Turks A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the European Union?



Belgian-Turks: A bridge or a breach between Turkey and the European Union? Qualitative and quantitative research to improve understanding of the Turkish communities in Belgium (2008), Ayhan Kaya and Ferhat Kentel

This book is based on a research project that deals with a range of issues, such as the relationships that Belgian-Turks have with Turkey and Europe, with Belgium, its citizens and institutions, with questions of identity and integration, where Islam - at both personal and public levels - plays an essential role.



Avrupa Birliği ve Gazetecilik (European Union and Journalism) by Esra Arsan (2008)

It has been said that reporting from Brussels is an importing task in terms of public opinion formation all over Europe.

This book deals with the role of the news media in the process of European integration and in the creation of the European public sphere. Focusing on the journalists from Greece and Hungary, "EU and Journalism" investigates journalistic role perceptions, news-gathering strategies and different editorial policies in terms of national and European levels. It relies on interviews with journalists who are covering the EU events and analyzes journalistic role perceptions and practices varying from pro-EU to Euro-skeptic and anti-EU."



The Turkish version of "COMPASS: A Manual on Human Rights Education with Young People" has been published under the title "PUSULA: Gençlerle İnsan Hakları Eğitimi Kılavuzu" (2008).

COMPASS is produced within the framework of the Human Rights Education Youth Program, which was launched in 2000 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the European Convention on Human Rights by the Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe. The Turkish translation was prepared by a member of BİLGİ Human Rights Law Research Center (Burcu Yeşiladalı), the book was edited by Kenan Çayır, Melike Türkan Bağlı and Yasemin Esen and has been published by İstanbul Bilgi University Press. COMPASS is a manual on human rights education providing youth leaders, teachers and other educators, whether professionals or volunteers, with concrete ideas and practical activities to engage, involve and motivate young people to form a positive awareness of human rights in their own ways and in their own communities. It promotes a broad understanding of human rights education - educational programs and activities that focus on promoting equality in human dignity - and sees young people as a resource.