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Abstract.

La Repubblica di Turchia nasce meno di un secolo fa dalle ceneri dell'Impero Ottomano. L'impero era molto esteso ed era formato da diversi territori e popoli, ma già prima della Prima Guerra Mondiale cominciò a disgregarsi, perdendo prima i Balcani e poi altri territori, fino alla disgregazione totale avvenuta con la Guerra Mondiale. L'impero si alleò con gli Imperi Centrali, convinto della possibilità di guadagnare nuovi territori e soprattutto convinto delle grandi capacità del suo esercito. Le sorti della Prima Guerra Mondiale furono diverse e l'Impero ci rimise non poco, perdendo anche il controllo del suo flusso commerciale, del Mar Nero e delle sue vie di comunicazione, passati sotto controllo dell'Intesa. Dalla divisione successiva alla sconfitta della Grande Guerra nacquero la Turchia e il vicino Mondo arabo. Una delle principali ragioni per cui la Turchia è entrata nella Prima Guerra Mondiale è stato il bisogno di aiuti dagli Imperi Centrali per affrontarla, data la sua debolezza interna. Il protagonista della nascita della Repubblica di Turchia è stato Kemal Atatürk, che con la sua idea di modernità ha cercato di sviluppare la nuova Repubblica in chiave occidentale. Nato da una famiglia di classe medio-bassa, ha sempre frequentato scuole di alto livello, spinto dal padre che voleva seguisse la carriera militare. Si fece riconoscere per il grande impegno e per la sua bravura tanto che il nome Kemal, che significa perfezione, gli fu attribuito in seguito, proprio per le sue doti. Da giovane viaggiò molto, in Italia, in Libia, in Tracia, dimostrandosi aperto alle nuove culture ma anche un valoroso soldato durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale, dove combatté nella Battaglia di Gallipoli. Nel 1922 prese il potere della Turchia, proclamando la nascita della Repubblica. Iniziò così il processo di modernizzazione della Turchia, guidato da Atatürk, che voleva una nuova nazione, fatta di Turchi che sentissero la loro appartenenza alla Turchia e non all'Impero. La sua idea innovativa di stato includeva la distruzione del vecchio, ossia della vecchia cultura dell'Impero, dell'avversione tra le diverse comunità che lo componevano e del sentimento di appartenenza a un grande Impero. Il 1923 è stato l'anno zero della Turchia, anno di inizio delle modernizzazione del nuovo

stato che si rivolgeva sempre più a Occidente. La sua politica fu definita completamente rivoluzionaria: la donna diventò importante quasi quanto l'uomo, sua moglie fu una delle prime a salire all'altare al fianco del marito, così come l'economia, che divenne fattore principale dello sviluppo dello stato. Incontrò molti ostacoli nel suo percorso, inizialmente per l'avversione di molti oppositori politici che non credevano nella riuscita di questo cambiamento, e poi per la dura trasformazione che diede allo stato: decise di isolare parzialmente l'economia Turca dal resto del mondo, convinto che altri potessero intaccare il suo sviluppo. Dichiarò l'Islam la lingua ufficiale di Turchia, avviò i lavori per la nuova Costituzione, abolì diverse proibizioni, come l'alcol, e avviò un'importante rivoluzione culturale, che riteneva la più importante. Nonostante la grande iniziale avversione di molti verso Atatürk, dopo la sua morte si capirono i suoi intenti e molti lo seguirono per continuare il suo progetto di modernizzazione. Per la prima volta, nel 1960, la Turchia riuscì ad avere una nuova Costituzione, approvata da un'Assemblea Costituente. Solamente dagli inizi del 2000 la situazione politica in Turchia è cambiata: con l'arrivo di Recep Tayyip Erdogan, che fondò nel 2002 l'AKP (Partito di Giustizia e Sviluppo) ispirato principalmente alla religione Islamica (che prima era ignorata da Atatürk e i suoi successori). Cambiò anche la situazione internazionale, con le grandi potenze preoccupate per questo cambio di rotta e per le possibili conseguenze. La Turchia, fin dalla nascita della Repubblica è sempre stata chiusa al mondo, limitando le relazioni diplomatiche e politiche con il resto del mondo. Solo dagli anni Cinquanta ha iniziato ad aprirsi a nuovi contatti, anche se il più delle volte era solo per interesse economico, della Turchia, o politico e territoriale, degli altri Stati. Fa parte del Consiglio d'Europa dal 1949, della NATO dal 1952 e dagli anni Sessanta ha iniziato ad aspirare all'entrata nell'Unione Europea.

La sua posizione geografica è sempre stata un fattore di successo per le relazioni esterne; nonostante la volontà di chiusura di Atatürk, sono diverse le relazioni intraprese dal 1922. URSS, Italia, Grecia sono alcuni dei paesi firmatari di accordi di cooperazione. Anche durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale la Turchia cercò di trarre i maggiori benefici dalle sue alleanze, ma fu dagli anni Sessanta che iniziò il suo percorso di avvicinamento all'Unione Europea. Nel 1959 cominciarono le

consultazioni per poter entrare nella CEE (Comunità Economica Europea), anche se la questione di Cipro creava non pochi problemi. Nel 1963 con la firma degli accordi di Ankara, vennero definite le modalità di integrazione alla CEE, e il successivo Protocollo aggiunto nel 1970, prevedeva l'istituzione di un'unione doganale entro 12 anni. Il processo, formato da tre distinti periodi, doveva concludersi con la completa eliminazione di tariffe e dazi. I tempi furono più lunghi del previsto, nel 1977 fu aggiunto un ulteriore protocollo riguardante l'agricoltura, e solo nel 1996 si arrivò al completamento dell'Unione Doganale. Entrambe le parti ancora oggi possono beneficiare del reciproco scambio di merci su via preferenziale e la Turchia rimane uno dei principali partner economici dell'Unione Europea. La situazione politica interna della Turchia, però, rallentò la procedura e allontanò il paese dall'Unione Europea, che riprese i suoi contatti solo dopo la fine della Guerra Fredda, nel 1991, anche se con grosse difficoltà di stare al passo con le normative europee. Le difficoltà si ripercuotono ancora oggi con la negazione di poter entrare nell'UE da parte di alcuni stati europei che bloccano il processo. È sì un processo lungo, ma la Turchia è stata uno dei primi paesi candidati e l'unica a non esserne ancora parte: molte politiche turche non sono ancora in linea con quelle europee. Dovrebbe adattare tutto il corpo di leggi, circa 130 mila pagine di documenti, raggruppati in 35 capitoli, nonché la propria legislazione che comporterebbe drastici cambiamenti in molti ambiti, come ambiente, trasporti, agricoltura e inquinamento. La Turchia, oggi, non è ancora in grado di rispettare i tre Criteri di Copenaghen, del 1993: avere istituzioni stabili che garantiscono democrazia, rispetto della legge e dei diritti umani, un mercato economico funzionante e capacità di relazione con gli altri mercati europei e la capacità di soddisfare gli obblighi di membro europeo, compresi oneri politici, economici e monetari. La lunghezza del processo di adesione è imputabile solo allo stato aderente, poiché l'UE è favorevole al maggior numero di adesioni, dato che il suo scopo è l'allargamento. Nel 2005 l'UE ha ufficialmente aperto il processo di negoziazione con cui la Turchia dovrebbe poi entrare nell'Unione. Durante le negoziazioni vengono analizzati tutti i 35 capitoli del corpo di leggi; purtroppo dopo più di dieci anni solamente quello di "scienze e ricerca" è stato completato, mentre la maggior parte sono ancora fermi e alcuni, come il libero

movimento di merci e sviluppo agricolo, sono stati addirittura sospesi dopo l'iniziale apertura. I report che ogni anno l'UE redige per evidenziare i progressi fatti dagli stati aderenti non sono positivi per la Turchia: nell'ultimo del novembre 2015 la Turchia presenta molte carenze, tra cui debolezza politica nell'attuare nuove riforme e troppi problemi di corruzione legati anche alle attività di commercio. La divisione nell'accettare o meno la candidatura turca, da parte degli stati europei, è un altro problema che frena la sua entrata; la Turchia diventerebbe il paese più popoloso dell'Unione, con 70 milioni di abitanti, aumentando drasticamente la presenza di Musulmani. Inoltre la Turchia sarebbe il paese più esteso, fattore che sposterebbe gli equilibri europei verso oriente. Non solo avrebbe ripercussioni nella religione, nei territori e nella popolazione, ma anche all'interno delle Istituzioni europee, cambiando la distribuzione dei seggi nel Parlamento Europeo, ad esempio, e nella distribuzione di sussidi agli stati. La Turchia risulta però essere un paese molto ricco, solo Londra, Mosca e New York hanno più abitanti ricchi di Istanbul, il che significa che porterebbe nell'Unione grande ricchezza economica; non per niente sono molte le imprese europee che da anni hanno intrapreso investimenti in Turchia. Alla Turchia è permesso di partecipare ad alcune sedute del Parlamento Europeo, con il quale ha importanti relazioni, tra cui la Commissione Parlamentare Mista creata tra le due parti nel 1965. Nonostante il ritardo nell'adattarsi ai principi europei che le permetterebbero di entrare nell'Unione, la Turchia sta progredendo in alcuni punti: ha, ad esempio eliminato la pena di morte nel 2003 e riformato il sistema carcerario. Ha iniziato inoltre la lotta alla corruzione e ai crimini organizzati che sono una vera spina nel fianco per questo paese. La Turchia ha avviato con l'Europa un dialogo di cooperazione per l'energia e altre risorse energetiche. Soprattutto per gli ultimi sviluppi dei nuovi gasdotti e per aiutare l'Europa a ridurre la sua dipendenza russa. Accordi sono stati presi anche per quanto riguarda le missioni militari, entrando in Europa, la Turchia porterebbe il più grande esercito per l'Unione. Per questo ha già iniziato a prender parte ad alcune missioni europee come EUFOR-ALTHEA, in Bosnia-Erzegovina, o EULEX in Kosovo. Uno dei trattati più importanti, soprattutto dopo i recenti sviluppi, è il Visa Agreement. Tra le due parti si è formata una stretta cooperazione in materia di

Visti e frontiere, per regolare e aiutare i flussi migratori, rilasciare passaporti e diminuire i crimini. L'Unione europea vorrebbe favorire i benefici di Schengen anche a paesi terzi che per affari o turismo attraversano spesso le frontiere, e uno di questi paesi è proprio la Turchia. Il trattato più importante rimane però l'EUROMED: è stato definito come un'alternativa per la Turchia all'entrata nell'Unione, ma si è rivelata solo una politica comune tra i paesi affacciati al Mediterraneo, a cui poi si sono aggiunti altri paesi europei. È stato ideato nel 1995 dai ministri degli esteri e poggia le basi sulla Dichiarazione di Barcellona. È un'alleanza di cooperazione, dialogo e sicurezza, che nel 2008 è stata rilanciata come Unione per il Mediterraneo, con l'intento di creare una migliore stabilità tra le parti, con nuove iniziative, regionali e sub-regionali. Come già detto, il processo di adesione è in parte bloccato dai continui no di alcuni stati, come ad esempio Germania, Francia, Grecia e Austria, mentre altri, come Italia, Svezia, Belgio e Spagna continuano la loro insistenza per far entrare il prima possibile la Turchia nell'Unione Europea.

Anche per il prolungarsi delle trattative di adesione, la Turchia ha iniziato a guardarsi attorno, orientando i suoi interessi verso sud e verso oriente. Dalla fine degli anni Novanta l'allora Primo Ministro Erdogan, decise di cambiare la rotta politica della Turchia orientandola verso il Medio Oriente e l'Africa, con buoni risultati inizialmente. La ripresa delle relazioni con il Medio Oriente significava anche la ripresa della vecchia cultura Ottomana, l'importanza della religione musulmana e delle vecchie tradizioni: ciò che per anni era stato eliminato da Atatürk e i suoi successori. Il Nuovo Ottomanesimo, come è stata definita questa nuova politica, mira al buon vicinato, forte del motto "zero problemi con i vicini". Per questo Erdogan, fin dall'inizio del suo mandato, ha intrapreso nuove relazioni, soprattutto in Africa. Ha dichiarato il 2005 "Anno dell'Africa", riservando molto spazio e viaggi a diversi paesi, visitandoli personalmente e avviando politiche economiche con alcuni di questi. Per l'impegno si è guadagnato un posto di osservatore nell'Unione Africana nel 2005. La Turchia ha riservato molti aiuti economici per questi paesi, destinandone la maggior parte all'istruzione che ritiene fondamentale per lo sviluppo. Miglioramenti sono stati fatti anche a livello diplomatico, con l'aumento del numero di ambasciate presenti sul suolo africano e

del Medio Oriente, nonché di quelle africane presenti sul territorio Turco. La Turchia nega che tutto il suo interesse sia solo economico, sottolineando il fatto che il voler aiutare questi paesi nello sviluppo significa anche migliorare una civiltà in profonda crisi culturale e identitaria. Ma il vero interesse turco sta nelle grandi possibilità economiche di questi territori, date dalle risorse energetiche e minerarie. Non per niente sono moltissime le aziende turche che hanno deciso di creare nuovi stabilimenti in Africa, aiutati dai nuovi accordi e dalle nuove facilitazioni. Non solo sviluppo e istruzione sono gli impegni presi dalla Turchia in Africa, ma anche, e soprattutto, la sanità: miliardi sono stati spesi finora per la costruzione di nuovi ospedali e per il miglioramento di altri, in particolare dopo l'epidemia di Ebola che ha colpito alcuni paesi. È una politica rischiosa, perché spesso gli investimenti sono superiori alle reali potenzialità turche, e per questo ha ricevuto diverse critiche, ma Erdogan crede nella buona riuscita di questa politica di "Africanizzazione". Concretamente la Turchia coopera in diverse organizzazioni con Africa, tra cui Tuskon, cioè la Confederazione di Imprenditori e industriali della Turchia. Questa organizzazione esporta lo sviluppo in altri paesi con l'intenzione di promuovere nuove ambizioni economiche: nasce come organizzazione ombrello che coopera con circa 140 paesi tra cui molti africani, intervenendo con aiuti concreti come la costruzione di nuove scuole e ospedali. Si occupa essa stessa della ripartizione dei fondi da destinare ai diversi progetti. Un'altra importante organizzazione è T.I.K.A., creata nel 1992. Oggi si occupa di creare cooperazione e sviluppo in determinate aree del pianeta, tra cui l'Africa appunto: il caso Ebola ha impegnato molto T.I.K.A. che ha destinato la maggior parte dei suoi fondi per l'emergenza. Importanza rilevante hanno i Summit di cooperazione tra Turchia e Africa che si tengono per favorire lo sviluppo e la cooperazione delle parti. Il primo summit si tenne nel 2008, l'ultimo nel 2014, durante i quali sono stati disegnati dei piani di intervento per la collaborazione in diversi settori, come l'ambiente, l'inquinamento, l'istruzione e i trasporti, con obiettivi specifici da raggiungere entro la data prestabilita. . Per quanto riguarda il medio Oriente la Turchia coopera con l'Organizzazione di Cooperazione Islamica, creata nel 1969, che conta oggi 57 membri, uniti dall'intento di proteggere gli interessi islamici, che vengono prima di tutto in ordine di importanza, con

particolare attenzione ai diritti umani e al terrorismo. Dal 1992 alcuni paesi del Medio Oriente fanno parte dell'OCE (Organizzazione di Cooperazione Economica), di cui già la Turchia ne faceva parte, essendo membro fondatore. Il ruolo principale è di promozione della cooperazione regionale, intesa come cooperazione economica ma anche di sviluppo in diversi settori. Le crescenti relazioni tra Turchia e paesi africani e del Medio Oriente giova molto a questi ultimi, nonostante vi siano enormi differenze culturali ed economiche, poiché viene data loro la possibilità di uno sviluppo reale che talvolta è solo promesso da altre grandi potenze. I lati positivi di questa cooperazione sono molti, anche se purtroppo permane il lato discriminatorio nella maggior parte dei progetti: gli studenti africani che decidono di trascorrere periodi di studio in Turchia sono migliaia, ma sono fermati da atti discriminatori che ancora oggi li riguarda. La Turchia deve ancora crescere molto culturalmente prima di potersi identificare come leader di questi paesi.

Attualmente la Turchia deve risolvere delle situazioni pesanti che gravano sul suo conto. Una di queste è l'immigrazione; è sia un problema umanitario, dato l'elevato numero di vittime che sta creando e il numero di persone che si stanno spostando da uno stato all'altro, sia politico, poiché spesso sono accordi mancanti che rallentano i flussi. L'ambiguità politica turca ha creato non pochi problemi: prima si credeva sostenesse l'IS, mentre ora è dichiaratamente dalla parte degli stati occidentali che lo combattono. Che questo cambio sia solo uno strumento per far capire all'Occidente di cosa sia capace non è chiaro, ma di sicuro questi cambi repentini non fanno altro che allontanarla dall'ingresso nell'Unione. La Turchia, infatti, è solo territorio di passaggio per i migliaia di migranti che tentano di entrare in Europa attraverso i suoi territori. Il fatto che l'Europa debba accogliere tutti i migranti e che la Turchia non curi il fenomeno, facilitando il loro ingresso, sta creando difficoltà anche agli stati europei, che non sanno più come gestire l'emergenza. Tra gli stessi ci sono poi opinioni contrarie, tanto che l'emergenza sta richiedendo un grande sforzo diplomatico; l'ultimo è l'istituzione di un fondo di 3 miliardi di euro, destinato alla Turchia, per la risoluzione, almeno in parte, del problema. L'Italia di Renzi, ad esempio, è contraria, visto che l'Italia sta già affrontando l'emergenza migratoria nei suoi territori, e con i suoi fondi, mentre

Angela Merkel è pienamente convinta che tutti gli stati debbano contribuire, senza esclusioni, dato che fanno parte di un'Unione.

Un altro problema che la Turchia sta affrontando è l'incidente diplomatico avvenuto con la Russia, che potrebbe danneggiare anche le conseguenti relazioni con l'Europa. La Turchia è accusata di aver abbattuto un caccia russo in territorio siriano, mentre essa ritiene che l'aereo si trovasse in territorio turco. Il caso è diventato motivo di preoccupazione, dato che una guerra tra Russia e Turchia potrebbe danneggiare molti equilibri internazionali: l'Europa stessa si trova tra l'appoggiare la Turchia, che a sua volta è appoggiata dagli USA, e restare neutrale per non perdere la grande alleanza che ha con la Russia, sua fornitrice principale di risorse energetiche. Non poco ha influito, anche in questo caso, la sua ambiguità politica: è una dei più fedeli alleati NATO, che combatte l'IS, ma allo stesso tempo è accusata di appoggiare e favorire le sue azioni. Soprattutto dopo l'incidente aereo, le relazioni tra Turchia e Russia sono complicate, la questione riguarda le risorse energetiche, in particolare il gas, che la Russia rifornisce a Turchia e Unione Europea. La Russia ovviamente fa il suo gioco, cercando di trarre maggiori benefici da entrambe le parti: l'alleanza turca con l'Azerbaijan potrebbe ridurre la sua domanda di gas. I paesi europei stavano costruendo l'alternativa alla Russia; si trattava di un progetto innovativo, il Gasdotto Nabucco, che passando per il Caucaso, il Medio Oriente e i Balcani sarebbe arrivato in Austria, da dove poi si sarebbe diramato nel resto d'Europa. La Russia per evitare questa perdita ha prima creato l'alternativa, il South Stream, e ha poi raddoppiato la sua portata in modo da renderla il miglior concorrente. Ha inoltre comprato grosse forniture dall'Azerbaijan in modo da toglierlo dalla competizione per la fornitura europea. Il Nabucco è fallito, sia per la sua debolezza di progetto che per le alte aspettative europee, ed ora l'alternativa è il TAP, Trans Adriatic Pipeline, che attraverso Turchia e Grecia, arriverà sulle coste italiane per poi raggiungere il resto d'Europa. Si collegherà al TANAP, il Trans Anatolian Pipeline, in Turchia, per poi dividersi nuovamente per raggiungere l'Europa. Questi progetti sono iniziali, e il precedente fallimento del Nabucco dimostra come già tra di loro gli stati europei non siano in grado di raggiungere velocemente decisioni unanimi e come non siano autonomi per i loro interessi. Si

dimostra ancora una volta come l'Europa, così come la Turchia, sia irrimediabilmente dipendente da altre potenze, in questo caso la Russia per quanto riguarda i rifornimenti energetici. Turchia e Unione Europea potrebbero collaborare per trovare la giusta alternativa che riduca drasticamente la loro dipendenza dalla Russia, ma spesso altri problemi diplomatici bloccano la riuscita: ne è un esempio il fatto che la Turchia, aiutando l'Europa nel trovare l'alternativa potrebbe risolvere in parte la questione di Cipro, coinvolto nel passaggio del nuovo gasdotto, e così avvicinarsi all'entrata nell'Unione.

Per quanto riguarda le relazioni con il Medio Oriente e l'Africa, la Turchia ha influito molto sulla Primavera Araba. Il suo intervento è dovuto al fatto che Erdogan, avrebbe voluto diventare leader politico ed economico nella regione, esportando la democrazia turca in tutti quegli stati che si sono ribellati ai loro regimi, con la speranza di risolvere le loro crisi interne. I diversi tentativi turchi di imporre il nuovo modello democratico non sono riusciti positivamente, tanto perché era impensabile imporre un modello di stato occidentale, quale è la Turchia, a paesi arabi, tanto perché la situazione era più grave dei suoi calcoli, che prevedevano la fine dei regimi in tempi brevi senza ulteriori guerre o crisi interne. Tutto ciò ha allontanato ulteriormente la Turchia dall'Unione Europea, il favoreggiamento del mondo islamico preoccupa infatti l'Europa per le possibili conseguenze dovute alla sua entrata.

La continua ambiguità turca destabilizza i suoi rapporti con le altre potenze, tanto che sono cambiati anche le relazioni tra loro. Ne sono esempio il fallimento nella Primavera Araba e nell'adesione all'Unione Europea che persiste tutt'oggi. Erdogan ha contribuito in parte a questo fallimento, cambiando rotta politica e sconvolgendo tutto ciò che da Atatürk in poi la Turchia era riuscita a creare. È un continuo rimbalzo di opinioni negative tra le parti: la Turchia crede che l'Europa la escluda per motivi religiosi, che potrebbero causare nuovi squilibri tra gli stati, non capendo invece che l'Europa non accetta i suoi fallimenti politici e il suo lungo processo di adattamento alle regole europee, prima di tutto i diritti umani. Lo stesso succede per le relazioni con il mondo arabo, tanto che l'IS ha colpito

direttamente nel suo centro economico e culturale principale a gennaio, Istanbul, evidenziando come il suo cambio di rotta anche nel mondo arabo non sia piaciuto.

La Turchia rimane un nodo fondamentale da risolvere perché crea problemi non solo tra sé e altri stati ma anche tra gli altri stessi stati: l'Europa è tuttora divisa nelle decisioni da prendere per la Turchia, ne sono l'esempio le dispute per il finanziamento dei 3 miliardi di euro per risolvere l'emergenza migranti e le divisioni interne all'Unione per la questione di Cipro. Nonostante sia parte del Consiglio d'Europa, faccia parte di una delle Unioni Doganali più solide e proficue e potrebbe benissimo competere con molti stati europei, ancora non riesce ad entrare nell'Unione Europea, nonostante sia stata uno dei primi stati a farne richiesta. Le stesse potenzialità le potrebbe avere nel mondo arabo, dato il suo orientamento religioso che influisce parecchio nella sua politica e le grandi capacità economiche che potrebbe avere nella regione. Finché non risolve le sue ambiguità e i suoi repentini cambi di rotta, dovuti a interessi prettamente economici, la Turchia non riuscirà mai ad ottenere il ruolo di leader che vorrebbe guadagnare, se prima non prende posizioni certe.

Introduction.

The thesis concerns the relations which Turkey has with European Union and Middle East and African countries. The objective of the paper is to analyze how Turkey interacts with these countries in order to maintain solid relationships. Turkey is a good ally but its last actions in international policy created several problems, due to its ambiguity and to the fact that it is not able to take definitive decisions. It is not easy to take position because conditions and actions change rapidly, and what was sure 6 months ago, now it has just changed. Relations change for the change of the interests of the States and it is difficult to find similar positions: for the same episode we find different positions of the parts, so we must be objective as much as possible, in order to not accord with the wrong part. The thesis is both political and historical: political because it develops all the political relations between Turkey and European Union, and between Turkey and Middle East and Africa, historical because, especially in the first chapter, it proposes the Turkish political process from the end of the Ottoman Empire until the present.

The idea to develop this thesis was born during the Academic course of History of the Mediterranean Relations, in which I developed a research concerning the position of Turkey in the Mediterranean Sea, between North and South of the Sea. The project interested me so I decided to carry it on for my thesis' project, developing, above all, the recent episodes which happened and that are important to underline Turkish position. My interest in the actuality contributed to build a thesis that concentrate more in the last events and processes than the historical ones, so after an historical introduction, the thesis concerns the events of the last years.

The research has been concentrated in internet, because, despite the importance of the theme, I found more of the documents there, and few in books or magazines. I read many Italian newspapers, in order to understand, day by day, the evolution of the themes involving in the work, as the incident to the Russian plane or the

terroristic attacks. The difficulty I have found concerns the validity of the sources: the same notice or event was described in different way by different sources, so the work was complicated also because I must read many details to have a clear idea of what I was affording.

Thesis is divided into 5 chapters, which chronologically follow the evolution of the relations.

The first chapter concerns the history of Turkey, from the end of the Ottoman Empire, through the arrival of Atatürk, to the naissance of the Republic until nowadays. It is pretty historical and descriptive of what happened in Turkey during the last century and how Turkey has changed with the different Presidents. The second one regard the relations that Turkey has with European Unions, the project of joining the Union and the long process of Accession. The second part concerns the Agreement signed between the parts and the policy which are trying to carry on together to reach a major cooperation. The chapter ends with the position of some of the European countries about the entrance of the Turkey in the Union. The third underlines the changes in the Turkish policy in the last years, with the change of its interests and positions towards South of the Mediterranean Sea. The chapter develops all the policies actuated by the parts, Turkey and African Countries before, and Turkey and Middle East then, and it ends with positive and negative aspects of the Turkish presence in these territories. Chapter 4 develops the theme of the entire thesis, the ambiguity of Turkey in its policy and in its relations with other states. Examples of the Russian plane's incident and the Arab Spring explain how Turkey is not able to take definitive positions in what it does. The final chapter could be a conclusion, but it is impossible to find one, due to its continuous changes and to the continuous development of the relations between it and the other parts involved in its policies.

Chapter I

The naissance of the Republic of Turkey.

1.1 The end of the Ottoman Empire.

The Republic of Turkey is a relatively young Republic, born less than a drain ago from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was formed by several territories and people, who were not able to continue the prestigious honor of the ancient Empire. The huge territory included Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East, Egypt and part of North Africa, but its influence reached also the Red Sea and the Sahara Desert. After a period of internal crisis, the Ottomans reestablished a central power in the Empire, which allowed to introduce reforms and preserve the unity. Before the First World War the Balkans started to become independent and other Ottomans territories went under Britain, Russian and Austrian's influence. The Empire lost most of its power during the First World War, because of its alliance to the central powers, and the consequences were obvious. The Ottoman Empire chose to allied with central power; Enver, minister of war¹, and Talat, two of the most important political figure of the time, thought that neutrality would have been advantageous for Ottoman Empire only in case of victory of Central Powers, and that they could participate actively for it. Unfortunately they believe on the great possibilities of their army to contribute to the victory, but the Entente was superior. Ottoman Empire wanted to become protagonist of the war, but Central Powers did not allow them because of their coarseness and rough experience in dealing with the war. Central Powers understood the inability of Ottomans to afford a war and they soon got reason to believe that; rarely Ottoman Empire could demonstrated its power, one of these occasions was the Gallipoli Campaign in 1915². Despite this episode Ottomans

¹ <http://www.firstworldwar.com/bio/enver.htm> last visit 23/10/2015

² <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/battle-of-gallipoli> last visit 23/10/2015

had few satisfactions in the First World War. Being part of the loser alliance took it more disadvantages than advantages; one of the possibility was that it could have recovered some Caucasian territories, in case of positive outcome in the occidental front, the only one still possible to conquer. The First World War ended in the worst way for the Central Empires, and consequently, for the Ottoman Empire³: the armistice has not been easy, the Entente would have controlled railways, Black Sea, telephone networks and naval flows in addition to the territories and prisoners of war. The partitioning of the Ottoman Empire has been a direct consequence of the First World War, the geopolitical context of this conflict was linked to the division of the Empire and to the naissance of new States. The partitioning lasted about 4 years, started in 1918, after the armistice, ended in 1922, it took long time because of the huge conglomeration of territories and people that comprised the Ottoman Empire. Not only Turkey born from this division, but also the Arab World. France took mandates over Syria and Lebanon and United Kingdom over Mesopotamia (later Iraq) and Palestine. The Arabian Peninsula became the Kingdom of Hejaz (today Saudi Arabia), and the possessions of the Persian Gulf were shared between Saudi Arabia and British protectorates (Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar).

There is not only one reason of the entrance of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, but Ottomans thought that the First World War could have been the excuse for the Independence War, fought between 1919 and 1923. First World War has been overshadowed by the National War for Independence, and it occupied a central role in the Turkish historiography. What happened before and after the Independence War did not matter for Turkey, and despite its greatness, also the First World War has no an important role as the one of the Independence War. Despite the weakness of its army and capability to afford a war, the Ottoman Empire allied with Central Power in order to receive aid in the Balkans riots for independence. The real problem was, in fact, the internal policy, because the Arab world was fighting to free itself from Turkey, started just before the War, and they managed to obtain some results from the segregation of the Empire. The Empire

³ http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/war_end_01.shtml last visit 23/10/2015

was weak and impoverished of people (after the Armenian genocide⁴), for this reasons Empire's people was listless and weary to react at the mobilizations of their Heads; in the 1918, when Adana city was occupied, some Armenian units allied with French troops in order to fight against Muslim units. The sense of loss was very high, Muslims began to worry about the possibility that other Communities could avenge their position and that they could allied with other States (maybe Occidental States) in order to keep their position in the Empire.

2.2 Atatürk and his new policy.

During the years of wars a new figure emerged in the Ottoman policy, who will become a protagonist during and after the end of them: Kemal Atatürk. He born in difficult years, when the Ottoman Empire was in a deep level of humiliation and it was covered of debts with European Power, and in which there were several communities and religions living together. He probably born in 1881, but it is not sure and his name was simply Mustafa, that becoming Mustafa Kemal then and at the end, when he had the power of the entire Turkey, Kemal Atatürk. He belonged to lower middle class but his father obliged him to attend school of higher level, not in the district where they lived. The father, against the will of the mother, forced him to the military career; already in those years Mustafa showed his preparation and his charisma to the politic and to the military career, and in particular he demonstrated his attitude to a modern policy rather than an older one and to a revolutionary thought; during the first years of the Military Academy he became Mustafa Kemal ("perfection") because of his remarkable aptitude in class, in particular in Math. He particularly had modern vision of the world and he started to think about a modern Empire during the academy, beginning not to wear the official uniform and not neglecting women and alcohol during his evening: he often went against Islamic ideals, not giving importance to the strong roles imposed by it. The school helped him to strengthen his idea about the Government

⁴ http://www.nytimes.com/ref/timestopics/topics_armeniangenocide.html last visit 25/10/2015

and the Court which felt like place of ineptitude and treason, full of people incapable to save the State. Since he was young he demonstrated his honesty and his political sensibility, and despite his opposition to the Islamic laws he maintained needs and cultures of the people of the Empire. He lived his youngness between the closed mentality of his mother, based on tradition and ancient cultures, and his father, open-minded and in favor of a new culture and a new way of think the State. After the end of his studies, became officer of the army, he joined, in 1904, a small secret revolutionary society of reformist officer, called Vatan ve Hürriyet ("Motherland and Liberty"). Kemal was not yet a leader but he began to grow his personal ideas and interests in politics, despite he could not put into practice them. He travelled a lot in these years, he afforded Italian army in Libya, then he moved in Thrace, and during the First World War he was in Gallipoli, where his charisma came out and he has been considered like a leader. He demonstrated himself as a valid soldier and officer, considered as a hero by his army and other officer. After the armistice he has been opposed to the resignation of the government with which it accepted the condition of the Convention of Mudros, firmed in October 31st 1918. The Convention imposed the demobilization of the Ottoman army and its evacuation from the Caucasian territories, in order to divided Ottoman territories and to assign them to different States (Greece, Russia, Great Britain, France). Kemal made the second important step to capture attention and estimate from Government (the first one was the Dardanelles's Battle), he issued the Amaysa's Circular in June 1919, with which he declared that the Government is not more able to afford the situation and he created a counter-power in Anatolia. While the Capital was occupied from allied troops, he contracted with Russia in order to stabilize oriental borders. He became head of the dictatorship, until 1922, and his power allowed him to nip every attempts of dissent; he took the opportunity to realize the project of an independent State. With the escape of Mohammed, the Ankara Government was the only signatory of the definitive Peace Agreement of Lausanne, in 1923. Kemal proclaimed the naissance of the Republic of Turkey the October 29th 1923. Atatürk was not seen in a positive way in these last years, opposition thought that he was making a lot of irreparable errors which would take Turkey in ruin, but he

continued his politic because he knew that Turkish wanted only their own independence. In few years the Empire had been dissolved, Turkey became a Republic and the Turkish started to see them as Turkish, not Ottomans. This is the occidental way to see themselves, not more part of an Empire, but part of their lands, Turkey and not more.

Atatürk introduced this new thought that can be considered the “Kemalism manifesto”; the pedagogical function assigned to the occidental class, the struggle for national liberation as one of the first steps for the political and cultural revolution and the needs to absorb most of the occidental values. In this way he believed on the possible destruction of the ancient Turkey (Ottoman Empire) not as humiliation of the old culture of its population but as recovery of the genuine aspects lost in the Islamic civilization. He was convinced that before the new, it was necessary to destroy the old; for this reason, he is considered a great destructor of part of the Ottoman culture. It was important to start with the feeling of belonging of the people living in the State. His idea was to include all the smaller communities into the Turkish one, so also the Kurds would have said “I’m a Turkish”. In his conception to be Turkish was a privilege open to all the people who was living in Turkey.⁵ Atatürk tried to convince people that it was an identity fact, not ethnic; people, firstly, has to convince itself of the change. It was not easy to change their identity, also because of the recent Armenian Genocide, but Atatürk had the idea that a people exist if there is a State, with its territories and its borders. This is one of the revolutionary thought of the Kemalism: nowadays it is usual to think that a people can exist also without a State (for example Serbs in Kosovo and Jews in Palestine).

1923 was the “zero year” of the Turkey; Atatürk brought change and news in the economy; in the last years the gross domestic product decreased of 39% compared to 1914, prices increased of 1279%, the industrial apparatus was set back and infrastructures was crumbling. Atatürk chose to build an economy of national market linked to the capital global one, he gave priority to the national market because of its status of degrades: Kemal has to start without money to invest and

⁵Fabio L. Grassi “*Atatürk*” Salerno Editrice, Roma Pag. 256

without a solid organization, he wanted to take the Turkish market through the western market but step by step, not quickly. To Occidentalize the market was the best action for the market because continuing in the old direction Turkey would be turned down again in a deep crisis as the one at the beginning of the century.

His politics were defined completely revolutionary because of the many changes he did in few years, people accepted all the new ideas and laws of Kemal, every person was identical in front of the law, the only different class was the army, but only for the fact that they were fighters and they needed greater respect, but in life men and women were the same; on January 29th, 1923 he married Lâife with a Muslim marriage, with some innovations, they set nearly one each other, the women in their ceremony did not have the same position of the men, and he had to ask her the consensus to marry her, consensus that normally was not requested. Kemal expressed the desire that all the future marriages would have been as his marriage. He was convinced not only himself of what he was doing, but he had the capability to convince all other people; this is a particular feature which allowed him to become a leader. The mission was hard, because conservatives were many and they had anti-occidental ideas, in fact Atatürk admitted that he would not have made an authentic occidental Party, but he wanted to create a “training Party” for modern politics, he wanted to avoid subjugation suffered in the past years. He changed his way of speaking in order to be followed by the most, in the 1920s he made long and strong speeches while ten years later he learned to be more rapid and concise. He was trained to every situation, he did not refuse to follow Islam because he thought that it was the way to arrive to the majority of the population in Turkey, and he did not want to be only a Sultan who imposed laws and rules, he wanted to work for the people. What he changed in the Turkish mentality was the importance given to the economy: he introduced the thought that economy was the most important aspect of a State, all the causes of the rise and the fall of Turkey are linked to economic aspects. He often alluded to the failure of the Ottoman Empire in his speeches, and this is a perfect example, because he believed that the Empire wanted to compete with Occidental countries just improving the army, not the economy. He strongly believed in the renaissance of Turkey, the period of inertia was finished and the way to independence had to

start; independence which had to be completely, in political, economic, legal, financial, military and cultural aspects, because only if turkey would had reach independence in each of these aspects, would had reach the complete independence. He did not mean to close the State to other external relations, but Turkish market had to be respected, avoiding foreign interference which could damage internal economy. The development must be done with less foreign money as possible, Atatürk knew that this way would be longer and more difficult, but he did not want to be linked to other States. For what concerns the role of the woman he was strongly revolutionary; for the first time, during his marriage, the bride was admitted to the altar next to husband, and his wife often appeared during his public debates. But he was convinced that women had no right as men, they had to be threaten like in a harem, under control of the husband and that they reach their completely freedom only with death. The predominant role of the man must be protected but women must be educated, sometimes more than men, and they must participate to economic, social and cultural life of the State, but not provoking excesses. To understand the change happened in Turkey from 1922, the year of the begin of the republic of Turkey, we must know every aspect of Atatürk; he is complicated to know, because sometimes he seems ambiguous and contradictory but he maintained same goals for all his life: to take Turkey out of the Empire and to create a modern Republic.

The Lausanne Agreement⁶ of 1923, marked a deep change; final agreements moved against Turkey but they were still better than the initial ones: turkey managed to have the need to survive as an independent State. With this positive situation for Turkey, Atatürk continue his way through the Republic. There were many problems, the caliphate must be eliminated, but the Turkish were not ready to a similar change; when the capital was moved from Istanbul to Ankara, the first city remained seat of the Caliphate, sign of the strong feeling for the old culture of Turkey. Only later Atatürk worried about Caliphate, believing that it was an Institution without cultural bases and Turkish people did not need it. In few months he revolutionized the State: with three amendments he transformed Turkey into a presidential republic, he formalized Turkish as state language and

⁶ Lausanne Agreement: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty.en.mfa> last visit 30/10/2015

he declared Islam the official religion of Turkey; then he continued with works about the new Constitution. He quickly changed many rules but also many people changed their way of life; in few time he abolished tribunals which applied the Seriat (Tribunal who applied at the same time canonic and civil right), he abolished the prohibition of alcoholic beverages and after few days he approved the new Constitution. It was not presidential, in fact it gave to the TBMM Party the legislative and executive power, but it was not more linked only to Islam.

These innovations were the beginning of some deeper change thought by Atatürk; after the political- institutional reforms for Kemal the cultural one was the most important to act. In 1924 he left Turkey with his wife to discover the modernity in the occidental State, he searched for contacts with new generations in order to let Turkey become a new Turkey, not linked to the old one. One of the first things he acted after 1923, was to change the name of cities. For example Istanbul: it was Costantinopoli, then Dersaadet, then Islambol and then Istanbul.⁷ This process of change of the name of the cities, to pass from Ottoman names to the Turkish ones, lasted many years, until few years ago. Not only the name of the cities, but also the names of the streets, the districts, the important palaces of the cities. Atatürk had built a Republic, that means full respect of all the people and based on the equality, but in few years he revealed his charisma and his totalitarian personality; he confirmed his desire to be the only protagonist of the political scene in Turkey, and that will not be in future other legitimate political positions, in competition with him. During a speech in Samsun, he affirmed his opposition to the Islam: he was convinced that all the other Muslim States were dominated by greater Powers, and that Turkey was the only one with no imposition. He was clearly against that religion, but he needed to cooperate with it in order to maintain the peace and the respect from all the Muslim Turkish, the majority of the population. He was able to persuade people and he knew how to convince people of what he said, in few years he collected many followers and he needed to maintain his promises. For his need of superiority he met several obstacles during his mandate, both for his moral violence used to convince people and for his strong charisma. In all his speeches his character came out, during a

⁷ Fabio L. Grassi "*Atatürk*" Salerno Editrice, Roma Pag. 283

debate in 1925 he said “ We had made a great revolution. We had taken our State from an era to another one. We had abolished many old institutions, with thousands of supporters.”⁸ With “We” he mean his Party, that was the only party which can act in politic without obstacles, but he masked his only attitude, because there was only him who can made reforms or take decisions. His attitude in 1925 became stronger and instead an idea of conciliation he increased his belief that was necessary to destroy as rapidly as possible the condition of disunion and of backwardness in the society. His dictator principles were coming out and he felt himself as it. He ordered to put his effigy everywhere, to “civilize” the clothes of people and to change the way of life of the people. He wanted to formalize the new man and the new society: Turkish people had to have the same behavior of the occidental one: going to the theater, cutting mustache, dancing, taking care of the body, changing the way to meet people, all clear signals that the new Republic was becoming a Regime. 1925 was not the best year of Kemal, he separated from his wife, he was unconsidered by many rivals, but he continued with reforms, in particular the cultural ones: every Turkish feature or habits that were not in common with the occidental one must be change. Since the military academy he hated the fez and the turban, and during a debate he decided to not wear it, in order to impose the new use to not wear it anymore; people who were there, to respect Kemal, keep their fez away. He invited men to let women not to wear the veil in order to show their brain and their face. It was not a simple battle, he had to face with opposition from the people and from conservators; but he did not worry about what they think and he continued with the changes, despite the riots. Westernization was begun and Kemal was satisfied of his work, so much that he decided to improve the legislation, changing the Codes and adapting it to the Swiss one.

Together with reforms Atatürk continue to improve his policy. Turkey was a one-party Republic, it was a particular example of State preeminence, rare in the world, because it was the only structure after the State, behind of which there were all the pedagogic structure of it, as People’s Houses, created with the intention to motivate people to participate at the new life in the State, with modern

⁸ Fabio L. Grassi “*Atatürk*” Salerno Editrice, Roma Pag. 289-290

ambition and activities, as theater and popular dances. The republican Party of the People (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP), created in 1924 as unique Party, had authoritarian features and rules. Important role was given to the Army: it had the power to intervene in case of danger for the republic, if the civil power cannot manage to save the integrity of the Republic, and it was allowed to intervene in order to protect the State. It was compared with the occidental ones, but it was not the same: the Turkish one had political control over the people, using military force in case of need: it was the heir of the society for defense of Thrace and Anatolia. The Party reflected the human being of Turkish, linked only to their culture and to their territory; there are many slogan which Turkish are usual to repeat as “the Turkish as no other friends than Turkish” or “a Turkish is valid as the entire world”⁹. The national pride was strong and since they were child Turkish learned to be proud of their nationality and culture.

In 1927 he went to Istanbul to visit the old Capital, he saw how it still was the most modern city of Turkey, in fact it was the most attractive city of modernity and innovation, where the new mood of life, inspired by Atatürk, expanded rapidly; here the first miss of Turkey was elected. He was proud of his changes made in Turkey since his ascent but in 1928 he tried to abolish the preeminent role of Islam. He started the second flow of reforms, primarily against the religion; he abolished the Arabic scripture of numbers and he substituted it with the occidental one; then he abolished the teaching of Arabic and Persian, in order to let the Commission to realize the passage to the Latin alphabet. These reforms take difficulties, also because people able to read and write were few (about 10%) and the introduction of the new alphabet worsened the situation: who just knew to read and to write had to restart the learning, who did not know it was encouraged to start. Despite difficulties Kemal continued through his way, convinced it was a patriotic duty and that it was the occasion to approach Turkey to the modern world. Atatürk’s work could seems unimportant but it has been fundamental for the next years and, above all, for the end of twentieth century: in fact he transformed Turkey from a State primarily linked to the religion and its old culture to an independent State which can satisfy all its needs itself and which

⁹ Fabio L. Grassi “*Atatürk*” Salerno Editrice, Roma Pag. 310

look at its future with modern eyes. Thanks to the battle against importations and the capital flight Turkey in few years started to have a positive commercial balance. Seeing this positive situation, despite his desire of supremacy he took the decision to create an opposition Party, in order to create the moderate and liberal part of the Regime. It was an excuse to mask the Dictatorship, in fact the new Party, the Liberal republican Party (SCF), has no power itself. Kemal chose its leaders and its personal staff, choosing only trusty people. The new Party was well accepted from the people, tired of believing in someone who just shows its power. Kemal immediately noticed the disappointment of the people against him, but instead of trying to change in positive, he obliged the police to intervene against the rebels, who hailed the new party as the savior. Believing to create the alternative Party to help his Party to raise, he created the right alternative for the people. Despite his greatness and his superiority (demonstrated above all during the independent revolution) people did not appreciate him; Kemal thought that the crisis came primarily from the economy not from the social aspect of the society, but he did not manage to convince people of it. He actuated a social revolution for the democracy. He wanted to improve this aspect in order to take Turkey at the same level of the European Countries; he accused the Communism, because he thought it was the first enemy of democracy. Fixed the most important internal reforms, he applied to international relations, beginning from USSR, neighboring State, which was setting up a new process of industrialization that Kemal appreciated. Despite it was a Communist State Atatürk believed that USSR was a clear example to imitate in order to exit from the economic crisis. Turkey not only took inspiration from other State but it was the model for Underdevelopment Countries; several meeting between Atatürk and their leaders happened during the 30s. Discouraged by the political results he did not follow the direct process of policy, for this reason he did not go often abroad, he preferred other leaders went in Turkey, showing their appreciation for his politic and his operate. The afghan king Amanullah went in Turkey in 1934, to capture the modern methods of Turkey, the Iranian Reza Pahlavi went in 1936 but the most important visit was the one of Eduard VIII, king of England. Demonstration of his aperture to international relations he started several international meeting and participation to

Treaties. The July 18th 1932 Turkey entered in the League of Nations, in 1935 in the International Court of Justice of Aja and despite his anti-State policy he empowered economic relations with Germany. The February 9th 1934 Kemal signed the Balkan Pact.

In the last year of his life Atatürk was quite neglected, not in the aspect but in his vices. He never limited himself in the use of alcohol or smoke, in fact he was often ill and the 1930 was probably the worst year for his health, when his physical collapse started. He dedicated less time to the work, preferring to read or write; he concentrated to the historical and linguistic problems, in 1931 he founded the Association of Research of Turkish History, created for the redaction of new books with the intention to exalt of the Turkish history and to a negative interpretation of Islam and of the Ottoman Empire. In the last years his apathy increased: he did not worry about what happen in the cities, people moved against Government but since 1933 he did not repressed the mass, police did not have the power of repress them and he did not continue the fight against religion. He was convinced that the New Turkey was increasing in the new generation and that problems will disappeared with the time. Nowadays Turkish reject the old Arabic culture, and its presence in the language, for example young people disagree with the Arabic origin of some Leaders as Erdogan, sign that Kemal was right to think that thing would be change with the time. One of the last important reform, in internal policy, concerned the change of the surname of the people: everyone can chose its new modern surname, neglecting its previous one. It has been a successful challenge but also in this occasion Kemal showed his desire of supremacy: he choose Atatürk as his own surname and with a law imposed that only him in the history could have had that name. in foreign politic he concentrated above all to his interests as the area of Black Sea and other problems with neighboring countries; he restarted the relation with Arabic world just two year before his death, but with few results due to his illness. In the last days he drew up his will, giving all his possessions to the Party, not to the State, confirming his esteem for his employees. The November 10th 1938 he died; ceremony lasted several days, but not with Muslim traditions, until the solemn funeral. With the announcement of the election of the new President of the

Republic of Turkey, Kemal's employees tried to continue what Atatürk have done for the State.

1.2 From Kemalism to actual policy.

The day after the death of Atatürk, İnönü has been elected unanimously. He tried to let people forget Atatürk in order to exalt himself but he was too moderate to build some extraordinary. He promoted the Turkification policy, continuing the politic of Atatürk against Islam and minorities, but he knew the need of a political change: there need to have an opposition Party he promoted the reconciliation with Kemal opponents and the return of the political exiles. He did not give importance to great reforms, but he concentrated on the improvement of the bureaucracy structures, also if his presidency has been characterized by a strong authoritarianism, defining the State as a "virtual police state". This aspect of his politic created some pressures for the Democracy from other State, in particular from United Nations which fight for it. During the Second World War Turkey maintained its neutrality, remembering the disaster of the First, gaining only a Treaty with France and Great Britain for the mutual assistance, but it did not give aids, men or army to these States. Having the necessity to enter in the United Nations as founding member it signed a friendship treaty with Soviet Union in order to attack Germany in February 1945, and participate at the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

The years after the Second World War are for Turkey a period of great transformation: a flow of change hit several aspects. First of all the Parliament, but also the international relations and on the economy. It is important to understand that the passage to the republic it is not a change born in the society but it is a desire of the Government. Turkish had accepted this news with fatigue and new Government had to work hard to continue this new deal. As Kemal did before İnönü let the creation of an opposition Party: but with some restriction, as the control over the Party by the CHF; in 1946 the DP (Democratic Party) was founded by Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar. It had quite success also because

several Turkish wanted the alternative to the CHF, not giving importance to the program. The two Parties had no deep differences in their programs, for this reason they often entered in conflict, provoking some internal divisions, which allowed the creation of other smaller Parties; but all are against Communism which is an increasing phenomena in this period of the Cold War. In 1950, despite high tensions between the two major Parties, DP and CHF, there have been first free elections since the naissance of the Republic: many people went to vote (88%) and the DP won with high percentages and for the first time the CHF lost the head of the government. It has been called “the white revolution” for its importance, since nobody believed something similar could happen in those years, but it is understandable because the new class, born from the transformation of the society and composed by traders, industrial and large landowners, reflected the idea and the electorate of the DP. The party founded by Atatürk, which for years had been the only one, now it is at the opposition and it cannot identified itself with the State. Thanks to the new government Turkey, between 1948 and 1952, knew a period of economic expansion and rapid economic development; it gave more importance to agriculture than heavy industry, in this way new methods and new cultures improve its market and its affairs. But after this positive period Turkey started to loose investment and the payment balance decreased, the government contracted many debts and it has been flagellated, the May 27th 1960 Cemal Gürsel made a Coup d’Etat eliminating Celal Bayar and the first Minister Menderes. Gürsel declared his intention to give Turkey a civil government: for the first time the new Constitution, approved in 1960, has been made by a Constituent Assembly, and it has a strong social structure, in which many articles concerned human and social rights. From 60s all the Presidents followed the policy of Kemal, with some differences but all detached from Islam. The Army had ever an important role in the Democracy: in 1980 intervened with the intention to overthrow the government in order to protect Democracy and national unit. This second Coup d’Etat showed the political instability of Turkey and the need to intervene to bring order in the society. These changes included a new constitution, quite different form the one of 1960, above all for the power assigned to the Army, but also for some limitation to the expression and association freedom (it

was forbidden to students and teachers to enter in political Parties). In two years the power returned to civils, with Özal, who wanted to made a program that included both economic development and traditional values; he managed to started the change and several cities became great industrial center. But the stability last few years, in fact at the beginning of '90s the political difficulties started again: in 1993 Özal died and in the next election emerged a new Islamic party, the RP, of Erbakan, which did not last long time. He has been accused and interdicted from politic. In those years several new parties born, founded by some political Leaders: one which will become important is the AKP (Party of justice and development), founded by Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gül, inspired to religious principles but without Islamic rhetoric. After the election of 2002 a new political scenery emerged: a bipolar power, one linked to Atatürk principles, the other to the Islamic ones. The victory of AKP during the 2002 elections bring new changes: Europe started to worry about this possible danger but Erdogan assured that he did not want to create an undemocratic State. He concentrated more on internal reforms in order to let Turkey improve its economy, which is in crisis, with high inflation, high level of unemployment and with no fiscal discipline.

1.3 The foreign Policy.

Turkey had ever been limited in foreign policy since the naissance of the Republic. Atatürk allowed some meeting with other Head of Governments but he did not begin deeper relations. After him, since 1950 Turkey started to open to other State; most of all are excuse for other State to gain from their relations with turkey, since it is in a strategic position. In fact U.S., knowing its important territorial position and worrying about the possible danger created by Soviet Union, offered to Turkey aids through the Marshall Plane. In these years Turkey started its desire to approach to Europe physically, not only in its cultures and in its way of life, but also taking part of Organization, as NATO. It entered in OECD in 1948, in the Council of Europe in 1949, in the NATO in 1952, until the desire

of being part of European Union in 1959. But more than Europe, Turkey approached to U.S., fact that helped both the parts: Turkey was an important outpost for American foreign policy and Turkey need the help, above all the economic one, from U.S.. During '60s the relations with U.S. lost the previous intensity to leave space to the European ones: since those years Turkey started the negotiations to enter in Europe. Turkey has always been ambiguous in its international relations: it sought alliances with other countries but always with the intention of obtaining great benefits from them, and sometimes it has maintained, in the same period, relations with two antagonists. Despite this, Turkey has fundamental position in the territory for all the great Powers, so they try to obtain its fellowship in order to obtain most benefits.

Chapter II

The relations between European Union and Turkey.

2.1 International diplomacy.

The ability of the Turkey to be attractive for other nations was considered a success for its foreign policy. Since the begin of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk, and the follower leaders, tried to consolidate its international position with new Treaties or secret Agreements. Turkey has to face with the difficulties leaved by the Ottoman Empire, who in the last years continued to close all its relations with the rest of the world, in order to enlarge its power. A series of disputes, lasted from the ancient Empire, continued in the first years of the Republic, but Atatürk started to enlarge his international view beyond the borders. Turkey had great relationships with Soviet Union, but despite it, it improved them also with few countries: Italy, with which, in 1928 signed a non-aggression Pact; with Greece it signed, in 1930, a reconciliation Agreement. In 1934, it signed the Balkan Entente, a pact of mutual assistance and no-war, with Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia. A similar pact in 1937, the Sadabad Pact with Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. These are all agreements which improved, during the '30s, the international relations of the Turkey, especially with West: in 1932 it has been admitted in the League of Nations, fact that approached Turkey to Great Britain and France, also if during the Second World War it maintained its neutrality, despite the pressing demands of aid of these two Countries. Turkey has wisely acted during the war, in fact its neutrality was only an excuse to improve its position in Europe: Atatürk knew what to do, signing before a friendship Treaty with Soviet Union (March 1941), and then with Germany (June 1941), in order to declare war to Germany at the begin of 1945 to put the bases for the accession to United Nations as founding Member. He, and İnönü then, maintained the right

equilibrium to avoid the war, playing an important role in the international relations. After the death of Kemal, İnönü continued his policy looking for stability, safety and integration with western countries, European ones above all. In few years Turkey, as I said in the previous chapter, joined to the main international Organizations, as the European Organization for Economic Cooperation and NATO.

These were all attempts to approach Turkey to European Countries: in 1959 started the procedures for the begin of the Association Agreement to the EEC (European Economic Community), also if the main objective of Turkey remained to be taken into consideration by U.S. and NATO because of its position in the Mediterranean Sea. The role of Turkey in the Middle East is fundamental in this period of Cold War, also if it was not seen as great Ally from all the Countries: is the case of Egypt, which denied the alliance and a treaty. Despite its interest in the West, Turkey consolidated its regional power through small agreements and alliances; in fact in these years the major problem for Turkey was the Cyprus issue¹⁰, and it was important for Turkey to have allies near its territories, also because western countries did not have the intention to defend Turkish interests and to give them help in this war. For the disputes, born for the Cyprus Issue, with NATO Turkey started, in '60s, to approach to Europe: it was just an objective of Atatürk, but now it came real and feasible. The negotiations began with an important Association Agreement in 1963, the Ankara Agreement, which entered into force since December 1st 1964. This agreement defined the modality and the phases of the Turkish economic integration in the EEC. The negotiations continued and in 1970 an additional protocol has been signed in order to precise the rules for the institution of a Customs Union in a period of 12 years, but in this period the process suffers a crisis due to the political instability of the Turkey and to the serious trade imbalance between the two partners. The relations became more distant in the 80s also because the attempts of Turkish Governments to reach better conditions failed; Turkey thought to move its will from the economic to the political side in order to gain the entrance, because of its economical differences with European Union. Turkey, in 1980, knew a new Coup d'Etat which

¹⁰ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1021835.stm last visit 17/11/2015

destabilized again its policy and its economic situation, but it continued with the process of accession to the U.E., in fact an important role is played by its international relations, in particular with U.S. and its participation in the Gulf War of 1991¹¹. After the end of the Soviet Union and the redefinition of the international geopolitics, Turkey started an intense diplomacy activity, not only with western Countries, but also with the eastern and the Middle-east ones. This is not a change of the Government ideas but a new choice to approach Turkey to the new model of State which was becoming, oriented to the interdependence of the nations in the same area (Turkey started its new policy focused more on exportations than importations). Turkey played an active role in these years with other countries of its area: in 1988 first ministers of Turkey and Greece, Özal and Papandreu, signed the Declaration of Davos to auspicate a new peace between the two countries. In 1992 it has been instituted the economic Cooperation for the Black Sea (BSEC), which associated 11 countries in a model of multicultural policy of the same area to guarantee the peace and the stability. Turkey not only cooperated together with other States, but it continued its policy of meeting in the world: many travels of the Government with delegations of Enterprises, in order to improve its business. Turkey remained the only strong ally of the eastern countries and the only possible block for the Soviet Union (and Russia after 1991), but it did not close its policy to Soviets, because of many interests in the region as the gas pipeline. The dissolution of the Soviet Union was a success for Turkey, who restored important contacts with the new States born from it, in order to improve its economical position. Despite some Agreement with Greece, their relations remained very difficult because of the Cyprus Issue, which in 1993 has been candidate for the entrance in the European Union.

Despite the Turkish efforts, between 80s and 90s, the relations did not continue in the right way, becoming worst. The European Union controlled the democracy in Turkey, playing an important role, while Turkish Government understood the request of E.U. for what concerned the human rights as an intromission in internal affairs. E.U. did non appreciate the Coup d'Etat of 1980, which has been see as a

¹¹ <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/20/world/war-in-the-gulf-turkey-turkey-s-role-in-air-assault-sets-off-fear-of-retaliation.html> last visit 19/11/2015

dangerous act. Europe did not stop the commercial relations but it strongly asked for a return of the democracy, fundamental aspect to continue the accession process. The April 10th 1981 European Parliament asked to the Turkish Government to stabilize a calendar in order to fixed the steps of the return of the democracy, while in January 22nd 1982 it asked to the European Council and to the Commission to suspend all the relations with Turkey. The main problem concerned the civil rights: the social- democratic position of the government did not respect this European request and it complicated this process. The relations restarted after the elections of 1983 and in April 14th 1987 Turkey submitted its application for the entrance in the EEC: Europe remained for Turkey the greater market, stable and full of possible investments and technologies. Only after some years, in 1996 the disappointments decreased with the institutions of the Customs Union. Not only Turkey represented the limit with its internal problems, but also Europe stopped the process due to its economic crisis. The Custom Unions was, for Turkey, an obliged step for the entrance since the Ankara Agreement, but in 90s the European priority changed and Europe did not give much importance to that as the one gave to the civil rights.

2.2 The procedure to join the European Union.

Turkey was one of the first countries to seek the cooperation with Europe in order to join it in few time. The process started in 1959 with the Ankara Agreement, but Turkey, nowadays, is still waiting for the entrance.

To join the Europe the candidate countries have to respect a strong procedure which could result very hard to attend. Europe pretends the implementation of the entire EU body of law, that is the *acquis*, who is 130,000 pages of legal documents, grouped in 35 chapters and which form the rules by which Member States should adhere.

As a candidate country, Turkey must adapt a considerable part of its national legislation, which is not always in line with EU law. This required fundamental

changes for society that will affect almost all sectors of the country, from the environment to the judiciary, from transport to agriculture, and across all sections of the population. The Candidate must accept the full rules, with no “negotiation”; this is one of the most important conditions to join the Europe, because it determine how and when the rules will be apply. Becoming a Member State means a lot of changes, because the candidate brings its management capacity, institutions and administrative and judicial systems up to EU standards, both at national and regional level. After the adaptation of the *acquis*, the procedure must go on. This requires a well-functioning and stable public administration built on an efficient and impartial civil service, and an independent and efficient judicial system. All of these request are part of the consequences of the ‘Copenhagen Criteria’, which were defined at the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993: every European country may apply to join the Europe in order to respect the democratic values of the EU. Countries need to have¹²:

- stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;
- a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competition and market forces in the EU;
- the ability to take on and implement effectively the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

All the decision are taken by unanimity. All the Member States must accepted the candidacy and the position of the candidate state. For this reason, and for others, not all the processes are the same and last the same time. While Turkey is trying to join the Europe for long time, Croatia in 2013 managed to join the European Union only 8 years after the candidacy; the same for Poland who joined the European Union in few years after the candidacy. Turkey is different because of its internal and external problems: nowadays is still not accepted by all the Countries for its questionable political decisions.

¹² http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/index_en.htm last visit 21/11/2015

Enlargement is one of the EU's most powerful policy tools. It is a carefully managed process which helps the transformation of the countries involved, extending peace, stability, prosperity, democracy, human rights and the rule of law across Europe. The responsibility of the long period of accession is, most of the time, of the Candidate State, because European Union desire to enlarge its borders and it do not put limit to the enlargement; all the European Institutions make the possible to reach shortly the end of the process. The European Commission is the "Guardian of the Treaties", providing technical support and acting as a facilitator in the negotiation process. Within the Commission, the work is coordinated by the Directorate General for Enlargement.

Once agreement has been reached on all chapters of the acquis, process that may takes some years, the results are incorporated into a plan, called "Accession Treaty". The Commission must deliver its opinion about the Candidate Country, together with the consent of the European Parliament; and finally European Council must reach the unanimity on acceptance of the application. To enter into force, the Accession Treaty needs to be ratified by the national parliaments of the EU Member States and the one of the candidate member; once this Treaty enters into force the State become officially a Member of the EU. The major step of the enlargement process has been done on October 3rd 2005 when European Union officially opened the accession negotiations. Once the negotiations are opened, the screening process starts: this part of process regards the analysis of each of the 35 chapters of the negotiations, (each chapters contain a specific policy as "science and research" or "environment" or "energy). The candidate has to face with the main objectives and requirements of EU policy in that field, firstly, and then, in a second meeting, it must explains its level of preparedness and outlines its plans for alignment. After the meetings the Commission prepares a screening report to stabilize the degree of preparedness of the country. For Turkey, Screening meetings were completed in October 2006, with the following reports for each chapters. The first chapter which has been closed is the one of "Science and Research", while the chapter of the free movement of goods worried European Union, who, in November 2006, expressed concern about it. For some problem

linked to the Cyprus Issue, the European Council, on 14-15 December 2006, decided to suspend negotiations on some relevant chapters¹³:

- Chapter 1 Free movement of goods,
- Chapter 3 Right of establishment and freedom to provide services,
- Chapter 9 Financial services,
- Chapter 11 Agriculture and rural development,
- Chapter 13 Fisheries,
- Chapter 14 Transport policy,
- Chapter 29 Customs union,
- Chapter 30 External relations.

This is not mean that the process was stopped, it was also decided that the chapters were not provisionally closed; in January 2007 the negotiations continued on the chapters that were not suspended.

As we can see from the table¹⁴ the situation is still unstable: there are three chapters that are not still opened, which are: Competition Policy, Public Procurement, and Social Policy and Employment, but the others are not well underway. Ten of these are blocked by a veto since some years, veto posed most of the time by Cyprus and France (strong opponents of its entrance). What is worrying is that opened chapters, which are no blocked or with veto, are opened from many years with probably no solution to be closed in a positive way.

¹³ <http://avrupa.info.tr/eu-and-turkey/accession-negotiations/what-is-the-current-status.html> last visit 21/11/2015

¹⁴ http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/web/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CON TEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/wp14-2015-chislett-turkeys-10-years-of-eu-accession-negotiations-no-end-in-sight last visit 21/11/2015

Figure 1. State of play in the *acquis* chapters at September 2015

Chapter	State of play
1) Free movement of goods	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
2) Freedom of movement for workers	Blocked (Cyprus veto, December 2009)
3) Right of establishment for companies and freedom to provide services	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
4) Free movement of capital	Opening of negotiations, December 2008
5) Public procurement	Screening completion, November 2005
6) Company law	Opening of negotiations, June 2008
7) Intellectual property law	Opening of negotiations, June 2008
8) Competition policy	Screening completion, December 2005
9) Financial services	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
10) Information society and media	Opening of negotiations, June 2010
11) Agriculture and rural development	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
12) Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy	Opening of negotiations, June 2010
13) Fisheries	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
14) Transport policy	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
15) Energy	Blocked (Cyprus veto, December 2009)
16) Taxation	Opening of negotiations, June 2009
17) Economic and monetary policy	Blocked (France veto, June 2007)
18) Statistics	Opening of negotiations, June 2007
19) Social policy and employment	Screening completion, March 2006
20) Enterprise and industrial policy	Opening of negotiations, March 2007
21) Trans-European networks	Opening of negotiations, December 2007
22) Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments	Opening of negotiations, November 2013
23) Judiciary and fundamental rights	Blocked (Cyprus veto, December 2009)
24) Justice, freedom and security	Blocked (Cyprus veto, December 2009)
25) Science and research	Provisional closure of negotiations, June 2006
26) Education and culture	Blocked (Cyprus veto, December 2009)
27) Environment and climate change	Opening of negotiations, December 2009
28) Consumer and health protection	Opening of negotiations, December 2007
29) Customs Union	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
30) External relations	Blocked (EU Council decision, December 2006)
31) Foreign, security and defence policy	Blocked (Cyprus veto, December 2009)
32) Financial control	Opening of negotiations, July 2007
33) Financial and budgetary provisions	Blocked (France veto, June 2007)
34) Institutions	Blocked (France veto, June 2007)
35) Other issues	No negotiations required

Key: Chapter Open Vetoed Blocked

Source: European Commission and Dimitrios Dagdeverenis.

Analyzing the process since 1963, when Turkey and European Union signed the Ankara Treaty, the process continued slowly: only in 1987 Turkey presented its candidacy at the EEC, and after almost ten years it founded the Customs Union with EU. In 1999 European Council, in Helsinki, accepted its position as Candidate State, and it would started the negotiations only in 2004, as suggested the European Commission. Turkey started to be considered only after 15 years, with the signature of the European Constitution signed by Erdogan on 29 October 2004. The process is still long, in fact in 2006 new problems came out with the Austrian Presidency, who blocked some chapters of the Accession negotiations, clear signal that it is not a simple question to afford. Turkey must adapt a considerable part of its national legislation and it must do several changes in the society, in order to be accepted as Member, which means changes that will affect almost all sectors of the country, from the environment to the judiciary, from transport to agriculture, and across all sections of the population. Above all, European Union asks Turkey to:

- recognize and respect the religious minority which are not Sunni Muslim,
- recognize the Armenian Genocide,
- respect the human Rights,
- recognize the Republic of Cyprus and to retire Turkish troops from the Island.

These are the more important goals for Europe, but Turkey has to do a lot of progresses before to reach a great degree of preparedness to afford the entrance in the European Union. Every year European Union draws a report in order to list the progresses of the Turkey. It is an important document which allows Turkey to understand how to act to improve its situation, but also to let other States understand how turkey is acting. In the last report, of November 2015¹⁵, European Union showed all its perplexity about Turkish progresses, which are few, if we consider all the time it has been taken to afford the entrance. Starting from the political criteria, Turkey has a weak impetus for reforms, it is moderately prepared in public administration but it has already many parallel structures in its

¹⁵ http://avrupa.info.tr/fileadmin/Content/Files/File/Docs/20151110_report_turkey.pdf

Institutions. Public life has already too many restrictions to freedom of assembly, and its Judicial system needs more improvements and independency. Turkey could afford the corruption, but it remains widespread, with high level and inadequate rules; the same for the fight against organized crime: precautionary freezing of assets is rarely applied, financial investigations remain under-used and level of confiscation is low. The absence of a serious legislation which regulate the issue could mine the European stability, and the secureness of the Member States. For what concerns the economy, Turkey has a great degree of preparedness, maybe the best of the Criteria, some difficulties, due also to the crisis which mined the entire world, but it can be considered a functioning market economy. In the third Criteria Turkey reaches good level of preparation: it is well advanced in the area of company law, financial services, trans-European networks and science and research, but also in the free movement of goods, intellectual property law, industrial policy, enterprises, customs union and other external relations. What worries mostly European Union is the migration problem: despite other problems which are hitting Turkey, Europe is seriously worries about the situation, because the high presence of refugees and migrants could cause a collapse. Police and judicial cooperation needs to be improve and Turkey must regulate the entrance in its territory, proceeding with the expulsion of migrants if they exceeds the maximum number. What is problematic is that in the last years the request from European Union are always the same, few changes and progresses have been made and this is a reason of the precaution of Europe in continuing the Accession negotiations. Already in 2012, European Union showed its worry about the lack of progresses.

2.3 Changes for Europe and for Turkey.

The Turkish issue is a serious problem for European Union, because it causes several divisions between European Members, while they must be united for the same decisions. There are many Member in favor of its entrance, but also many against: it is maybe one of the main causes of the long time taken to join it.

Obviously the entrance of the Turkey will change many issues, first of all the territory. If Turkey join the European Union it will become the most populated country of the EU, with 70 million people, but it will drastically increase the percentage of Muslim, from the actual 3% to 20%, which is an important data. Turkish territory is the most expanded in all the European Union, with a strategic position between Europe and Asia , it could be a stabilizer for the relations with the Middle East and Central Asia. But it is clearly not an European country, 97% of its territory lies in Asia (with 90% of its population), also because it has been estimated that in 2050 its population will reach 91 million, so it could become the dominant Member of EU, causing serious diatribes between the old Members. Despite Turkey has ever participate to the European history, being part of the first world war as active protagonist, and it has often been included in European processes, its historic and cultural roots lay in the Middle East: it shared Muslim and oriental experiences, with culture, religion and traditions which refer to Asiatic side more than the European one. The increase in the Muslim presence could destabilize the European culture; now the presence of Muslim is high, yet, especially in France, but Turkey will take an imposing number of Muslims, concentrated in the same area, so the European Institutions would act in order to create new reforms to block the extreme part of the religion (for the last episodes of IS).

Turkey, as said before, will change a lot of perspective join the Europe, because not only the territory and the population are the greatest but it also has a great market. Some analyst has been quantified the benefit, in foreign investment, in 208 billion dollars, if Brussel would accept the candidacy. It could benefit of 55 billion dollars of subsidies with the entrance. This is a problem for several Member States: the European subsidies are given to the State according to the size of its territory and its burden in the European Union, Turkey, join the Europe, will remove a lot of subsidies to the actual Members, fact that causes disparities for the minor States, which will suffer this new presence. This reduction for the other Members could cause tensions between the States, but it will aid Turkey to improve its economy, that, despite its increment, it remain under the European standard (annual increase of 7,9%). Despite the low standards, the Turkish

economy is thriving; Growth averaged for 2014 was around 3.5% and it has reacted to the crisis better than other European countries, especially the southern ones. Per-capital income has increased six-fold and the average Turk is now better off than his Romanian and Bulgarian counterparts in the EU. Only New York, London and Moscow have more residents billionaires than Istanbul, which means to take into Europe new dynamicity in the economic life, as the addition of 75 million consumers to the single market. Its market attires many European enterprises, only Italy has about 900 enterprises, which are competitive and ready for the joint venture with the Turkish ones. Europe, in the future, without Turkey will be incomplete: the emergent economies, like China and Brazil, will damage the European economy, if it does not increase its market; and the Turkish one is the perfect combination to reach these standards. But Turkey remains an underdeveloped economy: its GDP per capita at €13,000 is less than half the EU average. Turkish wealth is unequally spread and it could cause a migrations through the western Europe, where live 10 million Turks yet.

Turkey attracted European Union for its vibrant democracy, it is multicultural and opened-mind. It has been able to do important reforms, which other States are struggling to reach. Moreover, Turkey has ever been one of the loyalist NATO ally, and Europe has many interest in maintaining the relationships in this region. Not only in the past, but above all, nowadays, Europe needs the aid of Turkey in the war against IS, and NATO takes into consideration the importance of this ally, who occupies a strategical geographic position. It is also true that Turkey does not fully respect the democracy standards, imposed by European Union. Europe, accepting Turkey in its Union, will confront itself with a State which does not respect all human rights, abusing most of them. Europe cannot accept a similar behavior, in order to respect its identity and its belief. This is a crucial point for the duration of the Accession process: despite the recent improvements, Turkey is still far to reach a great level of respect.

Amnesty International accused Turkey to be not appropriate for the European standards, it has reached some important improvements but it needs more freedom of the press, of thought and of religion. In particular, its annual report accused

tortures, free speech violations, denial of minority rights, unfair trials, failure to protect women. Dozens of journalists are in jail, without hope to being freed. And public opinion in European Union is completely opposing Turkish will. The Human Right Watch Organization (HRW) underline the serious situation, I denounce the impossibility for a modern country to have, in 2015, many prisoners for opinion crimes, and that torture is still so popular. The main example is given by Pamuk, Nobel Prize for Literature, who accused the Government because it limits the expression of thought. There are many writers and journalists which are under escort, in order to avoid an attack; the political system does not accept the opinions of the intellectuals, which are obliged to not write about the past or about what is happening. Who accused something wrong is immediately punished: he lives abroad to avoid a similar life and to feel free. Together with the prisoners' problem, there is also the problem of refugees, which is condemned by European Union and other Organizations. Every year thousands of people, seeking for refugee status, arrive in Turkey from more than 30 countries. This Turkish responsibility is not fully respected: there is weakness in providing legal protection to asylum-seekers and refugees in Turkey. It lies in the fact that at the current time there is no comprehensive refugee law, with the conduct of state officials governed by secondary legislation that can be changed without notification, difficulties in gaining access to asylum procedures at Turkey's borders, airports, and in detention mean that many people are expelled without having their asylum claims assessed, leaving them at risk of serious human rights abuses upon return to their countries.

One of the most important issue, which Turkey must change before to be accepted in European Union, is the Cyprus Issue¹⁶. European Commission, in its annual report, affirmed that the Turkish position is not conform to the UN resolutions, nor to the position of EU. From 1974 Turkey occupied illegally the territory of the Republic of Cyprus; since 2004 Cyprus is a Member State of European Union, and the accession must have taken advantages for the entire Island, concluding the conflict which divide the State in two parts. Turkey, has conducted an

¹⁶ <http://www.eurasia-rivista.org/la-turchia-alle-prese-con-la-questione-cipriota/9430/> last visit 26/11/2015

obstructionism policy against the peace, and it did not participate to the negotiations for the Accession of the Island. European Union, together with United Nations, is in favor of a federation with the presence of two Communities and of the retire of the Turkish Army from the north side of the Island, the Annan Plan, but Turkey and Turkish Republic Of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), do not accept these conditions. Turkey, in 1998, has threatened to annex the Turkish side to Turkey territory, going against European will, which was already criticized by Europe. The main problem is to find a solution, which satisfy the two part of the Island, and the resolution could be the missing goal to let Turkey join the European Union. But it is a crucial point also for the internal policy, for Turkey, because Turks are strongly nationalist and they fight to have their part of Cyprus; so the Government must pay attention to the two side: the European Institutions, but also to the Turkish electorate.

2.4 EU- Turkey Membership.

Since 1963, with the Ankara Agreement, Turkey and European Union have collaborated to reach the major level of partnership. Most of the partnership are small steps for the entrance of Turkey in the European Union, which Europe used to prepare the candidate to be able to join the Union.

2.4.1 Custom Union.

The Ankara Agreement established the Custom Union, the first important Treaty between Turkey and European Union. It has been signed by Turkey and the European Member States of 1963, that means Italy, Belgium, France, Luxemburg, Germany and Holland. The main goal was to promote the balanced and continuous strengthening of trade and economic relations between the parties, and to accelerate development of the Turkish economy together with the improving of the level of employment and the living conditions. The process shall comprise three stage: the preparatory stage, which would have last 5 years, in which Turkey

prepared itself to the Union; the transitional stage, used to established a custom union between the parts, aligning the two economic policies in order to ensure the functioning of the Association. It should have lasted 12 years. The final stage which complete the formation of the Union in order to establish prohibitions for the two Parts, with restrictions of customs duties, imports and exports, and other commercial effects. The two Parts shall have adopted Common Customs Tariff in their trade with third countries, and common rules on internal trade. The process has been longer, in 1977 an additional Protocol has been added to the Treaty in order to completely remove the Customs duties. the Treaty would benefit most industrial and processed agricultural goods: the product which are more exchange between the two parts. The process ended in 1996 with several advantages for Turkey¹⁷: Turkey has benefited from an "early" legislative alignment process before its accession negotiations started; it is participating in the EU single market for goods; Turkey has been implementing an EU aligned anti-trust legislation for over 10 years, and it has benefited from an almost EU aligned customs legislation for over 10 years. Turkish exporters are experienced in manufacturing according to EU technical standards and it has adopted and implemented many intellectual property rights. It has been a success for each part because the EU is Turkey's number one import and export partner, and the main exports markets for Turkey is Europe, together with Iraq, Russia, US and United Arab Emirates. But also EU benefit of Turkish products, which are considered of high technology.

2.4.2 Relations with the European Parliament.

Turkey considered the relations with Europe very important, for this reason it closely cooperates with the European Parliament (EP) and the national Parliaments of the EU Member States. In the last years the contacts have been intensified and the Turkish Parliamentarians follow regularly the meetings in Strasbourg and Brussels, with regular contacts with their counterparts in the EU member countries and the Committees. There is only one Parliamentary body

¹⁷ <http://avrupa.info.tr/eu-trade-and-economy/customs-union.html> last visit 26/11/2015

between Turkey and the EU, which is the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC). It has been established in 1965 by the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the European Parliament, in order to exchange views on the accession process and other related issues. The last JPC meeting, which was the 76th, was held in Ankara on 19-20 March 2015. These meetings are used to underline the Turkish situation and every year the EP adopts a Resolution on Turkey, based on the Commission's report.

2.4.3 Human rights.

Human rights are the most important problem which Turkey must resolve before to join the Europe. It has made impressive progresses, based on the fact that in 60s it was completely retracted, and now is party to all the seven principal human rights conventions of the UN, and 96 of 200 Council of Europe conventions. To follow western conventions, Turkey abolished death penalty in November 2003, ratifying Protocol N. 6 to the ECHR (European Convention Human Right); it ratified the Protocol N. 13 to the ECHR, abolishing death penalty in all circumstances in February 2006, hoping in a complete abolition of the death penalty. It also signed the Convention against Torture (OPCAT), in 2005, which is still under way. The Government is continuously improving and it has taken important steps to ensure full implementation, using a special monitoring Group at the political level, which is the Reform Monitoring Group, established to overview the progresses in the actual implementation of the reforms. The reform process not only abolish death penalty and fight against torture, but it also reforms the prison system, freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of religion, the functioning of the judiciary, civil-military relations, economic, social and cultural rights and anti-corruption measures. An important step toward the Europe, has been made with the accession of Turkey to the Presidency of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, from November 2010 to May 2011, which are the pioneers of the respect of the fundamental principles of the European Union.

2.4.4 Corruption.

Turkey fights against corruption and organized crimes since years; in particular after the establishment of the Copenhagen Criteria, when Europe asked to strengthen the cooperation with her. It is active in various international organizations involved in the fight against corruption: the most important is the UN convention, considered a landmark in this field, in which Turkey results one of the first signatory Country, in December 2003. Being party to the convention since December 2006, turkey takes part at every meeting and every Committee of the Convention: it is very proposal and active in the resolutions and in the preparatory works. Turkey also ratified the Council of Europe Civil and Criminal Law Conventions on Corruption and became a member of the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO), in 2004. Turkey also ratified the Council of Europe's Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime (1990) on 30 July 2004. It is a member of the Financial Action Task Force (TAFT) and it is part of the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transaction and of the OECD Working Group on Bribery¹⁸. The convention aims to establish common measures to fight corruption and to establish which acts are considered criminal; and it promises mutual assistance to the country which are in difficulty with the fight. To confirmed its commitment in this field, Turkey attended the "Global Forum V on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity" held in Johannesburg, from 2 to 5 April 2007, with a delegation headed by Mr. Cemil Çiçek, the Minister of Justice.

2.4.5 Energy dialogue.

Energy is fundamental for each part and Turkey and EU have common interests in its security. A dialogue to maintain the same perspectives was launched on March 2015, during a visit of the EU Commissioner for Energy Alliance Sefcovic paid to

¹⁸ http://www.oecd.org/daf/anti-bribery/ConvCombatBribery_ENG.pdf last visit 29/11/2015

Turkey. Not only for energy, but also for other resources, as water or gas, Turkey is trying to maintain a positive dialogue with EU, in order to consolidate the cooperation and to maintain the stability in the area for what concerns this field. The dialogue is used to establish in the future a solid partnership between the parties. The Commission announced the Energy Union Package in Brussels, in order to have greater coordination to create a free flow of energy across borders and a secure supply for EU citizens. Turkey could help EU to reduce its energy dependency, in particular from Russia, which is now the largest supplier of natural gas. Turkey will become a significant transit country, with its Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP). The Southern Gas Corridor is planned to carry natural gas sourced in Azerbaijan near the Caspian Sea, then passing through Turkish territory to reach Greece in the west and then further on to Albania and Italy. The intensification of the work on the Southern Gas Corridor is one of the most important goals for EU, together with the establishment of the new strategic energy partnership with Turkey, and it is spending many resources, natural and monetary, in order to conclude the project. The securitization of the Gas Pipeline pushes EU to negotiate with many involved countries, especially nowadays, with all the regional crisis in that area. EU is ready to finance mechanism to facilitate gas infrastructure investments. This financing initiative, and the Energy Diplomacy Taskforce are all initiatives made by the EU-Turkey Strategic High Level Energy Dialogue, sign that this cooperation would take great benefit for the parties.

2.4.6 Military operations and Missions.

Turkey has a huge Army, which will become the greatest of the European Union, in case of accession; it already contributes to the civilian and military operations conducted by EU, and this for the status of candidate country, but also because it is an element of its foreign policy, which tries to support international, and regional in particular, stability. Turkey currently contributes to some missions of the EU: to the EUFOR-ALTHEA operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the

EULEX mission in Kosovo and in the EUPOL COPPS in Palestine. These are the last ones, but it participate at nine operations since the initial military collaboration.

2.4.7 The Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean (Barcelona Convention).

Turkey shares Mediterranean Sea with all the other countries which overlook the Sea; for this reason it is important to stabilize some common policies, in order to maintain the stability. The UN Environment Program (UNEP) decided to place the protection of the Mediterranean Sea, establishing the Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP), in 1975, which involves the countries bordering the Sea, together with the European Union. The plan is mainly about pollution, which is a serious threat for the Mediterranean Sea, and it has been founded a legal foundation: the Convention on the protection of the Mediterranean Sea Against Pollution in Barcelona (Barcelona Convention), opened on February 1976, for the signature. It has been revised in 1995 to include coastal areas with the marine environment, with the aim of sustainable development, and an increasing public participation, in order to reach goals at the same levels. With the revised protocols the convention was renamed “The Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean”, entered into force in June 9th 2004. Turkey is party of the Convention since 2002.

2.4.8 Visa Agreement.

An important treaty for EU, which could definitely modify the relations with Turkey is the Visa Agreement. European Commission launched the initiative on December 2013. Europe created a visa roadmap in which there was a list of areas, divided in 5 chapters, called blocks, on which Turkey must improve its legislation

and administrative capacity, in order to adequate itself to the EU standards. the requirements concern the enhancing of the quality of travel and identity documents, in order to avoid false documents and impostors; the improvement of the quality of Turkey's migration, international protection, borders and visa policy; the fight against organized crime and the cooperation with the EU in police and judicial matters; the protection of the rights of the citizens, with particular attention to the right and needs of the minorities. The last block, separated from the others, list the requirements need by Turkey to implement the readmission agreement signed with the EU. European Commission will presents regular reports to show the progresses made by Turkey: in the first one the Commission underlined the effective efforts which Turkey has made, in particular in the fields of migration and international protection. The major work still needed is on the fields of borders management and political and judicial cooperation. Progresses have been made in the passport and civil registry systems, but European Union recommends to include in the passports biometric data, in line with the EU acquis, to ensure the effective implementation of the new Law on Foreigners and International Protection, and to complete the setting up of the General Directorate for Migration Management. The border management system must be integrated with the European standards in order to made a strengthen cooperation and finally, Turkey needs to ratify and start implementing international conventions to be at the same preparedness level of the Europe.

In the European Agenda on Security and the European Agenda on Migration, the Commission announced its intention to present new legislative proposals on a future EU 'Smart Borders' system by early 2016. These proposals will affect Third Countries National travelling to the Schengen zone. The consultation was launched in July 2015. The Schengen Area allows the free movement of EU citizens, and to many non-EU nationals tourists or businessmen who travel around European borders: Europe wants to enlarge this possibility also to the citizens of other countries, for example the Turkish ones.

2.4.9 EuroMediterranean Treaty (EUROMED).

The Union for Mediterranean promotes common policies across 16 neighbors to the EU's south in North Africa and in the Middle East. Known as the Barcelona process it was launched in November 1995 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of 15 EU Members and 12 Mediterranean Partners. The Agreement is guided by the Barcelona Declaration, which forms the basis for the partnership and which follow the evolution of the project. It is an innovative alliance based on the principles of joint ownership, dialogue and cooperation, in order to create a region of security, peace and prosperity. The partnership is organized in three dimensions: the political and security dialogue, with the scope to create a common area of peace and stability, governed by the sense of rule of law, democracy and human rights. The second aim is the economic and financial partnership, aiming an establishment of a free-trade area, in order to promote shared economy opportunity through sustainable and balanced development. The last concerns social, cultural and human partnership, with the intention to promote an intercultural dialogue between different religions, cultures and people. Periodically there are Euro-Mediterranean meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs which take in consideration the progresses of the Union and its new initiatives. It has become a stronger multilateral forum of dialogue with the introduction of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), in 2004, which promote bilateral relations between the parties. The European Commission strongly believes in this project, and since 1995 it has supported it with 16 billion Euro, with the Banks' aids which amounts to 2 billion Euro per year.

The project has been re-launched in 2008 as the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) with the intention to create more concrete and visible relations between the partner. The initiative has been taken by Sarkozy, President of France, in order to give an alternative to the high Arab presence across the Mediterranean. In 2008 there was not the Arab Spring yet, so the project was used to compensated some imbalance. The projects regard new regional and sub-regional initiatives with high relevance for economy, environment, energy, health, migration and culture. It is a

kind of reproduction of the European Union, but with a huger dimension and different characteristics. Not only the European countries who overlook the Sea are part of the Union, but all the 28 EU Members; in addition there are 15 southern Mediterranean, African and Middle Eastern Countries: Albania, Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, Palestine, Syria (suspended), Tunisia and Turkey. From 2010 the Union had a Functional Secretariat, based in Barcelona, a General Secretary and 6 general secretary deputies. The presidency is double: one President is from the North of the Mediterranean, the other from the South. The EuroMed does not specific its final objectives, but it gives strategic lines to reach them. The project creates some disparities because, creating a free trade area, all the countries are put at the same level of preparedness, but not all can afford the trade with the same instruments. Turkey has a particular position in this Union, because this project has been made to overcome some international problems as the candidacy of Turkey to European Union; in fact it has been proposed by Sarkozy, one of the strongest opponents of its entrance. But Turkey, joined the Euro-med is hoping to approach the European Union, facing the EU Members its progresses in the common policies.

2.5 European Members in favor of its entrance.

Countries in favor of the entry of Turkey pose their attention to the benefits which Turkey will bring in the European Union: a great economy, with huge trades and relations with European countries but also with the world's one. Their idea is that problems about human rights and democracy will be overcome with the final integration with trades and commercial exchanges.

2.5.1 BELGIUM.

Being one of the Founding Member, Belgium always seeks for the greater Europe possible: the European integration was the project. From 2010 its internal federalism suffered from separatist and regionalist movements: in the Dutch-

speaking Flanders, but also in the French-speaking Wallonia. The positive opinions to the entrance change into negative ones: despite their no involvement in the Government, their opinions influence the country's policy. Belgium Press does not give importance to the debate, only in case of some political incidents: for example the election of Murat Denizli, a grey wolf, elected at the municipal elections in Brussels in 2006, which testify how the events create debate which the ordinary life does not. In that case the Press started to inform people of the possible impacts, creating some alarmisms and worries. This happens also in the public opinion: population is not completely involved in the events: so the abstentionism prevails. The government situation, in which prevails tensions between Flemish and Wallonian population, creates discontinuity: but despite it, Belgium Government always showed a favorable attitude towards the accession of Turkey to the EU. Positive position are both for the internal policy, especially for the security of the Turkish people who live in Belgium; and for the external one, because being a small country against a bigger one, Belgium compared with Germany or France, does not change much the situation. There is also a geopolitical reasons: Turkey could be a stabilizer in the Middle East for Europe, enforced by its presence in the NATO; from the security point of view Turkey can be the best instrument to achieve security both with regard to militarist and fundamentalist forces in Turkey on the one hand, and energy security for the EU on the other hand. Despite their positive opinion, Belgians agree that, before join Europe, Turkey must resolve the Cyprus Issue and afford the Copenhagen Criteria, in order to approach positively to the European Union.

2.5.2 ITALY.

Italy has ever been one of the strongest supporters of the Turkish entrance: from both side, the Government and the main industrial groups. Governments of Left and Right agree with the positive outcomes of the possible entrance, putting at the first place the commercial advantages. Since the end of the second World War, Italy sees Atlantic and European integration as the only possible way to the stability and the peace; to join Turkey is the natural development of the Ankara's contributions to western security. Italy is a Mediterranean country, which shares

with Turkey some cultures and identities: it is the natural perspective to add Turkey in the Europe. The accuses come only from the Communist party, who denounces the difficulties of the Minorities and the small progresses of Turkey in human rights since the begin of the Ankara Agreement. The same idea is shared by Northern League, who think that Turkey is not an European country and that it could not be part of the Union. Positive position comes from the economic stakeholders: trades and investments for the both side are increasing: Italy is one of the Turkey's largest trade partner since years, with direct Italian investments estimated in 14 billion US dollars (USD) in 2008. More than 700 Italian firms and companies are investing or operating in Turkey. The entrance of Turkey in the European Union will facilitate trades and relations, which are already considered almost European, and the Mediterranean Plane confirmed the nearness between the two country and the positivity of Italy in its approach. On the opposite side is the public opinion: may be for the bad and poor information system, but Italians know little of the integration process and of the modern Turkey itself. People take news from newspapers and television, which most of the times interprets political role not giving all the right information. Italians are influenced also by the Church, which does not see in a Muslim country a possible ally in the Union: the figure of the Pope and his thought is very important for Christian, so the change in their opinion is hard, and the last religious events only worsen the opinions.

2.5.3 SPAIN.

Spain has positive opinion for the Turkey's entrance. Hispano-Turkish relations and trade enjoy health and both countries collaborate for the promotion of the Alliance of Civilizations since 2004. Spain fully agree with the Turkey's entrance and rejects all the discriminations to this country. The two country organized the High Level Meeting, in order to maintain stable relations and to support its candidacy. The reasons are similar to the ones of the other supporters: the strategic geographical position, the huge trade relations and the last positive progresses of the country in the Mediterranean area. But first of all, Spain gives importance to the political aspects, considering the entry of Turkey the safety for the stability. The support for the enlargement started during the accession process,

in which Spain positioned itself as a country committed to European integration in double dimension: deepening and widening; so, even of the enlargement brings no benefits for Spain (the reduction of funds), it remains determined to support Turkey accession. The enlargement is positively seen by Spain, who thinks it could be the key for development and modernization. Not only the Government Party support it but also the opposition Party (Popular Party), which states that the entry is the only positive solution which will take advantages. A less enthusiastic trend has been followed by center-right nationalist parties, such as the Catalan group *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) and the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV). In Spain, like in Italy, there is few knowledges about Turkey situation: the Media started only in the last years to talk about it, having reporters and correspondents here, but people do not know all the real events anymore. Newspapers and journalists agree with the Government support to the entry, even if, after recent episodes, they publically attacked the too long process of accession. The low level of information of the Media provokes indifference in the people: in the last years the positive opinion has increased only for the consensus to the Government but not for the better information received by the medias, which do not take care to inform people of the European situation. Differently from other country, Spain does not present political Lobbies whose focal point is the defense or refusal of Turkey's accession. Spain remains coherent with its opinion during the years, depending on the fact that also Spain has been a candidacy with reserves for a period and that it has been sign some bilateral Agreement with Turkey which will benefit itself.”

2.5.4 SWEDEN.

Sweden believes into the Turkish entry, if it will able to fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria, if it will able to be more democratic and open to the western world. The positive opinions come from the belief of Turkey as a bridge between Europe and the Muslim world, and that Turkey is a natural member of the EU, geographically and culturally. Swedish government is one of the most positive for the enlargement, the Prime Minister, Fredrik Reinfeldt, said during an official visit in Turkey on April 2009: “It is my conviction that the EU needs Turkey, and that

Turkey needs the EU. This is why Sweden supports Turkish membership of the EU. Turkey is a secular democracy, which belongs in Europe. Turkey brings together East and West and has unique possibilities to unite different cultures with each other. The EU cannot afford to disregard this". In order to improve the relations with Turkey, Sweden started a new program, the "Turkey Program". Started after the begin of the accession negotiations, in 2005, it aims to support the democracy process and the work of respecting human rights. Generally, this idea is share by Medias, which reflect the Swedish political parties' view. Government and Medias are convinced of the fact that Turkey, once into the European Union, will be a positive neighbor and ally; it will be an economic aider, despite its need of resources, and a good diplomatic for the resolution of eastern problems.

2.6 European Members against its entrance.

Countries against Turkey's entrance are, in number, more or less the same of those in favor: but they are bigger in size and in weight in the European Institutions. The reasons are the same for all of them: Turkey has difficult to accomplish the European Criteria and the reforms needed. They do not give importance to the benefit which Turkey could bring in Europe, leaving out also the important changes in the economic.

2.6.1 GERMANY.

Germany often changed its idea concerning the entrance of Turkey in the European Union. Every time its Government changed, also its stance on Turkey's EU membership. In 1997, with the CDU/FDP (Christian Democratic Party and Liberals Party) , it was completely opponent to the entrance, thinking that its region and its religion were incongruous with those of EU. The next Chancellor, in 1998, welcomed its candidacy, re-approved in 1999, by its Government. With the victory of AKP Turkish party, Germany, in 2002, started to convince EU members (in particular France) to begin negotiations. Since 2004 Germany

changed idea again: Angela Merkel sees only the solution of Turkey as privileged partnership, which is the alternative to full Turkish membership to the EU (also if she recently changed her mind). Not only governments are principally against the entrance, but also the public opinion: since 2005 the support for Turkey's membership has decreased by 5%. There are many reasons, but first of all Germans have Xenophobic approach to Turks; the others are the different history, the problem of immigration, the Islamophobia, cultural differences, 9/11 attacks and Kurdish attacks against the Turkish in Germany. $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Germans are skeptical about Turkey's membership to the EU. Principle fear of Germans is the lack of integration of Turkish in the European society. As said before, Angela Merkel has recently changed her mind about the negotiations, which now push to accelerate. It is surprising how, in only ten years since her election, she has changed her opinion, but she must convinced the electorate in order to re-win recent elections. It probably was an escape to gain votes, but she created disagreements, above all with the Christian Democratic Party. Despite all changes in German opinion, Germany stated that "pacta sunt servanda", that means that EU Members should hold up to their commitments in starting negotiations process for Turkey. Merkel agrees with this statement but she replicated that the negotiations should never started, in order to not arrive to a similar situation in the present.

2.6.2 FRANCE.

France has ever been the major opponent Country for the entrance of Turkey in the European Union. Since its candidacy, every Government has opposed its will: Sarkozy is the principal opponent of it, and there is the belief that he has proposed the Euro-Med to avoid the accession of turkey in the EU. EU cannot afford a State of similar size, taking in considerations the last economic crisis, it could provoke serious damages. One solution could be the improvement of the cooperation between the parties, in order to maintain a stable political dialogue and the visa privileges, but not the effective entrance. French President Francois Hollande has recently changed the will of France, announcing the probable idea of a re-approaching of the EU to Turkey. Despite French ideas completely against, he

proposed the possibility of the entrance, continuing to negotiate in the fields of rule of law, separation of power, judicial independence and respect of fundamental liberties. The process shall demonstrate what Turkey is able to develop and achieve, then only the referendum can decide its future. Hollande's predecessor, Nicolas Sarkozy, was the main opponent of its entrance: he strongly fought to stop the accession process of Turkey, imaging only a possible cooperation between the two parties, but never its entrance. Its motivations were the same of the other countries: the Country is too big, too poor and too culturally different from the European ones. The respect of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary is prerogatives for the membership. European Union and Turkey will never seek for the same principles and the same political ideas. The change from Sarkozy to Hollande is given by the priority to maintain real contacts with Turkey, because the recent events obliged Europe to be closer with it: illegal refugees are the main problem which could damage European stability and which only Turkey can resolve. But it needs European political and economic aids. And, above all, Turkey remains an important partner because of several causes in which is involved: it is strongly convinced in the Euro-Med Organization, it cooperates in the fight against terrorism (also if the last events do not demonstrate it), it is trying to intensify cultural and trade exchanges and it is proactive of new meetings and bilateral visits. The situation is little different since the begin of the negotiations, when Sarkozy declared that Turkey has no place inside the European Union; but France aims that their relations will remain only at a cooperation level, because European Union needs Turkish market and open contacts with it, but Turkey will always remain the foreign country. Also French citizens accord with their Government; in the years they remained stable at a 70% of opponents. The reasons are the same, but they consider migration the main problem to afford before the entrance; and the position of their Government influence their opinions.

2.6.3 GREECE.

Greece is an ambiguous state for what concerns the decision to put it into the supporters or the opponents European Countries. It has been, in the past, one of

the fiercest opponent of the Turkey's accession. The Cyprus Issue was the main problem between the two countries, but other rivalries have always existed, which conditioned the strong opposition of Greece to have Turkey into the European Union. Initially, Greece refused the accession of Turkey, putting the main problems into the safety of the Aegean Sea and the stability of the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. But recently, it changed its mind into a favorable opinion: it moved into a pro-European debate, with positive references to the reform process taking place in Turkey and statements of support to the country's European candidacy. Greece sees the European Turkey as a less dangerous neighbor, from which to defend itself, and which maintains solid trade relations. This is the new idea of the Government party, but also of the opposition party. Greece is convinced that Turkey's EU candidacy will motivate Turkey on the improvement of its domestic political and economic issues. Its main worry regards the Cyprus Issue, which Greece believes is a European problem, not only of itself, and for this reason it will be resolved by all the Union, helped by the entry of Turkey. Public opinion is not well prepared to take a stable position, in fact it has changed its idea several times, but the majority is in favor of the enlargement also if it poses some reserve for Turkey's prospects. Different dimensions made the lack of positive support: the public does not understand the benefits which will come from the entry of Turkey; Greeks see Turkey as a country which needs to develop its economy, to accelerate its democratization process and to contribute to the resolution of the Cyprus political problem; and finally, its geographical position and its history does not belong to the European one. And Greeks are deeply linked to their tradition and history, so they hardly accept a culturally different country. Greek Media are more interested in the development of Turkish internal policy than in its accession process. The accession process is not so relevant for the public, so Media doubts about the rightness of the project and of the importance to give to this matter in the news. The changing point of the opinions, concerning the entry of Turkey, happened in 1999, after a terrible earthquake, which provoked serious damages both in Turkey and in Greece, and which reinforced the relations between Greece and Turkey in order to improve the conspicuous aids needed. Greece started to see Turkey as a reliable neighbor instead an enemy. The government, since that year,

has had the capacity to influence positively public opinion and Media, which now follow the idea of a possible enlargement.

2.6.4 AUSTRIA.

Austria follows the believe of France and Germany, concentrating the main reasons on the lack of Europeanness of Turkey. Since its accession, in 1995, it has become increasingly critical of any further enlargement processes, but also of the EU itself. First of all, the discourse on Turkey's accession contained many fears, uncertainties and prejudices connected with the transition to an increasingly multi-cultural society. In this context, the integration of growing Muslim migrant communities into what has been perceived as Austrian culture has constituted the biggest challenge, particularly in metropolitan areas. Then, there is the problem of the length of the process; Austria thinks that if the negotiations take so long time there are some reasons which not allow the end of the processes. In opposition to the government idea, there are all the Austrian companies which silently opened an activity in Turkey: in 2008, exports from Austria reached a total of 965.9 million Euro, while imports from Turkey in the same year comprised 909.5 million Euro. There are several leading Austrian companies which entered Turkish market: is the case of Red Bull, Mayr Mellenhof, Magna, OMV, Verbund and BankAustria. Although the opposition of the government, this do not mean that thing cannot change: the economic aspect is fundamental for the State, and Government, seeing its industries that are active in Turkey could change their mind.

It is clear that European countries are divided in the decision, which surely will bring several changes but also several benefits; they are divided in the features to take into consideration for the choice, which are different, and for this reasons create different expectations. The problem regards also the effective choice: European countries are worried about Turkey's reaction, so they do not take a final decision, continuing to extend the requests and to worsen the degree of preparedness needed to the access. Especially the greater Powers, which change

their mind depending on the circumstances, letting Turkey suspended between the possible entrance and the total negation of it. Erdogan in a speech said that there are Leaders who say something and then they correct themselves, sustaining to not have said those words before. He considered all this process comical and he affirmed that Turkey is tired of the situation, because after about 50 years they pretend responses¹⁹. Turkey, in fact, is one of the first countries who asked for its entrance in the European Union, but it is still seeking the right method to afford this process. It is part of most of the European Institutions, as the European Parliament and Commission, it is ally of the NATO, having one of the major Army in the world, but it is still the worst candidate for the Europe.

¹⁹ Marco Ansaldo, *Chi ha perso la Turchia*. Einaudi Editore pag. 7

Chapter III

Turkey looks to the South of the Mediterranean Sea.

3.1 Changes in the political orientation and the “new-Ottomanism”.

Probably the long process of accession worried Turkey, who after years of attempts to afford the entry, started to concentrate its attention to the south of the Mediterranean, the Arab world. Turkey has ever had oriental features, first of all the Muslim religion and the culture, and in the last years, after a past dedicated to the west, it returned to the eastern approach. After the Second World War, Turkey preferred occidental alliances, becoming the oriental boarder of the West, and joining the NATO in 1953. This attention to the foreign policy oriented to the West has damaged the internal policy, which has remained unprepared to afford new reforms and new alliances. The turning point has been the rise to the power of the Islamic Party AKP and of its Leader Erdogan, in 2002. He concentrated its policy in the reforms needed for Turkey, and it has involved a resumption of the relations with the eastern world (Middle-East and Asia). The Foreign Minister of Erdogan, Ahmet Davutoglu, theorized a strategic plan which could have brought Turkey from a passive and dependent international position to a new role of regional Power. This process requires the re-establishment of what Kemal Atatürk had eliminated for years: the Ottoman History and the Islamic traditions. Erdogan and its Minister want to realize an opening of the relations based on culture and economy with the slogan “no problem with the neighborhood”. The new policies took a balancing of the Turkish position compared with the West; the accession, sawn as the principle and unique objective for years, now it is seen as a solution but not the priority, both for the length of the European countries to take a decision and for the missed enthusiasm. The new international position seems to

bring positive benefits for Turkey, who wants to become the Leader Country in the area, in the middle between Europe, Asia and Africa. The change of the political orientation started just during the first years of the new Millennium, when the Accession process started to become longer of how has been predicted. Erdogan started a soft New-Ottomanism which is revealing a winning strategy: to make alliances with the neighborhood in order to maintain stability in the area and being a referent point for all the small countries which could need help in the future. For example, he is creating strong bonds with Balkans Countries, which in the next future will be part of the Euro Zone. They let Turkey a privileged access to the European Value and the rise of its power: Turkey posed Europe and U.S. in a hard position, because they must refer to Turkey to have the access to the Middle-East; Ankara will become the bridge between east and west. It is a double revenge for Turkey; first of all it reveals how, despite the block of the accession process, it can demonstrate its international position, and secondly, how western countries need its aids, in this case Balkans countries. To avoid its rising power it will be necessary to restart the negotiations, in order to take more control over the Erdogan's policy, internal and external, letting Europe have more control also to the Middle-East, passing through Turkey. New-Ottomanism, in fact, means the resumption of the ancient policy of the Ottoman Empire, as regional Leader in that area, role played by the party of AKP, since 2002. Ottoman Empire had huge expectations from Arab world, but it had an huge control over the Empire's territories. Erdogan started the new policy with several initiatives, as the designation of the "Year of Africa" in 2005, when he visited many African countries in order to stabilize stronger relationships: Turkey has been presented south of the Equator, something none of the predecessors had done before; he has been in Pretoria, South Africa, in Addis Ababa, Etiopia. He was strongly convinced in the project, launched in 2003, regarding "strategy for Improving Economic relations with African Countries" which had the result to obtain the observer status at the African Union (AU), in 2005. In 2007, Turkey started a new initiative, hosting a summit of the world's least developed countries (33 of them are in Africa) and allocating 22 million dollar to development aid in Africa. To have development it is necessary to improve the education: Erdogan reserves a

conspicuous amount for it. In December 2008 has been inaugurated the first Ankara University African Studies Research and Application Center, which marked another advance. Not only University but also primary schools; as in Rwanda, where Turkey started a new project, which means build more schools as possible in all the small villages of the State. The project now is expanding in other States of the Continent, taking education where people cannot afford it. The first-ever Rwandan ambassador to Turkey, Lt. Gen. Caesar Kayizari stated that: “Turkey's building of schools in Rwanda in particular, and in African countries in general, is of great importance. Education is significant for establishing strong relationships. Turkey for a long time was absent in Africa. Now that it has opened to the continent, education could be one of the tools that the Turkish government can use, as education builds the future,”²⁰ in order to thanks for the Turkish operated. Number of Turkish schools are growing fast, accommodating every year about 500 new students. African Countries are pleasure to receive a similar aid, since they are convinced that education is the biggest investment for the humanity, but they have no resources to afford the development. They believe in education, which will form new diplomatic figures, which in the future can become African Leader able to afford the international policies and international challenges. According to that, every year hundreds of scholarships are given to African students to let them attend Turkish Universities. These aids are coordinated by the Turkish Agency for the international cooperation and the development (TIKA), which is based in the African territory with 8 center and 37 different projects.

Not second to the education, Turkey believes in the importance of the political cooperation: in January 2008 it became an African Union (AU) strategic partner, playing an important role in this Institution and stabilizing the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit, in Istanbul, where participate 49 African countries. Turkey, in 2008, was also accepted as non-regional member of the African Development Bank and as Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum. Turkey is increasingly involved into the African Diplomacy, assuming the role of

²⁰ http://www.todayszaman.com/interviews_turkish-schools-in-africa-important-for-strong-relations_334734.html last visit 09/12/2015.

new actor, especially in some areas, as the sub-Saharan one. The new cooperation will be sustain with the development of new diplomatic network. Between 2009 and 2011, 15 new diplomatic mission had been inaugurated; only in 2012 new Embassies have been opened in Gabon, Burkina Faso, Niger, Namibia, Chad and Guinea, to whom new have been added in the last years reaching a number of 39 in total. The presence of this Mission allows Turkey to follow the improvement of its policies and its operation in those territories. But also African countries are present in the Turkish territory, with more of 30 Embassies, in order to allow them the control and the respect of the agreements.

An important improvement, necessary for the development of the relations, has been given by Turkish Airlines, who operated with the addition of 8 new destinations in 2015, which now are in total 48. Most of the time entrepreneurs insisted on the necessity of the addition of new African destinations by the Company, which is for 49% of national participation. Turkey has the largest network in Africa, overtaking Air France and Emirates, with the greater presence in the North, but with a discrete new presence also in the East and in Central Africa. Turkey worried to offer more connections between Africa and other Countries, as the European ones and the American ones, including new flights between them.

The great interest of Ankara for Africa is in opposition to the European one; Turkey does not follow a colonialist logic, which favored only one side, but it wants to stabilize a long cooperation based on the respect and the reciprocal utility. As Erdogan said, Turkey, when watch Africa, does not see diamonds, gold, minerals and other precious resources, but their common history, the friendship and the neighborhood. And the same for African Countries, which see Turkey as a modern Muslim Country, that is a model for them. For this reason, to reinforce political bonds is the main target to obtain the support of the 54 African State, which are more than a quarter of the U.N. Members. In the period 2009-2010, Turkey has been elected non-permanent member of the Security Council of U.N. thanks to the African votes. Other matters which push Turkey to new stronger cooperation with Africa are the fight against terrorism, against piracy and the

commercial disputes into the WTO (World Trade Organization). In the last 5 years Turkey has given many million dollars to the African Countries, especially through international Organizations as the World Health Organization and the World Food Program and the Red Half-Moon. For example, during the Darfur crisis Turkey allocated 60 million Dollars, also if it preferred the “passive silence policy”, in order to refuse a similitude between slaughter and genocide.

What attracted more Turkey is African Economy; despite its lack of richness and development Turkey would reach the realization of a positive economy, able for the international trades. Turkey is one of the non-regional (non-African) members of the African Development Bank and it is candidate as one of the possible new members of the trade agreement with East African Community, which is a customs union between Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda, by 2019. Turkey has to estimate the advantages of getting trade in Africa, because it is not a secure market, because of the difficult, political and economic, situation in many countries, but data reveals that the value of trade between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa, in 2009, reached nearly 20 billion dollars. Great reputation is given to the Turkish products (building materials, agrifood products, engineering products, machinery, textiles, ready-to-wear clothing, medical equipment, information technology, personal hygiene products, cleaning products, jewellery), which are 20-30% cheaper than the equivalent European ones and have more quality of those produced in China. It is not only an advantage for Turkey, but also African consumers prefer the Turkish market: signal of the strong relationship started more than 10 years ago. African consumers recognized Turkish quality and its lower prices, giving importance also to the alliances between the two parties. It is like a pact which consumers choose to follow: if their Government allied with Turkey, they must chose Turkish products instead others. The agreements signed between the parties facilitate investments and new trades, above all in the African territories: major civil engineering projects, as the Suleja-kaduna motorway in Northern Nigeria, or the Al-Halfaia bridge in Khartoum are been projected by Turkish construction enterprises. More than 400 small and medium enterprises have found a foothold in Africa, investing over 500 million dollars only in 2010. African countries enjoy the positive commitment of Turkey, gaining in greater

trades but also in favorable investments which aid their development. Some critics arrive from the internal policies of the African States, because of the interference of Turkey into their internal affairs, which is a common habit of Turkey in its trade agreements. But in order to receive aids and investments, they accepted these interferences, because it is fundamental for them the development and to not be damaged. Their relations started only few years ago, from 2005, but they reached high levels of development; Africa comes as one of the favorites country for Turkey, who reserved its privileges and priorities. 'Westernization' and 'modernization', which occupied the entire policy since the creation of the Republic of Turkey, changed into an "Africanization" of trades and relations. If before Turkey did not recognize the new African States, exited from the Colonialism, now Turkey supports all their political projects, recognizing their strong commitment to the liberty. And Turkish's desire to become regional Leader of the Area is the achievement of this process.

Turkey is strongly engaged in helping African countries for what concerns humanitarian aids; investments for this development are rising, especially in the cooperation for the improvement. The total amount of Turkish aids rose from 28 million dollars of 2006, to 425 million of 2011. The referent point is TIKA, the Ministerial Agency for the Cooperation and the Improvement, which acts in 37 African countries, since 2005, and which is basically created for the construction of infrastructures, schools and hospitals. It is primarily concentrated through the humanitarian intervention: it collaborates with IHH (Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief), which is working in Africa since the mid-1990s with a presence in 41 countries. Their aim is to provide aid for all the poor African who cannot afford medical assistance, in particular they started a project to combat the cataract, with free surgery for the project "open the eyes of 100,000 Africans". Turkey, differently from other countries, is present in the territory, helping population with economic aids and people acting in the hospitals: in February 2015 it send 2,5 million of Liras to Guinea, sierra Leone and Liberia for the Ebola emergency; but it also send ships with medical materials needed for the installation of medical bases for the dying people.

Religion has not been a marginal aspect of the Turkish choice to concentrate its aids in African countries; Muslim is an identity factor of huge importance. And Muslims are the countries in which Turkey want to bring aids and development, strong of their same identity and culture. Turkey has 6,5% of the capital of the Islamic Development Bank and it continues to distinguish itself for generosity and charity. It is not a case that Ankara has included Niger, one of the major commercial partner in western Africa, into the membership of the D-8, the Developing-8, founded in 1997 and organized on the moral values and on the Islamic commercial ethics. Its issue is the cooperation for the development between Iran, Malaysia, Niger, Malesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt and Turkey. Turkey pays attention on the role of the culture and on the importance of people in the affairs, aspect neglect by the Greater Power, European countries and China primarily. Different approaches, based on cultural and religious aspects, which intensify and improve the relations. Turkey is already present also in countries in which Muslim religion is not the majority: Ethiopia, Rwanda and Madagascar for example. The Directorate for the Religious Affairs announced the opening of new offices for the improvement of the contacts with Muslim people in such areas.

One of the most important cases of Turkish intervention regards Somalia. Turkey has been the only Country physically present in the territory during the emergency which hit the State in 2011. The famine seriously damage the population and Turkey send almost 250 million Dollars (in majority of Turkish donations) to help the State. 200 thousand Somalis have been curated in Turkish temporary hospitals, and a new hospital has been inaugurated by the Turkish Government, with 400 new beds. In 2015 Erdogan inaugurated the biggest hospital in Mogadishu, the Digfer Hospital, with more than 200 beds. The aids regard also the distribution of new vans for the garbage collection, the digging of new water wells, the improvement of the agriculture, to build new landfill for waste and the building of a highway between the city center of Mogadishu and its airport. Turkish Airlines has been the first Company that has added the destination of Mogadishu into its flights, considered one the most dangerous in the world. Turkey never worried about the dangers which could afford in this Country: during the Ramadan in 2011, when the crisis was at its higher level, President

Erdogan went to Mogadishu with his family, his Ministers and their families to let the entire World see that, despite dangers, he could afford the travel to help population; in this case Turkey demonstrated all its power to the rest of the world, bringing part of the 250 million Dollars²¹, collected from population (Italy send 10 million Dollars). The soft power acted by Turkey collected great influence in the country, and it has been expanded also in the instruction: in 2011, 500 scholarships have been given to the students, giving them the possibility to study in Turkish University (in 2012 they reached 700). Turkey is playing an important role for Somalia, it is perceived as trusty country, signal that Turkish challenge has taken positive results. Turkey policy is positively seen by all the Great Powers, NATO organized in 2010 a meeting in Istanbul to talk about the Somalis assistance, with the Turkish idea to find out a solutions for the famine and the crisis. Obviously Great Powers are worried about the fact that Turkey could not afford all the promises made during the years, challenging Power as China and European Countries; for this reason Somalia is seen as the key of the capacity of Turkey in maintaining all its goals.

Critics are many, because Turkey affords these interventions without taking in consideration the possible failures: its economy is not as huge as its promises to all the African countries. But its will to impose its power is bigger than its expectations. In all these projects Great Powers see a clear reference to the Ottoman Empire, which wanted to compete with colonialist countries as China or English Colonialism. Also if in just a decade Turkey's diplomatic and trade relations have been transformed, critics continue to arrive from civil servants, journalists and former diplomats, which think it as a waste of time, energy and resources. The support comes only from the AKP party and from civil society, which believe in party which had voted.

²¹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=turkey-raises-201-million-for-somalia-2011-08-26> last visit 10/12/2015

3.2 Cooperation between African Countries and Turkey.

Turkey is involved in several foreign missions, in order to bring help to the population who need it. Its action is particularly concentrated in Africa, where it want to stabilize its supremacy.

3.2.1 Tuskon.

Turkey particularly believes in a Program which has created to export development and economic ambition to other countries and inside turkey itself. Tuskon, the Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey, is a non-governmental and non-profit umbrella organizations which represents 7 business federations, 202 business associations and over than 50000 entrepreneurs from all over Turkey²². Since its establishment, in 2005, it has expanded with 5 foreign representations in Brussels, Washington, Beijing; Addis Abeba and Moscow, operating in 140 different countries and creating one of the biggest international network of industrialists. It intervenes in Africa with concrete aids, as the constructions of new schools and sending the materials needed for other building, or sending people needed in the territory for humanitarian interventions. This cooperation has improved the life of many countries, reaching positive results: Seven out of ten of the fastest growing countries of the last ten years are in Africa. Turkey expects that African Middle class expenditure, by 2020, will reach 1,4 trillion Dollars; Turkish companies are looking for exchange the know-how with African counterparts in order to improve their exchange. Bringing together Turkish industrialists and businessmen of Ghana, Niger, Nigeria and Burkina Faso is the aim of an innovative idea, that is the “Turkey & Middle-West Africa Trade Bridges Initiative”.

3.2.2 T.I.K.A.

²² <http://www.tuskoneu.org/about-tuskon/> last visit 12/12/2015

T.I.K.A. have continuously changed, in its existence, its role in the Turkish policy: it was created in 1992, according with the Statutory Decree Law, as a technical aid organization with the scope to respond to the restructuring and development needs of the Turkey, after the disruption of the Soviet Union. All the new independent countries, born from the liberalization need incentives and help to improve their stability as independent States. In 1999 it became an organization under the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey with the intention to start a cooperation and development plane in some areas, who need contributions for development; in 2002 it has increased its activity through the development assistance operations carried out abroad, according to the expansion of its foreign policy. Now it is present in 140 countries, with particular attention for Africa; its activity concerns different fields such as development, infrastructures, agriculture, livestock and education. It increased its assistance especially in the field of health and medical care, with the distribution of medical drugs and consumable materials for the hospitals. The Ebola emergency hardly committed T.I.K.A., which intervened with off-road ambulances and veterinary services. It is carrying on its intention to cooperate with the oppressed countries, without regard of different ethnicity, culture, religion or policy. Its development assistance has increased every year: from 85 million USD of 2002 to 3,3 billion USD in 2013. These are tangible contributions for some countries which often are left on their own: Somalia, Myanmar and Central African Republic, where political instability and humanitarian crisis are deeper. For this reason, Turkish cooperation projects are concentrated in the Middle East (55,9%) and Africa (24,7%), in order to help as much as possible poorest countries. The major recipients of its aid are Egypt, Somalia, Syria, Palestine, Tunisia and Azerbaijan. The Arab world is the favor, obviously for the sharing of the same religion, but also for the same ideals and culture. T.I.K.A., changing its goals in order to respond to the world necessities, want to improve the situation of countries as it has done in its own territories before. Costs are high, but the visibility and the results repay every commitment.

3.2.3 R2P.

It is not an agreement, but it is a share policy of the World. The R2P doctrine, in fact, assure the responsibility of the State to protect their peoples but also peoples of everywhere from mass atrocities. States must intervene in the case some other States are not able to assure this respect through their peoples. Prevention, reaction and rebuilding after intervention are the three main types of responsibility, which particular regard to the first one, which could exclude the others, if carry on in the right way. The Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which Turkey carries on is “Peace at home, peace in the world”.

3.2.4 Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit.

To maintain these standards Turkey is involved in the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit. The summit born from the will of Turkey to improve the relations with Africa and to increase the African States participation.

The first meeting was held in Istanbul, April 18-20 2008. It was the preparatory summit for the following ones, held in Ankara and Addis Ababa. The aim was to enlarge the area of action and to consolidate the policy at every levels, for a long-term and stable partnership between the two parties, based on the promotion of the cooperation in specific matters. The first meeting produced two outcome documents: the Istanbul Declaration and the Framework for Cooperation²³. The first one enounced the intention for a cooperation and solidarity for a common future. The common issues regard the aids to improve the access to the finances, the importance given to energy, fight against climate changes and desertification, the need to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and other diseases and the pursuit of sustainable economic, social and environmental development. Africa

²³ http://au.int/en/partnerships/africa_turkey last visit 19/12/2015

maintains difficulties in responding to globalization, so Turkey is committed in improving this development process, instead Africa must recognize its need to respect all the standards and policies, as Principles of the United Nations (UN) Charter, the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and other universally recognized principles governing relations among states and adherence to the principle of respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as avoidance of the abuse of the principle of universal jurisdiction²⁴. The second one was used to spelt out the areas of cooperation between the two parties. An Implantation Plan 2010-2014 was further added, to give more importance to the strong bilateral relations between the parties. The Implementation Plan is established for a mutual review, adjustment and improvement during the stabilized period, which last 4 years²⁵. The parties should aim to strengthen the cooperation for their benefits. At the first Summit participated 49 African States and Turkey, with conspicuous and active participation, in order to reach a sustainable cooperation process. Potentials are enormous, but it is necessary the maximum commitment of the States, because progresses needed are many. To the first meeting followed others in order to maintain cooperation in all the fields; the High-Level Officials Meeting was held in 15 December 2010; the Ministerial Level Reviewing Conference was held in 16 December 2011, in Istanbul; Turkey co-chaired with Egypt “International Donor’s Conference for the Reconstruction and Development of Darfur” in Cairo, on 21 March 2010 and hosted twice the Istanbul Somalia Conferences organized within the UN framework on 21-23 May 2010 and 31 May-1 June 2012 consequently. Turkey also invited the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, in Istanbul on 9-13 May 2011, and organized Mid-Term Review Conference of the Istanbul Program of Action in 2015.

The second Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit was held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, from 19 to 21 November 2014. It was supposed to be held in an African country in 2013, in order to maintain the alternation of the meeting

²⁴ <https://www.issafrika.org/uploads/TURKEYAFRIDECAUG08.PDF> last visit 19/12/2015

²⁵ <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://afrika.mfa.gov.tr/data/turkey-africa-joint-implementation-plan-2015-2019.pdf>. last visit 19/12/2015

(one in Turkey and one in an African country), but the lack of convergence about time and date implicated the shift to 2014²⁶. Almost 30 African country were present at the Malabo Summit: the theme was “A New Model of Partnership for the Strengthening of Sustainable Development and Integration”²⁷. During the Summit, the High Level Officials Meeting was held on November 19, followed by Ministerial Meeting on 20. According to the alternation, the next Summit will be held in Turkey, in 2019. The second Summit adopted the Declaration and Joint Implementation Plan for the Period of 2015-2019. This Implementation Plan is built on the previous scheme: with a project for the next 4 years, in the period between 2015 and 2019, with an especial view to contributing towards the realization of Africa’s Agenda 2063 and the Post 2015 Development Agenda. The Plan is divided into parts, each corresponding to particular issue²⁸. The first is the cooperation among Institutions: the need of an improvement of the consultations, with regard to the interaction between the parties, which must need the principle of equality and mutual trust and respect; the need to consolidate relations at a governmental and technical levels, encouraging inter-parliamentary relations and establishing Friendship groups between the Grand National Assembly (the Turkish Parliament) and the Parliaments of each African Country. Lastly, it is important the cooperation within the International Organizations, as the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank or the World Trade Organization, and within Regional Economic Communities and Civil Society, as T.I.K.A. The second issue regard the development of trades and investments. Most of the relations between the parties are born to improve trades and exchanges; in order to increase and expand the market there is the need, in the next years, to look for new areas of cooperation, to create a joint database in order to share business opportunities between the parties, at the level of Chambers of Commerce; to integrate in the rest of the world the African commodities market to generate higher profits; to invest, in African zonas, for new joint ventures, in order to aid African enterprise to

²⁶ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa> last visit 19/12/2015

²⁷ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa> last visit 19/12/2015

²⁸ <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://afrika.mfa.gov.tr/data/turkey-africa-joint-implementation-plan-2015-2019.pdf> last visit 19/12/2015

develop in a better way; to share information, in order to improve trades and business. The parties want to expand trade and investment volume from 30 billion Dollars, of 2013, to 50 billion Dollars in 2019, organizing Tariff preferences and duty free privileges. Turkey believes in the importance of establishing business councils, cooperating in the field of housing, in the field of finance and banking and in establishing new industrial zones, in order to create a common network. Moreover, the Implementation Plan, encourage Agriculture, agribusiness, small and medium enterprises, water resources management and rural development; this is the fundamental sector for Africa, because considering African resources, is the main activity of the Continent. The parties will provide to enhance the cooperation into this field, with better information exchanges and with periodical visits in the countries acted by Turkey, in order to control the development levels. Turkey desires to create a real cooperation, made of a specific preparation of the people, involved in these sectors, with training courses, an agriculture Master Plane for African countries, studies about the main agricultural problems, such as drought, desertification, erosion, the impact of climate changes on the cultures, the seed and the soil, water resources, and about experiments of phytosanitary, with regard to organic farming techniques. In particular, Turkey wants to improve the approach of women and young to this sector. Another important aspect, that the Plane expects to develop is the Health issue. It is the more important aspect, considering the low levels of hygiene in Africa, but also the medium level of Turkey, the parties agree to cooperate in order to create common planes of action, to fight malnutrition and epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and other infectious diseases, to improve the training for safe maternity and for better pharmaceutical enterprises. To obtain these improvements it is indispensable to have peace and security in the areas: the program shall share information and experiences, provide logistic and financial support and finance cooperation in the field of the fight against terrorism, transnational organized crime, migrant smuggling, drug and human trafficking and money laundering. For this reason some programs have been organized in collaboration among the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSTR), the Turkish Centre of Excellence Defense Against Terrorism(COEDAT) based in Ankara, International

Centre for Terrorism and Transnational Crime (UTSAM), Turkish International Academy Against Drugs and Organized Crime (TADOC)²⁹. Jurisdictional matter, linked to the peace and security one, is the further issue taken into consideration; the defense remain an important aspect of every policies, if mediation and conflict resolutions did not give positive results: but with this strong cooperation diplomacy must be able to find a solution. The last issue regards infrastructure, energy, mining and transport matter. They are the second vital sectors of Africa, and one of the most important for Turkey. Investments in these fields are obligatory: their efficiencies shall permit the development of the two parties, in order to improve production, but also telecommunications and transports. For what concern culture, tourism and education, the parties agree to continue the strong process started in the 1990s, which include the students and tourists exchanges and the sharing of a similar culture. The program is very large, and four years are not enough, considering the last events which happened in Turkey and its principal attention to them; but the aim is to reach, every year, important improvements in order to increase its consideration in the African countries.

3.2.5 African Development Bank.

The African Development Bank (AfDB) was created to contribute to the poverty reduction and to spur sustainable economic development in its regional countries (RMCs)³⁰; its objectives consist in mobilizing and allocating resources for investments in the RMCs and providing assistance and policy advice to support the development. Turkey, firstly, has been approved as membership of the Bank Group's Board of Governors on May 14, 2008, then followed the complete admission to the bank becoming official member in 2013. It became Member of the Bank and, in the same time, of the African Development Fund, in order to entered into a period of its African relationship called African Partnership Policy. This policy will cover the period between 2013 and 2018, as it has been discussed

²⁹ <http://afrika.mfa.gov.tr/data/turkey-africa-joint-implementation-plan-2015-2019.pdf> last visit 19/12/2015

³⁰ <http://www.afdb.org/en/about-us/> last visit 28/12/2015

during the second Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit. In 2008, when the Annual Meeting of the premier regional development finance institution opened, Turkey was expected to become the 25th Non-Regional Member of the AfDB, and 78th overall member of the Bank. The importance of the Turkey's membership is its strategic location between the east and the west and its growing interests in doing business in African territories. The Bank believes in Turkey's presence in the Continent and its support for its economy. The African Development Bank tries to follow the World objectives, first of all the Millennium Development Goal, in order to agree with the multilateral development institutions, which require international aids, in particular from boarder countries, as Turkey. The major discussions regard engagement in joint activities, including co-financing and business opportunities. Other initiatives regard the Turkey's aviation group, TAV, with project sponsor in engineering, procurement and construction, with a collaboration in production in some African Countries.

3.2.6 Accreditation to the African Embassies.

In the relationship with the African Countries, it is fundamental to establish deep contacts with the single countries. The presence in the African territory create a concrete relation with the Government and its Institutions.

- Turkish Embassy in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), is accredited to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum (IGAD)³¹ since 2012. It is an international organization created by the Countries of the Horn of Africa, in 1986, with a political and commercial scope. In 1996 it has been created the IGAD Partners Forum, which involves the IGAD countries and European Countries, the World Bank, the European Commission, the U.N. Secretariat, the U.N. Program for development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the FAO. It has been created to sustain the collaboration between the Donor Countries and the Members of IGAD; the goals are the safety of the food security and

³¹ <http://igad.int/> last visit 28/12/2015

environmental protection, the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts and Humanitarian Affairs with Infrastructure development.

- Turkish Embassy in Abuja (Nigeria), is accredited to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) since 2005. It is a regional organization of 15 West African countries, founded on 28 May 1975. The Treaty of Lagos created the conditions of the organization, which has the mission of promoting economic integration across the region³². It is considered one of the main economical organization to achieve collective self-sufficiency for its members states and a pillar of the African Economy. Its power is considered a peacekeeping force in the region, operating in three languages, French, English and Portuguese in order to be co-equal with the population. It has two main Institutions, the ECOWAS Commission and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development and it mainly operates with its Member Governments.
- Turkish Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania), is accredited to the East African Community (EAC), since 2010. It has been founded in 2000 and it is an economic community which involves Kenya, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda. Its headquarter is in Arusha, Tanzania, and it is the result of an economic and politic treaty. The community has created a free trade area from 2005, and it represents a middle step toward the complete federal union of the eastern Africa³³.
- Turkish Embassy in Lusaka (Zambia) is accredited to Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) since 2012³⁴. It is a free trade area which involves 20 member states. It was formed in December 1994, following the previous Preferential Tread Area, existed since 1981. It is another economic Pillars of the African Economic Community. Since 2008 it takes part of a larger blocs of African Countries which are part of the EAC and of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC).

³² <http://www.ecowas.int/> last visit 28/12/2015

³³ <https://www.trademarka.com/countries/eac/> last visit 28/12/2015

³⁴ http://about.comesa.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=95&Itemid=117 last visit 28/12/2015

- Turkish Embassy is also accredited to Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), since 2013, thanks to its presence in Libreville (Gabon). It is an economic community created for the promotion of the regional cooperation in Central Africa. The main scope is the autonomy of each State and of the collectivity, the increase of the living standards and the stability of the economy through the cooperation³⁵.

Turkey believes in the cooperation with these Organizations in order to create solid relations but also to become a reference for the African Countries.

3.3 Turkey in the Middle East.

Turkey watches to all the African Countries, but, for some reasons, concentrated its commitment in North Africa and also in the Middle East. These territories are nearer to the Turkish one and they had more aspects in common with Turkey, due to the fact they once belonged to the Empire Ottoman, and they are neighbors. Especially in the last period, it has made important steps towards the development of these relations, both bilateral and multilateral. Turkey considers these territories as old partners, due to the historical, cultural, social and religious ties: the religion is one of the most important link between the two sides, considered a pillar for the society. The fundamental achievement is the stability of the area, severely damaged in the last years, due mainly to the Arab Spring, and the peace between the Parts. The fact that Turkey wants to become the main reference for the Middle East and the African Countries testifies the great commitment invests in the area, especially the strong importance given to the dialogues. The recent improvements in the relations took important changes also in the trades: volumes of trade continuously increase and there are growing interests in the Middle East businesses. It is also true that there are several differences which create contrasts between the parts, but the strong aim of Turkey overpass the difficulties. Turkey must consider that its culture is more liberal, women do not must wear the burqa

³⁵ <http://www.ceeac-eccas.org/index.php/fr/> last visit 28/12/2015

and people can consume alcohol, aspects that are severely forbidden in the Middle East countries. The European influence plays an important role in most of the liberalizations. The same for the Government, which is democratic, different from the ones of Middle East area, and which tries to get some democratic aspects, but with scarce results the most of the time. Turkish people belong to the Turkish ethnic, not to the Arab population, aspect which link people of the Middle East, except for the Jewish in Israel. Despite this aspect, Turkey is strongly present with concrete aids and cooperation.

3.3.1 Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

It is one of the most important Organization of the area; founded in 1969, consisted in 57 members. This international Organization is considered the “collective voice of the Muslim world” and works to “safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony”³⁶. It has an international weight, with a permanent delegation to the United Nations and in the European Union and three official languages: Arabic, English and French. It is the second largest inter-governmental association after the United Nations, working over 4 continents. During the historical summit, which took place in Rabat, Morocco, on September 25, 1969, it has been established to create this new organization, in order to fight against criminal arson of Al-Aqsa Mosque, in Jerusalem. Its first meeting took place in 1970, in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, with the order to establish a permanent Secretariat. Since its beginning, there have been ten Secretary General, the last is Mr. Iyad Ameen Madani, who assumed the role in January 2014. During the 11th meeting, held in Dakar in 2008, the Charter of the Organization has been adopted, in order to establish the objectives and principles of the organization and the purpose to carry on the cooperation and the solidarity among the members. Its initial members were 25, now they are 57, representing in a unified body, millions of Muslim in the world. It has close relations with the U.N. and other international

³⁶ http://www.oic-oci.org/oicv2/page/?p_id=52&p_ref=26&lan=en last visit 2/01/2016

organizations, but always considering firstly the importance to protect the Muslim interests. In the last years Muslim world has seen several changes; for this reason, the member States organized the third extraordinary session of the Islamic Summit, in order to lay down a Ten-Year Program of Action, promoting tolerance and moderation, reforms and emphasizing human rights, especially for children and women. These are the proposals of the Charter:

- Enhance and consolidate the bonds of fraternity and solidarity among the Member States;
- Safeguard and protect the common interests and support the legitimate causes of the Member States and coordinate and unify the efforts of the Member States in view of the challenges faced by the Islamic world in particular and the international community in general;
- Respect the right of self-determination and non-interference in the domestic affairs and to respect sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each Member State;
- Ensure active participation of the Member States in the global political, economic and social decision-making processes to secure their common interests;
- Reaffirm its support for the rights of peoples as stipulated in the UN Charter and international law;
- Strengthen intra-Islamic economic and trade cooperation; in order to achieve economic integration leading to the establishment of an Islamic Common Market;
- Exert efforts to achieve sustainable and comprehensive human development and economic well-being in Member States;
- Protect and defend the true image of Islam, to combat defamation of Islam and encourage dialogue among civilizations and religions;
- Enhance and develop science and technology and encourage research and cooperation among Member States in these fields³⁷;

³⁷http://www.oic-oci.org/oicv2/page/?p_id=52&p_ref=26&lan=en last visit 02/01/2016

Member States agree to commit themselves to these purposes, maintaining their own independence and rights, in order to create more stability through peace and respect. Every State shall respect the others, not interfering in the others national affairs, and respecting the rule of law of each. The organization is composed by the Islamic Summit, which is the main authority and which is formed by Kings and Heads of State and Government of the Members. Its meetings take place every three years to take decisions and provide all the needs of the organization. There is then the Council of Foreign Ministers, which takes care about the general policy of the Organization, and which meets once a year. The General Secretariat, the executive organ, who implements the decision of the two bodies. The coordination is the more difficult point; the various fields in which it act and the differences of the Members, create problems of positive and equal results. Thanks to different Committee the work is easier and it is coordinated separately in each field, for this reason the number of secondary organs involved in the organization are steadily increasing. In 1999 it was established, in Iran, the Parliamentary Union of the OIC Member States (PUOICM). The head office is in Teheran and only its Members can participate at its seats.

Great importance is given to the human rights: this aspect affects seriously many Muslim countries, due to the rigidity of their culture against women and children. It has been created the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam. It is complementary to the UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) but it claims that all the rights and freedom are subject to this Declaration. This supremacy have created some criticisms, because of its manipulation of the UDHR, and its hypocrisy. It has been created the Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC), as an advisory body, with no link to the OIC, with the power to monitor situations and crisis and to facilitate the integration of the human rights in all the OIC mandates. Results are positive, the fight has been carried on successfully, as when independent experts caused violations in Lebanon War, in 2006. Not always the mission of the organization is respected: OIC has been criticized for many failure as the discussion of the treatment of ethnic minorities, which takes no results, with the oppression of the Ahwaz in Iran, the Al-Akhdam in Yemen, the Berbers in Algeria, the Kurds in Syria or the

Hazars in Afghanistan. Critics arrived from the film *Fitna* by Dutch lawmaker Geert Wilders, because of disturbing images of violent acts juxtaposed with verses from the Quran³⁸.

The OIC concentrated its commitment also in terrorism: in 1999 it has adopted the OIC Convention on Combatting International Terrorism. The problem is that the definition of it is considered ill-defined and vague by the Human Rights Watch (HRW), with dangerous consequences in case of attack; the parts will not be agree to define the right causes and consequences in case of use. OIC tried to change the definition, but the attempt to reach a new definition, in April 2002, failed. They believe in the fight against terrorism, but with different views from the occidental ones: during the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM), in May 2007, they defined Islamophobia as the worst form of terrorism, in order to defend their principles. In order to prevent attacks or possible dangers, George W. Bush, accordingly with some Western Countries, send an envoy to control their actions and to learn from Muslim Countries; on 13 February 2015, Arsalan Suleman was appointed as new special envoy³⁹.

3.3.2 Economic Cooperation Organization.

Originally named the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), from 1964 to 1979, after the restructuration it has been named ECO, with no changes in its aims and objectives. It has been created for the promotion of the regional cooperation, sustaining socioeconomic growth in Member states. In 1977 the Treaty of Izmir was sign as the legal framework for the RCD, and adopted as the Charter of ECO in 1990. In November 1992, it expanded from 3 members (Turkey, Iran and Pakistan) to ten (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Republic of Azerbaijan, Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Republic of Uzbekistan)⁴⁰, gaining a new dimension and role. It is financed by Members Contributions and it is composed by the Council of Ministers (COM), the highest policy and decision-making body, the Council of

³⁸ http://everything.explained.today/Organisation_of_Islamic_Cooperation/ last visit 02/01/2016

³⁹ <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/biog/237813.htm> last visit 02/01/2016

⁴⁰ http://www.ecosecretariat.org/detail_info/about_eco_d.htm last visit 03/01/2016

Permanent Representatives (CPR), composed by the Ambassadors, the Regional Planning Council (RPC) and the General Secretariat, consisting in six Directorates under the supervision of the Secretariat General. It is considered an intergovernmental regional organization which try to promote economic, cultural and technical cooperation among the Members. Despite its young age, progresses made are great, also if it lacks in infrastructures and institutions, because of the scarce resources of the Members. Its activities are conducted by Directorates and the Secretariat General, with projects in several fields as Trade and Investments, Energy, Minerals and Environment, Transport and Telecommunications, Project of research, Agriculture, Tourism and Industry and Internal Relations. The common purpose is the development of the Member States, with the removal of trade barriers and the promotion of regional trade, integrating the member economies with the world's ones. Since 1995 ECO has an observer status in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

Changes in its policy, during the last years, have created some problems with the western countries; sometimes it completely contrast with the American interests in the area. Turkey has been very active in the Middle East, mainly in Iran and Syria, due to the fact that it must find an alternative to the European Union, but with concrete intentions, not only caused by the failure in the ancient continent. The common interest in blocking the Kurds nationalism, is the main reason of the begin of the relationship with Iran: in 2002 they started to meet and since 2004 the relation became closer. Not only the Kurds problem, but also the economic cooperation is significantly increased in the relations between these two States. Commercial exchanges were 2,4 Billion \$ in 2003, in 2007 they reached 8 billion \$. Turkey could be the first State who can open banks in Teheran, to contrast American sanctions. One of the most important sector is the energetic one. Different treaty have been signed: the first is the one of 1996, which regard the supply of natural gas to the Turkey for a period of 25 years, with the addition of others in 2007. The first permits to the Turkish oil society (Tpaö) to develop 3 different areas of the gas field of South Pars, which could provide 20 million of cubic meters of gas (2/3 of the Turkish need). The second Treaty regards the construction of an electric central in the Turkish-Iranian board. Turkey could

aspire to become an important location for the exchanges and trades, due to its central position in the Mediterranean Sea. Important steps have been made with Syria, which is considered a great ally for Turkey, made of Treaties which regard trade, tourism and investments, and of their approach due to trade reasons: Turkish exportations were 184 million \$ in 2000, in 2007 they were 798 million \$.

3.4 Positive and negative aspects of the Turkish presence in Africa and in the Middle East.

Not all the Turkish initiatives, carried on in Africa, are positive; surely some aspects take negative consequences, but fortunately, the majorities are well seen from the African Countries. As confirmed in the interview of Ambassador Sobizana Mngqikana⁴¹, the impact of the Turkish-African relation in Africa is positive. Africa, since the beginning of the relationship enjoyed of good opportunities; he describes the strong relations as a benefit for Africa, politically, because of the reciprocal support on international issue, and economically with a continuous growth in trade and investments. Despite their different political views, Africa is not part of NATO and considers itself as non-aligned country, they reach an high level of cooperation in several fields, especially in the economic one, where they have also agreed to consider a free trade agreement, which is far to be reach, but not to be thought. Ambassador thinks that there are still many potentials that could be enforced, considering, for example, that jewellery-manufacturing sector is still unconsidered as a potential sector of high investments. Africa is deeply committed in improving the relations, which are now fundamental, considering that, in the past, it developed contacts mainly with western countries, neglecting Turkey, India or Brazil, considered countries of lower profile. Africa continues to be seen as problematic, due to the civil wars presence, fact that some countries, as South Africa tries to resolve with more democratization processes. The active foreign policy aid African countries to escape from a negative vision.

⁴¹ <http://www.diplomat.com.tr/sayilar/s4/yazilar/s4-2.htm> last visit 05/01/2016

A different positive aspect concerns the minorities: Turkey, since it opened its relations to African Countries, gave more freedoms to them. They consider them more important in the last years, also if the progresses are still few: maybe it is an opportunity given to seem more open-minded to the world. The fact that they completely changed their idea could signify a research of positive feedback from the international diplomacy: they can demonstrate their commitment in the democratic process and become a reference for other countries, as the African ones. But, unfortunately, what Government said is not appreciated by the population, who feels completely disagree. Only 20% of the respondents feel free to share their thought or opinion, while the rest thinks that is not free to give opinions for the fear to be persecuted⁴².

A negative aspect concerns the discrimination: despite the great relationships between the parts, Africans in Turkey still feel discriminated. They feel excluded from the authorities, but also from the civil society, and this particularly happens to the students who go in Turkey to improve their preparation. They are excluded because not accepted in the society, due to their skin color and race: they have difficulties to find a place to rent or a job. The difference becomes greater if the Africans come from Sub-Saharan area, because Muslim remains the bridge with Turkish society. Despite this phenomenon, African people continue to visit Turkey to study, it has been estimated that African in Turkey are about 50,000, most of them living in Istanbul. Despite all the new policies to permit African people to attend Turkish schools, there are still many aspects to consider before a full success, also because they can represent a huge opportunities for the Turkish economy.

⁴² <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/80-percent-of-minorities-in-turkey-cannot-express-themselves-openly-survey.aspx?pageID=238&nID=90624&NewsCatID=339> last visit 05/01/2016

Chapter IV

Ambition or failure.

4.1 Instability and ambiguity.

Last months for Turkey have been very critical. The situation, internal and external, is ambiguous and full of problems. The internal situation is worse than last year, after the elections, which have been won by the AKP. With 49,3% the AKP won the election of November 2015, conquering 316 seats of 550, gaining the guide of the State. The previous election was suspended with no winner, because of no Party reached the needed majority. The loser Party, the HDP, composed by a Kurds majority, complains its will to stop the advancement of the AKP and its Sultan. Despite the loss of consensus, Erdogan continues its program, also if the internal crisis took discontinuity and misunderstandings between the parties. Istanbul and other Cities are being hit by riots, which represent the political challenge made by the two main Parties. The first Minister Erdogan knows the gravity of the situation, but he has the majority by his side which allows him to continue. He is considered a Dictator, who tries to act as a modernist, but with scarce results: the oppression against journalist, all the networked created between TVs, magazines and medias which allow him to Govern is the proof of its supremacy. The positive vision which TVs and Medias show is not the reality: they show only the economic progresses. But this success happened only thanks to the western countries. The internal situation is grave: the hate between ethnic groups is the result of his policy. Turkish are starting to understand what he is doing, and they start to feel abandon by a Government which takes its interests before the people's ones. The external policy add problems, but the State itself is full of criticalities: first of all the corruption.

Turkey has also changed in its external relations; from an approach to the IS to a complete dissent. Erdogan, astonishing the international community, decided to give its support to the fight against IS. The reasons can be found in the last events which hit Turkey: it is the favorite target of attacks by terrorist groups. After one of the worst attacks, suffered by Turkey (which provoked the death of 32 civilians on June 22 2015), Erdogan decided to change national objectives: he started to fight every terrorist group and every Jihadist mine. The inversion of its policy, which modified its position regarding IS, causes a deeper change: Turkey have always considered the Islam State an indirect resources to fight Syrian Kurds living in the boards. The Kurd project of an autonomy nation has ever been a problem for the Turkish Government, and the no-contrasting behavior of them is the strategic point to fight it. The fight did not produce the desired result: it has created new dissident groups in the Kurds territories. Moreover, Syrians allied with Russians and Chinese in order to improve their situation and create problems for turkey who must face the Kurd crisis. The Turkish Government, facing the international indignation for its actions, has been obliged to change its policy and to avoid the impact of the greater Powers. It is not the first time that Erdogan change its mind in order to gain the best from every situation: in the past he wanted to convoke the NATO in order to act against the Kurds, also if he had the greater army of the area. Islam was the main point of the Turkish policy, until Erdogan understood that greater powers opinions was fundamental to have their support.

Turkey represents the crucial point for several fields: logistic, territorial, commercial, political and religious. It is the desire for many States, above all the greater ones, and it has been considered the new geopolitical theater. Its geographical position recently became the center of the major exchange: what once was considered an extension of the Atlantic Gulf (Mediterranean Sea), now is considered the center of a new possible Cold War⁴³. the area involves Iran, Russia, Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Caucasus, with the Turkish area the main center. The territories create a chessboard of alliances: Turkey against Iran and Russia, Russia against Turkey and Iran and then Turkish Azerbaijan against the

⁴³ Mari che uniscono rivista "Il nodo di Gordio" IV year num. 8 May 2015

Iranian one and Armenia, Armenia against Georgia which is against Ossetia. Ossetia is against Turkey which is against Kurds and Syria, all together against IS. What comes from these alliances is a dangerous intersection of rivalry and possible political crisis. Nowadays Turkey has a relative power: it could be at the center of the international relations but it must play the right role in order to afford them obtaining positive results.

It is not easy for Turkey to accept a secondary role, since in the last years it tried to gain the main one in the area, but the situation is critical and events do not help it to have positive feedback.

4.1.1 The migration problem.

Migration is an humanitarian problem, considering the high number of people moving from their born country to others, but also a political one. It is one of the main causes of disagreement between Turkey and European Union, and with the rest of the world, in the last months. It is necessary to analyze the causes of the Syrian's crisis and why it happened in a such short time. About 4 million people have migrated from Syria, and 2 million of these are in Turkey, main route of migration to have access in Europe. This is the main problem for European Institutions and States, which worry about the possible danger create by the migrants. Turkey is maybe the principal cause of this large migration: it has always been ambiguous in its fight against IS, letting think to a support for it and encouraging the entrance of fighters in Syria and Iraq, in spite of entering in the fight against Jihadists. This has caused the victory of the Islam State and the consequent war. Turkey, considering the internal problems, which could cause terrorism, is the balance of the events: the goal of the Ankara Government has never been the fight against IS but the stop of the Kurds claim. The high number of Kurds in Turkey would be a problem in case of a request of autonomy (they could influence negatively the vote). The question is greater, involving also U.S. and other great Powers, but the fact is that Ankara has been used for their interests, until it understood their game. It has opened its boards, encouraging the migration which has always blocked in the past 4 years. It is using migration as a

political instrument, to let Europe understand its possibilities. Europe has to face with this problem affording the Syrian crisis, in order to resolve the relation with Turkey. Turkey, from its side is playing a dangerous role, which means the possibility to submit Europe for what concern migration problem, but estranging from it.

Europe worries about the problem because Turkey has many facilitations for the Visa pass. For examples, Iranians can ask Visa at the Turkish board to enter in Turkey; but if they will remain here the problem does not exist, the reason is that they cross Turkey in order to enter the European Union.

Fortunately, Turkey has recently modified some migrations policies, especially to improve its preparedness degree to join the Europe.

The migration problem seriously affects Europe, and this causes disagreements with Turkey and also between the Institutions themselves: not all the States agree with this action. Since 1990 Turkey introduced liberalization programs, especially for what concerned migrations: to improve trades with neighborhoods it opened boards, giving facilitations to them and other States such as Morocco, Tunisia and Moldavia. The project, which permits to gain the Visa at the frontier or in the airport, allows easier trade relations. Despite it, rule of law is already scarce: there is not a serious legislation which allow a right and legal process of migration. Moreover, it is not clear if the change of policy, afforded by Turkey, is only a step to approach the European Union again. But since migration problem is not a priority for Turkey Institutions, it remains uncontrolled and unevaluated.

The problem concerns Schengen Treaty, in fact the President Tusk worry about the possible consequences of the entrance of Turkey, which will seriously modify the boards. Turkey will allow the entrance of millions of migrants and refugees, which already cross its territories, but without restrictions.

Europe invited Turkey to follow some objectives in order to improve its situation concerning the migrants and refugees treatment. On October 5th, 2015 the President of the European Commission, Juncker, has given to the President of Turkey, Erdogan the project of an action plan for the management. It is part of the on-going political dialogue and cooperation between the parts. It is structured to start immediately, containing both short and medium term measures; it indicates

the right way to afford the situation: supporting the refugees and their host communities in Turkey and strengthening cooperation to prevent irregular migration flows to the EU. The action must be implemented simultaneously by each part. The Plan is divided into two parts: the first one concerns the actions which can give an immediate result:

- Cover further emergency needs by providing immediate humanitarian assistance to the refugees;
- Alleviate the burden undertaken by the Turkish society to host more than 2.2 million refugees;
- Create better living conditions and medium and long-term perspectives for the refugees in Turkey; and
- Address key factors that push the refugees to move from Turkey to the EU through irregular channels in search of alternative places of asylum.

The second one considers actions which are need to prevent other damages:

- Prevent further arrivals of irregular migrants to Turkey and irregular departures of refugees and migrants from Turkey to the EU;
- Prevent losses of lives at sea by intensified search and rescue operations;
- Step up the fight against criminal networks involved in the smuggling of migrants; and
- Ensure prompt return to the point of origin of irregular migrants who are not in need of international protection and who were apprehended by the law enforcement agencies of the EU Member States or Turkey and support the reintegration of returnees to the countries of origin⁴⁴.

These actions must be considered as faster as possible in order to assist Turkey in its problems' management: the great flow of migrants and the irregular ones which are going to Europe. If the Plan will be actuated in the correct way, there will be a liberalization of the Visas. Europe is ready to increase its aids to Turkey, in order to give it better opportunities for the treatment of the migrants, but Juncker underlines the importance of the cooperation between the parts. Since the war against Saddam, in 2003, the migration problem has rapidly increased: there is the problem for the high flows of migrants but also the lack of funds to

⁴⁴ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-5777_it.htm last visit 08/01/2016

welcome them; they are left in the Syrian Board, in 900 km of land between the two States. The majority of the migrants (about 2 million people) are refugees rejected by the Turkish police, victims of abuses and without rights; only 300 thousand are in refugee camps.

The emblem of a such great problem is Aylan Kurdi, the 3 years old child, founded died in the beach of Bodrum, while he was going to Kos, a Greek Island, escaping from Kobane (Syria). This episode has been used by Erdogan in order to convince Europe, which just know the serious situation, to help Turkey with Migrants, to avoid that Mediterranean See could become a tomb. He underline the importance to save these people in order to save the culture and the humanity. The Turkish route is the most popular, Syrian migrants arrived in Greek coasts are about 124 thousand in July 2015, an increase of 750% over the same period of 2014. The Turkish route is the easier one to reach Greece and Romania, avoiding Bulgaria that is more hostile. Turkey is used as the passage land also because migrants are obliged to stay in an interdicted zone, the “no-fly zone”, created by Erdogan and NATO in July 2015. This land will be no secure for them, which will not receive aids from Turkish because it is an area in which only opponents stay.

The solution is not easy to be found: there could be two parallel ways: opening legal channel of migration, but also help African countries, in order to improve their conditions and reduce their will of migration. From the European side there would be some more aids to the situation. They must accelerate the redistribution of the refuges and migrants: the Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker said that if Europe continues in this way it will managed to redistribute all migrants only after 2101⁴⁵, underling the importance to no lose time.

The increase of the shipwrecks during the end of 2015 is the signal of the critical situation: on November 11th 14 migrants, 7 were children, died while they were reaching Greek coasts.

The problem comes from the scarce dialogue between the States: most of the time States do not cooperate with the others so there is a looseness of time in the organization of the aids. It happens especially in the eastern countries, such as

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http://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2015/11/12/news/migranti_ungheria_a_germania_non_riprenderemo_profughi_-127194102/ last visit 08/01/2016

Albania and Croatia, for example, where, with no communication, the redistribution of migrants last more time. Also Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, considers the problem as unstoppable: she asks to Europe to reform the rules for migration. She believes that the phenomenon will last for long time, with few possibilities to be stopped.

From its side Turkey has the power of the migrants: it could flow all them to Europe. Analysts think that it could be a bomb which can explode in every moment, triggered by Erdogan in order to oblige NATO's Allies to engage against Bashar al Assad's Regime. Turkey accuses Europe to limit its aids, giving 1 million Euro, while Turkey has just spent more than 6, he considered it only a small contribute. Turkey does not worry about the scarce welcome given to migrants⁴⁶, which cannot legally work and have essential services: only one of ten is accepted in the refugees camps, the others work illegally, often without instruction. Turkey has the powerful weapon of redemption: it can decide the future of the migrants and play an active role with Europe's decisions.

4.1.2 The Turkish attack to the Russian plane.

Tensions between Turkey and western countries has risen after its attack to the Russian plane on November 24th 2015. A Sukhoi 24 plane of the Russian aviation has been shoot down by Turkish F-16s at the Syrian border. Ankara accused the plane to be entered in Turkish territories, ignoring the continuous warnings to leave the area. There have been two soldiers dead and Russia refuses every accuse, talking about a crime against it by allies of terrorists. Russia warns about the fact that this episode will not be suspend, and it will have serious consequences in the relation between the two parts. Putin affirmed that the plane did not threaten Turkey and it has fall in the Syrian territory, 4 km from the border. From its side Russia believes that the Turkish F-16 violated the Syrian space and it did not take contacts with the Russian plane before the attack. From

⁴⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/15/big-decisions-unlikely-migration-summit-eu-leaders> last visit 8/01/2016

its side, Turkey, has convened the Russian Chargé d'affaires, obtaining the urgent convocation of the NATO Council. Turkey claims its right to adopt every possible measures against who enter its territory. Moscow has convoked the military adept of the Turkish Embassy, has deleted the visit in Istanbul of the Russian Minister of the Foreign Affairs, Serghei Lavrov, and it asked to Russians to not go to Turkey.

European countries and United States think that it is a serious, and recurrent, problem: Russian planes flight too often in Syrian territories. Obama supports Turkey, remembering that Turkey has the right to defend itself and its own air space. American President called Recep Erdogan, giving its support and the NATO's one, sustaining its right to protect its territories. Both are agree of the necessity to avoid a dangerous escalation of the actions, in order to avoid a similar episode in the future. Turkey has the support of US and NATO, believing in the need to reduce tensions and to find solutions which allow to not repeat similar attacks.

The situation lasts from months: territories where the plane has been hit are object of several Russian offensives which create disagreement in the international relations. It is recent the notice of an attack to three Russian journalist, operating in a village of Dagmashlia, Syria, causing their wounding after the attack with rockets.

The reasons could be find in these continuous attacks, especially to the military posts of Syrian and Turkish, which are united in rebels groups composed by a minority which talk an ancient Turkish language and that are hit by the Russian operation with troops of Bashar el Assad. The week before the attack, Russian Ambassador was convoked by Turkish authorities in order to be advice of the shelling in Turkish villages. The attack to the Russian plane is the fight against the Russian military actions.

There is another reason to underline, that is more important of the previous one; is that Turkey is trying to avoid the approach between Russia and the West for what concerns the Syrian dossier, in particular after the attacks of Paris, with Russia and France more close each other. Turkey could claim its belonging to NATO and oblige it to take its defense in order to enlarge the relation between the two parts.

Turkey does not want that a great power could approach Syria, in order to maintain its goal: enlarge its influence in the Area that belonged to the Ottoman Empire.

Another reason is the Turkish hope to provoke a Russian reaction against Turkish military structures. Ankara, doing so, could invoke the article 4 of the Institutive Treaty of NATO (after threat of attack or attack against a Member) or the article 5 (request of military assistance after an attack), obtaining the NATO intervention, which is asking from 4 years, in order to establish a Islamist Government after the fall of the Regime of Damascus.

Russia, from its side, knows that is a trouble and for this reason it has different reactions. Putin thinks that is a “stab in the back”⁴⁷. Maybe Russia knows how the attack happened, and it knows that the attack started not from air, but from the land, but it does not want to fall in trouble, provoking the escalation that Turkey desires. It probably continues to concentrate its action against smaller Turkish groups, giving a clear message to Turkey. Europe must pay attention to its action, in order to maintain an equilibrium between the parts: in fact it must maintain good relations with turkey, but also with Russia, which allow the majority of its need of natural resources. The dejection of the plane means, especially for Turkey, that the “honeymoon” between Moscow and the West, with the fight against Islamic States, must finish as soon as possible. It is a game of rules, in which NATO is the main actor which must control all the relations, continuing to be at the head of all of them. Russia is not an easy actor, its isolationism and its engagement in Syria could damage the project of U.S. and Turkey to divide the Mediterranean. U.S., following NATO, is encouraging Turkey in this fight against Russia, in order to have an ally in those territories where the war is changing equilibria. NATO wants to create an escalation of the Russian tension in order to provoke a reaction, maybe a military one. The guilt are impossible to understand, nobody would admit if the plane was or not in the Turkish territory, but it is sure that a country attacks an ally (Turkey and Russia had recently good economic relations) only for creating an

⁴⁷ <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/24/middleeast/warplane-crashes-near-syria-turkey-border/> last visit 09/01/2016

international dispute. Turkey has the permission of NATO in its own actions, it can claim the portion of Syria as its territory, only because of some Turkish live there, giving the favor to the NATO, who in 4 years did not claim about its illicit traffics with the IS.

Turkey is playing different roles, and it could complicate the international situation: it is ally with NATO , which is fighting against IS, but it accomplishes some of its actions, and it has also relations with Russia, in order to improve the tourism and the commercial exchanges, and to build some important projects such as the Turkish Stream, which has suspended after the incident⁴⁸. Turkey is a great sponsor of the Calif and of its military strategies, including the trade of the oil illegally exchanged by the IS army. In the Syrian scenery also Moscow plays a double role: after the Paris attacks it was involved by West for the fight against IS, also if the IS was approaching it in order to make some important alliances. Russia worries about the fact that more than 5 thousand Islamic fighters could return in their homeland in order to claim their religion.

Once again Erdogan is approaching Europe, together with U.S., to invite them against the major enemy, but also to create a military crisis between NATO and Russia: the attack to the plane is only the cause of the crisis. It is explained by the fact that immediately after the attack first Minister, Ahmet Davutoglu has claimed the episode to the NATO. The attack is the first direct action between two foreign parts involved in the conflict: Turkey expected that Russian actions were only a proof of their possibilities, but for its proud, Turkey cannot allow a similar fact. Every Government does not accept that its ultimatum is not follow: and Turkish government, more nationalist and authoritarian than always, did not accept it. Turkey does not want that Aleppo fall in Syrian possession, helped by Russian army. But first of all Turkey want the aid from West to create some secure zone in the north of the Syria, which are not allow to the Syrian army. Syria must be stopped, and after the recovery of Syrian passports in the place hit by the IS attacks in Paris, Turkey want to manage in its actions as soon as possible. Turkey, in fact, is convinced that Russia and Syria are conducting an ethnic cleansing, in

⁴⁸ <https://www.rt.com/business/324230-gazprom-turkish-stream-cancellation/> last visit 10/01/2016

order to eliminate all the Turkish minorities in the Syrian territories. Turkey after the meeting in Vienna on October 30 2015, was worried about the re-approach of Russia and European Union. In fact, in that occasion States engaged themselves to collaborate for the reunion of the country under an unique government with independence and territorial integrity, with the goal of an alliance against Islamic State and of the research of a political solution in Syria. Turkey, desiring the fall of Assad, felt abandoned by France and other Western country, so it had put western countries in front of a decision: they must decide to remain with NATO and obviously with Ankara which is ally, or to ally with Russia. Russia must pay attention to Europe, who control its sanctions after the Ukraine crisis, but the prospective of a solution of the problem is farer than ever.

The entire situation is difficult to understand: IS damage with terroristic attacks France, threatening all the West, Turkey shoot down a Russian plane and after few days, a Treaty between Ankara and Brussels gives 3 billion euro to Turkey in order to stabilize the migrants situation. Tension between Ankara and Moscow constantly increases, while the Treaty provokes also the re-approach between Turkey and Europe. International equilibria are in danger, the need to establish new relationship with Turkey is extremely necessary. Turkey could control the relations having by its sides the fight against IS and the control of migrations which could damage Europe. The power which has Turkey in Europe is demonstrated by the Treaty, signed on November 2015 after the Brussels meeting, in which Europe promised 3 billion to Turkey, to defend itself from migrant invasion. Angela Merkel, with this action, approaches Europe to Turkey (with the possibility to re-open the Accession process of Turkey), instead of Russia, leaving gas and oil interests in second place. Together with NATO Secretary-General, Jens Stoltenberg and U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon, Europe agrees with the necessity of a de-escalation of the tension, promising solidarity with Turkey and supporting territorial integrity. The will is to avoid similar episodes in the future, fighting together the terrorism and finding a solution to the Syrian crisis. France's President Francois Hollande constantly repeats that Europe and its allies

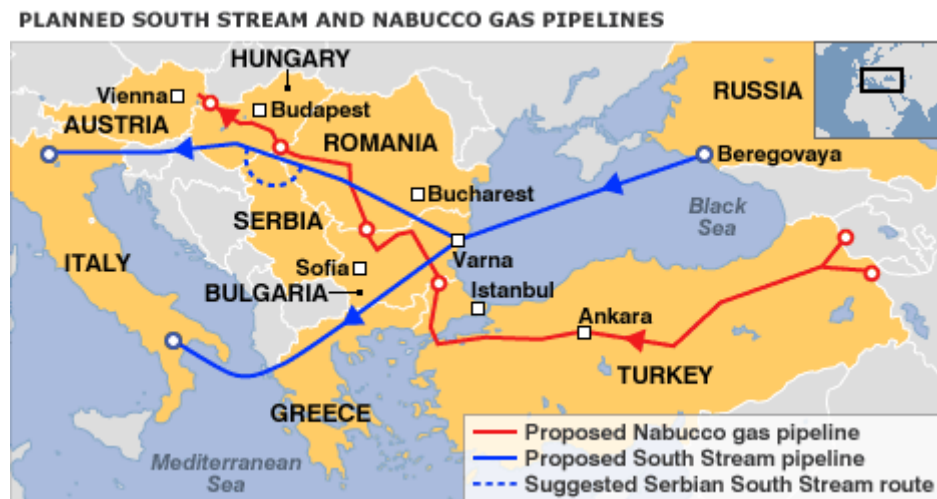
must not allow to destroy what they have built⁴⁹. European countries agree to defend Turkey, but in different ways, following their political ideas: Italy does not like military interventions, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gentiloni said that Europe must pay attention in the actions and reactions, not stopping the negotiations with Syria. Eastern European countries worry about their borders, in particular those that confine with Russia, also if they are actually more worry about the Ukraine crisis than the Syrian one. France is obviously the most damaged country, both for the recent terroristic attacks and for its tradition, but it has the aid of U.S., also if United States are in deep international political crisis (they have been obliged to defend themselves every time from Russian attacks, and they are not able to find an equilibrium in the decision if fight against IS or Assad) and the one of Great Britain, which strongly want the peace and the political stability between the States.

4.1.3 Pipelines' trouble.

An important matter, which creates problems between Turkey, Russia and European Union, is the Nabucco Pipeline. It creates problems, not only between these parties, but also between European countries, because of the importance of the energetic supply. The division and the different visions come from the conflict between different projects which every State would want: their political independence born from the economic one which comes from the energetic one; energetic supply, for this reason, provokes objectives and decisions that most of the time take disagreements and conflicts with partners. Energetic supply comes from eastern countries, mainly from Azerbaijan and Russia; Azerbaijan could play an important role for Europe, as alternative to Russia, in fact, all the projects for the alternative supply involve Baku, the capital. For this reason Azerbaijan supports all the European projects in order to attire political influence in Europe and Turkey. The energetic supply have found the alternative in the Nabucco

⁴⁹ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/11/russian-jet-shot-turkey-syria-reaction-151124210400768.html> last visit 09/01/2016

Pipeline: it would have save Europe from the Russian supply. Unfortunately the project, which was already born in a bad way, did not last long. It would have been an important project, which will create a new route for the natural gas importation from the Caucasus and Middle East. As the image shows⁵⁰, it would have link Turkey to Austria, improving the relations between EU and Turkey, also in the field of energetic resources.



Once the Pipeline have been finished, the gas supply would come from new supplier countries, realizing the alternative to the oldest ones. One of the major objectives was the enforcement of the security of the supply, not hit by political or economic crisis. The project born in 2002 from the common interest of the Austrian OMV and the Turkish one Botas, two companies followed, later, by the Bulgarian Bulgargaz, the Romanian Transgaz and the Hungarian MOL. Firstly a Protocol and then a Cooperation Agreement to stabilize the new project and its objectives. In 2003 European Union showed its personal interest in this project assuring the 50% of the costs of the realization studies (trade analysis, technical, financial and economic studies). In 2005 when the possibility of its realization came true, also a German Company entered the project: the Rwe. The project found several supporters, such as the European Investments Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, who assured a financial support. The project was important for Europe, also there were two big troubles: the lack of secure sources of supply, in fact the only certain supplier, in 2010, was

⁵⁰ <http://www.energyandcapital.com/articles/nabucco-gas-pipeline/827> last visit 10/01/2016

Azerbaijan. The second was Russia, which has always think that Nabucco was the attempt of Europe to create pressure against it. Russia has the power by its side, putting some obstacles in the realization of the project which did not consider good. It has always proposed an alternative project (South Stream), then it has doubled the capacity of supply of the alternative project (from 31 to 63 of m3) let the other projects to be no competitive. Finally, it has bought more quantity of gas from Azerbaijan, taking away from the market the only supplier for Europe. Europe, in the energy process is not the favorite: Russia has the power of decisions, it underlines that, while Nabucco is a political project, South Stream is a commercial one, which will not influence negatively them, enforced by the fact that Europe depend mostly from Russia. At the end of the June 2013 the Nabucco project, strongly wanted from EU because of its European project, failed, Azerbaijan has chosen the alternative to take gas in Europe: the TAP Pipeline. The Company which is developing the gas field of Shah Deniz, composed by several companies, such as Bp, Statoil, Total, Lukoil, Socar (Azerbaijan), Nioc of Iran and Tpaof Turkey, preferred the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (Tap).

The Pipeline will be long about 870 Km, it will pass through Greece until Italy, near Lecce, with a capacity of ten billion cubic meters in a year, extendable until twenty billion. Works have started and adepts believe in their end in 2020. Russia is continuing the construction of South Stream, the other alternative to Nabucco, cancelled from Europe for the disagreements which could cause. Once it has reach Italy the natural gas will be distributed to the other European countries with the Pipeline System. Italy will become a referent point for other countries for what concern gas supply. Tap involves Turkey, both for some companies who invests in it, and for the route, Tap in fact will pass through Turkey, linking to the Trans Anatolian Pipeline (Tanap). Shareholders are three big multinational: Axpo (42,5%) who is Swiss, Statoil (42,5%), Norwegian and E.ON (15%) of Germany. The Pipeline will already work in 2018, projected to allow an enlargement of the capacity of supply needed from Europe: until 20 billion cubic meters every year (5% of the need of Europe which consumes 550 billion cubic meters every year). It will open the South Corridor, which allow a securitization of the gas supply for the old continent; in fact Russia was disagreed with this project because it was the

main, maybe the only, supplier of gas for Europe. With this alternative supply from Russia will decrease, Europe has found the perfect substitute, also if Russia did not show its worry. Vladimir Feiguin, Director of the Russian Energetic and Financial Institute, said that the project will be only a minimal reduction of the European dependence from Russia⁵¹. Europe, initially, will receive less than 10 billion cubic meters of gas, Turkey only 6, and this small quantities will not negatively influence on the energetic markets. Europe believes that this could allow tariffs reduction. Despite it, Europe will continue to be dependent from Russia: the high necessity of supply will oblige EU to ask supply to it. And this is the victory of Russia, which is continuing in its Pipeline project of South Stream, after having inaugurated the North one. Russia can consolidate its relations with Europe, in particular with European countries which are excluded from the Tap: it could contract about prices and benefits. Russia knows that the South Stream will have change the supply, with its 30 billion cubic meters supply would have be one third of the need.

This shows how Europe and Turkey are not able to impose their will, continuing to be under other third countries which do what they want. The only project which Europe and Turkey wanted, strongly wanted also by U.S., has failed. Europe and Turkey must stay under decision of countries which produce and sell energetic supply (Tap is not a threaten for Russia because of its scarce capacity). Countries which have mostly lose are U.S. and Turkey: Turkey aspired to attire out of the Russian orbit countries of central Asia. Moreover, Turkey, becoming transit country for the Pipeline, hoped to enforce its relation with Europe and to approach itself to the Accession process. Also if Germany and France continue to state that Europe end at the Turkish border, Turkey aspire in a change of their ideas.

News coming from the last meetings concern the interconnection between Tap and Tanap. Tanap is the new Tarns Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline: a natural gas pipeline which starts from Azerbaijan and arrives in Europe through Georgia and Turkey. It is the central part of Southern gas corridor which will connect Shah Deniz gas field to Europe. The end of the works, which are started in 2015, are

⁵¹ <http://www.bloglobal.net/2013/08/cala-il-sipario-sul-nabucco.html> last visit 10/01/2016

expected to be in 2018, also if analysts think that they will last more time. Costs are very high: expectation stabilize the total costs in about US\$ 10-11 billion, which is very expensive. The pipeline will grow every year: its initial capacity (in 2018 when the works will end) will be 16 billion cubic meters, while at its final stage it will be 60 billion cubic meters. The capacity will increase thanks to parallel loops and compressor stations. The route starts from Sangachal, Azerbaijan, being the expansion of South Caucasus Pipeline (SCPx), it will continue through Turkey, Greece until it will arrive in Italy, but the exact route is still not clear. In a first time it was announced that from Turkey it will divide in two branch: one through Greece, the other one to Bulgaria. Turkey Government in March 2015 said that the branch that will pass from Greece to Hungary, through Serbia and Macedonia is still under consideration. This is a clear evidence that the parts are not able to reach complete agreements, in very important aspects of the policy: the Pipeline will aid Europe but also Turkey, and for some reasons, which often are of political strategy, simple decisions take years of negotiations. The more cooperation in the energetic field which Brussels and Ankara have promised in 2015 increase with fatigue. The political line of Turkey is already the same of the European one: after the meeting between the Turkish minister of energy, Taner Yildiz, and the commissary of the energetic union Maros Sefcovic, parts reach the Agreement of a unilateral will of cooperation. Tanap became vital for each part, in particular for Europe, because it will decrease its need from Russia but also from Turkey. This project could be fundamental for Turkey, which could strengthen its role of regional energy hub.

Cooperation between countries and between the two projects (Tap and Tanap) must be very strong. A Cooperation Agreement for the Construction (CAC) has been signed in November 2015. It defines responsibility for the construction of the connection between the two pipelines and the specific techniques. The agreement will assure the respect of the working time and it will contribute to the cooperation between the parts. The two pipelines will connect in Kipoi, at the border between Turkey and Greece: the cooperation is fundamental. For Turkey is another possible attempt to join the European Union: enforcing its energetic policy it could demonstrate how it work and how it is near to the European's one.

Pipeline's trouble is the clear evidence of how Turkey is near but also far from Europe. Big projects of industrial development, which several Italian enterprises involved, but also departure from the European standards, with tensions and different views. The pipeline project will be for Turkey the realization of the energetic independence and the supply for Europe, which will be obliged to pass through Turkey if it want to avoid Russia. Turkey is not steady, it has already signed an agreement with Japan for its second nuclear field. But if it want to join the Europe it must increase its project with Europe: Tanap will cross Turkey, the same for Tap. Turkey has the possibility to enforce its position of candidate thanks to these projects: Europe is seeking for alternative to Russian supply which Turkey could assure. European countries are interested in the project because they strongly believe in this alternative: over than 15 European countries has already ask for the purchase of 30 billion cubic metric of gas every year from the consortium of the pipeline, the Shah Deniz. The good relations which Turkey is establishing with neighbors could help it to approach again European Union: the peace with Israel, after the naval attack, could allow the stability and the peace with the southern part of Cyprus: Nicosia will take part to the Treaties. Cyprus, in fact, could be the place where the natural gas will be transported to be melted, in order to let it continue the route towards Europe.

4.2 Arab Spring.

Turkey has strong relations also with Africa and Middle East, as stated in the previous chapter. While with western countries it has economic relations in order to improve its economy and its position in the world, with the African ones it has relations of aid and development. In the last years Turkey has been seriously committed in the Arab Spring, which has damaged Arab countries. It had a leader role, also if, in many occasion, it failed its objectives. The recent change in the political ideas of Turkey, which concerns the return to the Ottomanism, reveals the main objective for it: to be the referent point for development countries who aspire to the democratization. Many Great Powers tried to be the reference (such

as EU or U.S.) but Arab Spring has seen the protagonist in Erdogan, who has been able to become the leader, visiting every single state hit by the revolutions.

Revolutions have provoked important change, both in the internal policies of the countries, and in the general equilibrium of the area. Medias enlarged the situation: since December 2010⁵², when a Tunisian set himself on fire to draw attention for the difficult situation in which he was forced to live, other similar episodes happened in other States (Egypt and Libya), due to the fact that via internet news spread rapidly. The area of revolutions enlarged, and Dictator who had the power for many years were obliged to abandon the seat. Web has given a global connotation to the revolutions: from a local episode it expanded in other States with serious consequences. The problem is if the abandonment of the leaders has taken real changes or it has been only a change of leadership, without a real improvement for the Constitutions; things did not really changed: Arab Spring has not been as the democratic change happened in the countries of Soviet Union after 1989, where a real change determined the naissance of democratic Republics. In the Arab Countries riots assumed the features of civil wars between groups with different political interests, but not with clear revolutionary intentions. While the need of change human conditions remain the same, in each state riots developed in different ways; in Tunisia, for example, riots regarded rural group of populations which oppose to the bourgeoisie⁵³, in Libya there were protest against the Gaddafi's family. Islamic belonging revealed its importance during the revolutions: it is the main cause of the Turkish intervention. There was a minor laic feeling respect the Islamic one: propensity was for an identity and traditional model of regime, which correspond to the Turkish model, as synthesis of Islamic tradition and Democracy. There was the double influence: Turkish political model attired Arab countries for their revolutions, but Turkey tried to impose their influence in the area, creating a Turkish system. It has the feature to be the new model for these countries: economy continuously grows (11% in the first semester of 2011 when riots started), the army is one of the biggest of the

⁵² <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/12/world/africa/tunisia-self-immolation/index.html> last visit 11/01/2016

⁵³ <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/tunisia-arab-spring/> last visit 11/01/2016

World between the NATO allies. Especially its Minister of Foreign Affairs understood its capacity to stabilize a new strategy for its international policy. In fact, after 1982, with the end of the General's power, Kemalist Parties lost their leadership; in this way the Islamic ones, such as the Erdogan's party AKP, became the driving parties of the political change. This evolution of the political aspect was double, because by one side the leadership commitment to start a political model where Islamic tradition met the desire to maintain the economic development in a globalized world, by the other side there was the grown of a party which has left important change in foreign policy, putting under discussion the old link with West and with the alliances stipulated during the Cold War. Turkey, being part of NATO is a referent point for its strategic position and its important role in the Middle East area. This aspect could worry Europe and United States, because of its interests in the area of Ottoman Empire, but Turkey remains an ally, in which trust. Despite these worries, Turkey has continued its policy: Erdogan took advantage of the possibilities to make trips in the countries involved in the riots, first of all Egypt, to try the re-approach to the Arab world.

These intervention produces some negative impacts: with Israel, within Turkey had a military collaboration Agreement⁵⁴ to prevent Islamic terrorism and to resolve Palestinian crisis, which Turkey considered important and for which it has promised economic aids. Turkey has sided with insurgents of Libya, after the initial fear about the life of 25000 Turks, which were working there⁵⁵. The same in Syria, where it has adopted a critic position for the repressions of the Syrian Regime. The western worry about Turkey is clear: the actions started by Turkey in the region are different and it will become a possible enemy for west, with conflictual interests also with NATO and US. In fact, the new political ideas of Turkey, elaborated by the Minister of foreign affairs Ahmet Davutoglu, concern the end of the subordination in the international relation and the defense of national interests in the areas of Mediterranean sea, North Africa, Middle East and Central Asia, considered sensible. Turkey is looking for a right of action in these

⁵⁴ http://www.turkishreview.org/reports/turkish-israeli-military-relations-and-security-cooperation_541031 last visit 11/01/2016

⁵⁵ <http://carnegie.ru/publications/?fa=45557> last visit 11/01/2016

areas. Davutoglu thinks that Turkey must resolve it with soft power, that means a system made of non-violent influences and pressures, with dynamicity and development of its economic model. As said before, he want to eliminate every disagreement with neighbors, developing several initiatives and actions which will reduce disputes. Attempts made by Turkey to resolve them are not rare: one was made in Armenia, also if it failed for the accuse of Armenian Holocaust of 1915. Initiatives have been taken with Iran and Syria, to favor a democratic transition and better economic relations. Turkey is convinced to be able of improving the situation of such countries, allowing them a transition to a better government.

This project would produce benefits at an economic level, with the creation of a homogenous area for trade and development, but at a political level there are many difficulties in the relations which create problems, especially with Greece, for what concern Cyprus, and Armenia, for Armenians Genocide. Turkish diplomacy tries to work in the best way but not without errors: the Libyan example is the most evident, where Turks hid their real economic interests (gas and oil) under the excuse of the Turkish workers present in those territories. Often Turkey use this tactic to hid its real interests, but doing so its activity of soft power clashes with its real policy. Doubts from western countries regard the real advantages of Turkey to aid the instauration of democracy in Arab world, worsen by the fact that Arab countries lack of political tradition. This ambiguity worry, not only western countries, but also the eastern ones: demonstration of real economic interests and the will of Turkey to become leader create other internal disputes. Turkey at the same time would want to become leader of this areas but also impose to them principles and ideas which are not know to the western culture, of which it would want to be part.

Arab Spring can be seen as a challenge to the foreign policy of Turkey: when the young Tunisian committed suicide in 2010 in the square of Tunis, gave the start to the revolutions, Turkey had great relations with all the countries of the area. The main objective of the Turkish policy was to be the guardian of their status quo, limiting all the possible risks and fighting who want to change the equilibrium existing in the area. This Turkish behavior can explain why in 2003 Turkey

refused to let U.S. army cross its territory in order to invade Iraq and it has decreased its relationships with Israel. But this policy, defined as “real politik”, was not at the same level of what the head of the Turkish diplomacy, Davutoglu, thought: for him the main objective were Human rights and the diffusion of new Governments in Islamic countries, which could represent in the best way their ideals. But the Arab Spring found Ankara unprepared to manage a similar crisis, and obliged to wait in front of a situation that was continuously changing. Turkey, in fact, wanted to maintain all its relations also with the Regimes, despite its support for the protests movements, but the increase of violence obliged Turkey to take positions. Turkey found itself between the condemnns of West against the Regimes’ repression and the challenge of Saudi Arabia and Qatar against laic regimes, risking to become a policy without forces, but only with economic and strategic interests. Davutoglu has been accused, in many times, for his will to move the foreign policy of Turkey towards East, and to be often ambiguous in the relations with Iran, where he had nuclear interests, obviously condemned by western countries. The same for all the military expenses: 5 billion dollars to enforce the army, while he promoted a policy of good neighborhood and peace. This behavior tries to reestablish the Ottoman’s one: when the Sultan tried to maintain his influence and the control over the Mediterranean area, the Aegean Sea and the Middle East to avoid European powers. For some Turks the Turkish policy would not aid NATO’s interests⁵⁶, but concentrate itself in the East, enforcing Davutoglu’s theory of the construction of a “Commonwealth” like the British one, which will link Turkey to the Middle East, Balkans and Central Asia.

4.2.1 Turkish soft power.

As Joseph S. Nye⁵⁷ stated in 1990, Soft Power is given by the capacity of a State to reach “the outcomes it prefers in world politics because other states want to follow it or have agreed to a situation that produces such effects”. Admitting that,

⁵⁶ <http://www.cesdis.it/studi/Il-ruolo-della-Turchia-nella-primavera-araba.pdf> last visit 15/01/2016

⁵⁷ <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/rdenever/PPA-730-27/Nye%201990.pdf> last visit 16/01/2016

the power of a state depend on the ability of its diplomacy to conquer sympathy of the other States: it is the power to fascinate other subjects acting with its own preferences. It is different from hard power, which is the use of the military force to influence other countries, and, most of the times, they collide. Turkey, despite its attempt to use soft power to stabilize situations, often used hard power to resolve crisis during the Arab Spring. But the use of hard power create the result of losing the credibility gained with the use of the soft one: the support gave to the Libyan rebels before, and then to the Syrian opposition could damage the great positive influence gained in the region.

Turkey, since the begin of the Arab Spring, increased its influence in the territories involved in the revolutions. It has become the model both for the democratization process and for economic development. For example, in Egypt, where in the period April-September of 2012 exports had overpass the number of the same period of the previous year, reaching 2,8 billion dollars⁵⁸. Arab countries strongly believe on the possibilities to reach a similar economic situation in their states, becoming great economies in the world. From the political side it is little bit different: approval for AKP is far from the realization. Egyptians see the partnership as a friendly cooperation, but they remain nationalists, with few possibilities to open to the rest of the world. The will of Turkey to become the referent point is not well see by Egyptians. Similar situation for Tunisia, which believe in the Turkish project: Tunisian take inspiration from Turkey, not only for the model to emulate, but also because they already feel as part of the Ottoman Empire. In the Middle East, Turkey wanted to reach the role of Central country, as regional power and representative of the Muslim States. Sometimes, this policy collide with the eastern ideals: they have completely different traditions, languages and histories. Arab Spring damage this Turkish attempt because it underlined these oppositions, and the Turkish intervention in Syria has decrease this influence. Also the opinions in favor of its intervention changed: from 44% to

58

<http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/Start.do;jsessionid=cnJBWnRXhYNGJVsnJbFzrt7Kzfn4tnv25BYRLnLtxcBTQGj3jFD0!-1439684708> last visit 17/01/2016

28% in Syria, from 74% to 55% in Iraq, from 78% to 63% in Lebanon and from 71% to 54% in Iran⁵⁹.

Danger for Turkey is that it could be seen as a State which makes preference in its actions, for example, privileging the Sunnis and not the Shiites. This decrease its influence in a big range of the population, decreasing also its role of model for other states. It has to take the important decision if its soft power is already fundamental or if it is better to return to the hard power, concentrating to its safety. In the case of the Syrian crisis would become more conflictual it must decide for a military intervention. Turkey risks to fail in its objective of being a model for these countries. Above all for religion reasons: Turkey would want to modelled the countries building Islamic or AKP-type democratization, that means to force old Regime to become similar to it. But the differences stay in how the Islam's ideals are wedded to reality: Arab Islamists privilege theory over the practice, Turkish Islamists privilege the practice, that are opposite visions.

Turkey could be an economic model, its economy increase every year and its trades are goals of many developing countries, in particular the new democracies, but from the political side it remains instable and it is not the model that it tries to be. Differences are too deep and it does not manage to reach a stability to become a model for others. Western orientations remain an obstacle for all the Arab countries, which follow its will with fatigue.

⁵⁹ <http://www.geopolitica-rivista.org/20028/la-turchia-e-la-primavera-araba-una-analisi-del-soft-power-turco.html> last visit 17/01/2016

Chapter v

No way out.

5.1 A long way.

The Turkish situation is probably one of the most ambiguous in the world, at the moment. Many Great Powers, who until few months ago believed in it, now are trying to create a political detachment in order to leave it in its own. Turkey has created the conditions to let others believe in its international disengagement: Davutoglu underlined, before the last U.N. General Assembly Conference, the Turkish engagement to continue the policy which are following, with no intention to be under the power of other Nations⁶⁰, or to accept condition from them.

Despite its great commitment, during these years, Turkey has collected many failures in its policy, starting from the long process of Accession to the European Union until its role in the Arab Spring. Turkey did not manage to conclude positively none of its will. Its ambiguity worries all the great countries, such as U.S. or Russia and European Union, because of its capacity to start a new objective and not to end it. Its continuous changes create disagreement with other nations which once were by its side. Erdogan has interrupted what Atatürk had built with its policy. The democracy aimed by Atatürk has been damaged by the actual President: no possibility of more than one Party, no freedom of expression or thought, jail for dissidents. These are the conditions under which, who lives in Turkey, is forced to.

The early Kemalist tutelage is turned into a dispersed project: the idea was to collect many objectives as possible to develop the State, but the result have been

⁶⁰ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/prime-minister-ahmet-davutoglu-is-in-new-york.en.mfa> last visit 25/01/2016

to collect many failures around the world. Turkey lacks of a new Constitution, with which it could become a real modern State. Human rights remain a deep problem for its democracy and for its entrance in the European Union.

It is a double problem: from the side of Turkey, but also from the European one. Turkish policy-makers ignore the fact that this outcome of refuse is the result of its non-credible commitment to policy reform; on the contrary, Turks prefer to interpret their exclusion as the EU's preference to keep Turkey out of Europe because of its Muslim religion, in fact Turkey has remained outside after three successive enlargement (in 2004, 2007 and 2013), and to think that Europe has become stagnant, with no stimuli.

Also in the Arab front it did not manage to maintain a positive profile; its attempt to become a leader failed, because of its diversity from the other Arab countries, contributing to its non-consideration from the other Powers. Erdogan thought that the Assad's Regime would have fallen in a short time, but this has resulted in the block of western aids; this failure took the loss of the possibility to become a referent point and the loss of many energetic supplies. The terroristic attack of January 12th is the last episode which confirms the naissance of problems with the Arab Countries. Turkey, who was believed unassailable by IS, because of its Muslim majority, has been hit in its center, Istanbul. A suicide attack has been committed in the central square of Sultanahmet, between the Blue Mosque and Saint Sophia Basilica. Istanbul is the main center of the Ottoman's culture and history, as well as principle economic center. There are few news, due to the fact that Erdogan controls every media and the diffusion of them, but it is certain that the attack refers to IS. What before seemed an ally, it is now became the worst enemy. This confirmed the negative period of Turkey in that side: 2015 has not been an easy year: two attacks, Suruç and Ankara, and a hard geo-politic situation with too many interests for a unique position. With the attack of January the new year has been opened in the same way, episodes which underline the need to revalue its policy. Moreover, the last one, it shows how the objective has changed: firstly the targets were Kurds opposition (for their position in Syria and Iraq, and their reconquer of territories which became of IS after the proclamation of the

Caliphate in 2014). On the contrary, the last attack showed a direct message of IS against Turkey and Erdogan. This has been considered the result of the ambiguous policy which he is making: its policy has been pressing by the other States' decisions and by events which happen. The change, made with the decision to follow the western policies in order to fight IS, has changed also the IS targets. Turkey, allying with western countries, must decide which front follow: if the western one or the Arab one. The migrants problem and the relation with Europe remembered Ankara of having an active part also in the NATO: Erdogan decided to join the western coalition, conducted by U.S. following this new way Turkey decided to stop 35 thousand volunteers, who were trying to cross the Turkish border in order to ally with IS army. The attack maybe comes from the contrariness of IS, which thought in Turkey as an ally, for its changes and for its ambiguity. This ambiguity could damage also NATO because of its important strategy in the fight against terrorism and in the management of the migrants' flow.

Turkey has to face also with the economic losses due to these terroristic attacks: tourism is the first "victim" of them. IS knows where to hit: Bardo National Museum, beaches of Tunisia and the core of Paris, all principal attractions for tourists, which will be damaged by these episodes. The enemy changed, before were Kurds, now are Jihadists, but the weakness of Erdogan is always greater; Turkey is forced to deal with its own ambiguities in order to resolve its internal and external political crisis.

But it is on the western front that it gained the worst failures, maybe because the expectations were more than on the other. Terroristic attacks, elections and Migrants crisis put Turkey in a dangerous situation. But these are important episodes for European Union, who is nearest Turkey than ever: it believes in the Agreement with Ankara to have the control over the region. Europe is convinced that, having Turkey by its side, conditions will be most favorable. Countries which have been always against its entrance, now are changing their mind. It is the case of Germany: contrary to the entrance, now it is fighting for convincing others to let Turkey join the Europe. The migrants crisis is the main actual

problem: solutions could be found only with the cooperation between Turkey and Europe, and Europe strongly wants to cooperate with it, because of its role in this and in the Syrian crisis. Erdogan was thought as uncontrollable, but now European countries are reevaluating its position, involving him in the major summits, to find positive solutions. The 3 billion Euro which Europe has reserved to Turkey to aid it in the management of the crisis are the proof of the European commitment. But Turkey, allowing Europe to intervene in its crisis, is asking for a reopening of the Accession Process: Angela Merkel, after her visit to Istanbul, underlined the importance to reopen the process for the Turkish accession. After the Ankara-Brussels Meeting in October 2015 an Intergovernmental Conference took place in December, in Brussels. It has been opened the Chapter 17 of the Negotiations which regards economic and Monetary Policy and during the conference has been decided that other chapters will be opened during the first Semester of 2016⁶¹. Brussels decided to give less importance, than before, to the Turkish ambiguity, maybe because of the importance given to this relationship, and reopened the accession question, despite the crisis, first of all the one with Russia. Turkey remains fundamental for Europe, for its geographical position, joining the Europe will become the last European outpost, and the obliged passage for the migrants who want to reach Europe.

Despite their nearness, Turkey and Europe have never been so close, this situation creates some disagreements between the European States: Italy is convinced in its contrariness to give 3 billion Euro to Turkey in order to help it in the migrants crisis. First Minister, Matteo Renzi, is blocking these aids because of the situation: Italy has just paid a large sum for the migrants emergency in its territories, now it is the time for others to resolve the situation⁶². Italy thinks that Erdogan is playing a double role: before he was for the IS, funding its organizations in order to fight Kurds; now he changed his mind, thinking on the possibilities which could gain with a stronger alliance with Europe. The funds asked by Turkey, could be seen as bribes: Turkey asks money to Europe in order to indulge itself to Europe, but

⁶¹ <http://www.eu2015lu.eu/en/actualites/articles-actualite/2015/12/14-cig-ue-turquie/index.html>
last visit 25/01/2016

⁶² http://www.ansa.it/english/news/politics/2016/01/28/berlin-demands-renzi-ok-turkey-fund_8d36f463-fd2f-434b-8ca2-072e42d53ea3.html last visit 25/01/2016

using them for other scopes, as underlined Alan Freidman during a presence in the Italian Television Program “Piazzapulita”⁶³.

But Europe remains divided also for the Cyprus’ VETO. Cyprus is still divided into two parts, the northern one belongs to Turkey, the southern is independent. This provokes serious problems between the parts, first of all the strong aversion for the entrance of Turkey in Europe wanted by Cyprus. Cyprus, from several years, is fighting for its freedom but the fight against Turkey is without end. The situation is controversial: Turkey is part of the Council of Europe since 1949⁶⁴, when it has been created. Being part of this Organization Turkey takes part of its meeting, and it is involved in its decisions. It is already part of the European Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms: its commitment shows how it wants to enter all the European principles, but it creates some problems: the sentence of the European Court of Human Rights *Loizidou v. Turkey* of 1995⁶⁵ is the proof of the disagreements between the parts which will never be resolved. Turkey, in fact, claims its power over its territories, which could not be damaged by others, in this case Cyprus; it want to demonstrate that, being part of the Convention, it has the right of its sovereignty. Cyprus’ VETO is the thorn in the side of Turkey: it continuously blocks all the possibilities of Turkey to join Europe without problems.

5.2 U.S. considerations.

Turkey is involved in most of the problematic crisis also because of United States. United States have always taken in consideration the importance of Turkey in its geopolitical position. Since its political change, it started to consider it an ambiguous country. The Obama Administration must face its realism, which, until today, has ever avoided, considering Turkey a great ally. Erdogan could be seen

⁶³ http://www.polisblog.it/post/367764/piazzapulita-puntata-28-gennaio-2016-ospiti-diretta?refresh_cens last visit 30/01/2016

⁶⁴ <http://www.coe.int/it/> last visit 29/01/2016

⁶⁵ <http://www.cyprus.com.cy/> last visit 29/01/2016

as an authoritarian, since he recently mentioned Hitler's Germany in the context of his own tenure; moreover, he continues to block press and media freedom: Turkey counting 34 journalists in jail. Freedom of expression is banned: demonstrators and protest are violently repressed with severe manners. The fight against the political opponents (especially the rival party) is signal of no liberalism. There are many other reasons to condemn Turkey, as the undermined rule of law or its apparent support to Islam, and U.S. worries about all this features, because it could mine NATO itself. This is probably the main cause of the alliance between the two States. The Turkish intervention in the Arab Spring is probably an American idea, because, making States become democracies, it would have avoid terrorism threaten. U.S. importance for NATO is fundamental, having Turkey in its own political position it could help the international policy with an ally State in the crisis territories.

But the recent American weakness creates embarrassment because of its own ambiguity, the same that critiques for Turkey: U.S. have always support Turkey, but in the diplomatic incident of the plane, despite its support for Turkey, an official revealed that Russian plane has been shot down in Syrian territory. This will probably cause some disputes between Turkey and its allies, but it is not clear why U.S. is playing a double role, supporting Turkey, but also increasing negative features for it. U.S. are playing the double role for their own interests, may be the energetic ones, because it is the only solutions of their actions. U.S. have calculated every action in order to break the partnership between Russia and Turkey. Creating a political crisis between the parts with a diplomatic incident. Blocking the Turkish Stream project, U.S. managed to stop the Russian supremacy over Europe and the Middle East, and having a Turkey committed in the Kurds affair they will have more facilities in the management of those territories.

5.3 Conclusions.

Turkey has probably failed in every attempts of foreign policy. The situation is dramatically opened: things change every month, and what was sure a couple of months ago, now is not more like before.

Turkey wanted to become leader in the Middle East and Africa but it gained only the need of aid from those States. It wanted the independence from Russia but it created an international incident which forced it to ask already help from other States, which probably take advantage from the situation: U.S. When a States is forced to ask others help for its safety and for its vital need, it has failed. It have wanted too much for its possibilities: it did not manage to carry on an idea during the years, changing objectives and allies, following its interests. The long Accession process is the result of this policy: Europe does not believe in Turkish possibilities of a right commitment to afford the Union. Turkey, in fact, is in part already in the Union, being part of the Council of Europe, being one of the major trader, with a strong Custom Union.

These continuous changes destabilize all the relations: Turkey itself does not know where to put itself: once Africa and Middle East were the alternative to the EU, now EU seems to be the alternative to the scarce interest of Middle East. This could end with a political change, because also the civil society do not appreciate this double face: Davutoglu who theorized the formula “no problems with neighborhood” is the clear evidence of this policy, having problems with many neighbors.

Turkey must find the way to resolve its ambiguity , as soon as possible; ambiguity which probably comes from its being a land between two different worlds, West and East, but also from the reckless policy of Erdogan, who believes he can govern without the right tools.

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