

# FUTU RE OF EUROPE



# Future of Europe

ENC Booklet

---



Rue Washington 40  
1050 Ixelles  
Brussels, Belgium

+32(0) 26 465 139  
[media@encouncil.org](mailto:media@encouncil.org)  
[www.encouncil.org](http://www.encouncil.org)

---

## Editors:

Samuel Doveri Vesterbye  
Andreas Marazis

Funding for this publication comes from Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) Turkey, the Swedish Consulate in Istanbul and the Economic Development Foundation (IKV).

This publication can be downloaded free of charge at [Encouncil.org/our-work/](http://Encouncil.org/our-work/)

---

© 2019 European Neighbourhood Council (ENC). All rights reserved.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced by electronic or mechanical means (photocopies, downloading, archiving, etc.) without the permission of the European Neighbourhood Council.

The views expressed in this publication are those of the writers and may not correspond in part or in full to the views of ENC, external advisors and its academic council members.

## | Contents |

- Foreword page 1
  - Visions of the EU page 3
  - Technology, Digital Innovation and Start-ups page 7
  - EU Global Strategy and Foreign Policy page 11
  - EU Turkey Relations page 15
  - EU Funding Opportunities for Turkish Citizens page 18
-



Associate Prof. Burak Erdenir

“ Information Age brings opportunities as well as challenges ”

## | Foreword |

Associate Prof. Burak Erdenir

Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Representation of Turkey to the EU

### What is the future of Europe and its neighbours?

Today the globe is confronted with unprecedented challenges such as counter-terrorism, irregular migration, xenophobia, data protection, energy security, manipulation of information and global warming. Obviously, this list is non-exhaustive. Yet, unfortunately, instead of acting together to resolve issues, there is a trend of increasing nativism and isolation in many countries. Open markets, trade agreements, integration policies and security pacts are under threat. Assertive unilateralism is replacing rules-based multilateralism.

Meanwhile, the Information Age brings opportunities as well as challenges. Thanks to novelties in communication and information, societies that are physically apart get closer and closer. Technology and digital innovation provide societies the means to communicate intensely and increase the chance of acting together. We definitely need better communication among societies, which could be improved through effectively aligned policies. With our new tools, we must strive for integration against exclusion, multilateralism against unilateralism, cooperation against isolation, multiculturalism against nativism.

Turkey's EU membership emerges as an antidote of the outstanding issues of the wider region. That is so because the issues in our region could only be alleviated through a structured relationship between Turkey and the EU. Basic facts on economics and geopolitics indicate that once Turkey becomes a member of the EU, it will bring significant contributions in a wide array including security, migration, economic dynamism, soft-power, social-security system, energy security etc. Yet, without a structured relationship, that is to say- the merit based accession track- not only the relation, but also the wider region is on the rocks.

This booklet covers contemporary topics related to technology, digital innovation, EU's global policies and innovative strategies and EU-Turkey relations. The contributions of the authors link global issues to Turkey's challenging EU vocation. The initiative led by the European Neighborhood Council not only contributes to the intellectual debate but also very well serves the idea of strengthening dialogue among civil societies.

Once again; let us keep in mind that “united we stand, divided we fall”.

---

The views expressed in this booklet do not necessarily reflect the views of Burak Erdenir nor the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## | Foreword |



Samuel Doveri Vesterbye

Samuel Doveri Vesterbye  
Managing Director at European Neighbourhood Council (ENC)

### Future of Europe, our neighbours and education

‘Who is Europe?’ is an important question. Europe is a geographical region, defined by its shared history, security and different cultures. Economic prosperity and democracy have helped build societies of innovation, tolerance and peace. At the core of Europe lay a long history of workers’ rights, free speech, constant scepticism and revolt against unfair power. European culture is provocative and about challenging the establishment: never afraid to disrupt the status quo in order to evolve and innovate. That’s why Europe was the first in the world to establish universities. And has since continued to develop international partnerships in North America, the Middle East, and China in order to adapt and stay relevant. Today, millions of students are attracted to Europe, many of whom enrol in innovative courses about societal development, next generation economies, sustainable energy, advanced engineering and bio-tech. Nearly 30% of the world’s top 100 universities are based in Europe, while Oxford and Cambridge consistently rank in the top 10. According to the 2017 Nature Index, 50% of the world’s best scientific universities are located in Europe, including research institutions like the French National Centre for Scientific Research, Max Planck Society and Helmholtz Association of German Research Centres. This ranking is uniquely objective, as it is based on content instead of communication. Rankings are made through a selection of international scientists, advanced data-driven algorithms and the tracking of peer-reviewed publications.

“ The importance of free and open education cannot be overstated ”

The importance of free and open education cannot be overstated. It’s the building-block for societal change and innovation. In a nutshell, this is the reason: without democracy, there’s less chance of critical thinking. Without critical thinking, there’s limited societal and economic change. Without this, there’s no innovation. And why is innovation so important? First, it drives all economic development and growth, together with savings and maximising efficiency. Second, it creates connections between countries because of trade and invents new things that help us live better and longer. For example: medicine, everyday technology, or the lightbulb. Beyond the comforts of innovation, trade also creates peace. When we trade, we are less likely to engage in conflict, as long as companies pay their taxes and citizens are treated fairly. That’s why the future of Europe’s closest neighbours and trading partners are so important. Take Turkey for example: from a narrow perspective, the EU and Turkey can seem far. But from a global perspective they are geographically very close. They share many of the same concerns and priorities, which are rooted in geography and a shared economy. That’s why the value of peace isn’t uniquely European. Together we have an obligation to maintain higher living standards, while developing international rules and better trade to foster this value. In the future, it may indeed become the most valuable asset.



## | Visions of the EU |

“ The goal of the EU is to form a region of freedom, security and justice. Freedom cannot just be the freedom of the strong ... it must be combined with fraternity and equality.”

Tarja Halonen, President of Finland between 2000 and 2012

“ Peace is Europe’s most treasured and modern socio-cultural value ”

**About** • Europe has been at war for centuries. In 1952, the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) neutralised the production of the two main ingredients of war for the first time in history. Coal and steel production was put under one single authority, governed and monitored collectively by France and Germany. The invention of consensus and multilateralism was born. After 70 million deaths, both France and Germany agreed that peace and prosperity is more important than sovereignty. Result? The period between 1945 and 2019 represents the longest period of non-war in over 2000 years.<sup>1</sup> Peace is Europe’s most treasured and modern socio-cultural value. During the past 70 years, geo-economic stability has provided security, economic prosperity and a governance system based on citizens. Today, the challenge is to improve and share these human values. This chapter gives an overview of European values and progressive strategies in the 21st century. It focuses on the visions of the European Union (EU) in terms of social, political and economic priorities that unite European countries and citizens today. It carefully examines progressive values of the future, ranging from honest government and green technology to social justice, women’s rights and peace.

**More Sustainability** • In 2012, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This was a genuine and international recognition of Europe’s efforts in combating violence and promoting peace. The Prize was not only for Europe, but equally for anyone in the world fighting for real democracy, transparency, anti-corruption, and social justice. It was a rare – but visionary – show of support for powerless individuals, voiceless women, and anti-violence. It is no secret that the EU values the importance of democracy. But too often these values fall of deaf ears. Concepts like rule of law, democracy and civic rights turn into buzzwords, as we sometimes forget their historical purpose.

**Democracy** comes out of a long revolutionary struggle that continues today. Whereas the past three hundred years have seen regular revolts against governments, the process of continued pressure by non-governmental organisations (NGO’s) allows for citizens to always keep governments ‘in check’. This has allowed for the development of fair and innovative education, coordinated economies, strong institutions and advanced social policies across Europe.

**Rule of Law** has had an interesting role in economic history. Before rules were equal for all people, companies decided that judges were needed to settle trade disputes in the Middle Ages. As governments were always biased, the concept of an independent judge was created. This has translated into the rule of law for all citizens, as societies modernised and became more equal.

**Human Rights** has been a long and difficult struggle. It took women and workers in Europe hundreds of years to gain the right to vote and the minimum wage.

“ After 70 million deaths, both France and Germany agreed that peace and prosperity is more important than sovereignty ”

<sup>1</sup> Hennigan, M. March 2017. The longest period of peace in Europe in over 2,000 years. [online]. Available from: [http://www.finfacts.ie/Irish\\_finance\\_news/articleDetail.php?EU-at-60---the-longest-period-of-peace-in-Europe-in-over-2-000-years-775#](http://www.finfacts.ie/Irish_finance_news/articleDetail.php?EU-at-60---the-longest-period-of-peace-in-Europe-in-over-2-000-years-775#) [Accessed 13 December 2018].

“ EU continues to fight for equal representation for all countries at the UN level ”

“ United National General Assembly established 17 Sustainable Development Goal and 169 associated targets ”

“ Raising public awareness, increasing political will and mobilising resources that helped end global extreme poverty ”

The Charter of Fundamental Rights describes universal values as being present in all societies that promote “inclusion, tolerance, justice, solidarity and non-discrimination.”<sup>2</sup> For example, EU countries must give up sovereignty over human rights protection, including labour standards, to the European Court of Justice (ECJ). The ECJ’s decisions are enforced by large fines and collective pressure by other EU countries if any country breaks the democratic rules.<sup>3</sup> EU values represent an essential part of European life and are mandatory for aspiring EU countries. These values are related to the United Nations’ (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This is not coincidental, as the EU continues to fight for equal representation for all countries at the UN level. In fact, the natural ally of Europe are other small and medium sized countries. This is because Europe tries to promote peaceful solutions to global problems like climate change, conflict and poverty, while focusing on trade, social rights and innovation. In the past decade, Europeans have taken a leading role in sustainable development with a real commitment to implementing the UN’s 2030 Agenda. Sustainable development is defined as ‘an organizing principle to meet the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations’. It is a collective obligation to ensure a sustainable future for everyone. During the historic 2015 UN Summit, the United National General Assembly established 17 Sustainable Development Goal and 169 associated targets. These make up the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which has become a global framework for sustainable development. Adopted by all UN member countries, the Goals are unique in that they call for actions by countries at all levels of development. These include developed, developing and underdeveloped countries, and always take into consideration their different capacities and circumstances. World leaders have promised to engage in the action of addressing the global challenges of today. These include: ending poverty, reducing inequality, protecting our planet and realistically ensuring that all people enjoy peace and justice. These goals are interconnected as the key to success of one goal involves tackling the issues of another. Also, they are part of a very comprehensive agenda, based on the principle of solidarity and incentives.

### 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)



2 European Union. July 2017. The EU in brief. [online]. Available from: [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief\\_en?fbclid=IwAR0meelpNDasjAe4B3yTSVRZocmi9z2Qki5lQfz62mMkJ-vQXp\\_rM87Ni98](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en?fbclid=IwAR0meelpNDasjAe4B3yTSVRZocmi9z2Qki5lQfz62mMkJ-vQXp_rM87Ni98) [Accessed 13 December 2018].

3 European Union. July 2017. The EU in brief. [online]. Available from: [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief\\_en?fbclid=IwAR0meelpNDasjAe4B3yTSVRZocmi9z2Qki5lQfz62mMkJ-vQXp\\_rM87Ni98](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en?fbclid=IwAR0meelpNDasjAe4B3yTSVRZocmi9z2Qki5lQfz62mMkJ-vQXp_rM87Ni98) [Accessed 13 December 2018].

“ In 2017, the EU donated €75.7 billion to development aid ”

“ The share of renewable energy consumption increased from 8.5% in 2004 to 17% in 2016 ”

The SDGs were built on the success of the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Their target achievement date of 2015 made serious contributions in raising public awareness, increasing political will and mobilising resources that helped end global extreme poverty.<sup>4</sup> However, SDGs go further and aim to end all forms of poverty, including new issues such as climate change, economic inequality, technology and innovation, and strong institutions of peace and justice. Unlike MDGs, SDGs emphasize the importance of sustainability repeating the word “sustainable” in the description of almost all goals. The EU has followed the guidelines of the UN and encourages the improvement of political, societal and environmental standards. Nearly all the objectives listed in the SDGs are at the heart of EU policies today. In fact, they are often highlighted in the Treaty on the European Union (TEU). For example, Article 3 (5) and 21 (2) addresses peace, security, sustainable development, social equality, fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights. It lists them all as EU priorities that will directly contribute to the protection and well-being of its citizens and neighbours.<sup>5</sup> It is not surprising that the EU has committed large amounts of funds towards the implementation of the SDGs, both in its internal and external policies. This is done by following the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, which outlines and describes the means of implementation for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.<sup>6</sup> Societal concerns like gender equality, education, peace and justice are enshrined in Europe’s political and legal frameworks. The EU therefore remains politically and legally committed to supporting accountable and inclusive democracies around the world, along with promoting the rule of law and human rights. This can be seen in the political dialogues, financial aid, technical assistance and policy support.<sup>7</sup> In terms of equal education, Europe aims for at least having 40% of its population complete higher education. It also aims to lower the rate of early school leavers to 10% by 2020.<sup>8</sup> It equally encourages the establishment of effective and reliable institutions as a main tool for achieving peaceful, organized and unprejudiced society. The EU development policy supports non-member states and communities that aim towards EU values in their country, with a particular focus on human, foreign, security and trade policy.<sup>9</sup> It is important to note that the EU, with its member countries, provide over 50% of all global development aid, which make Europe the world’s biggest donor. In 2017, the EU donated €75.7 billion to development aid.<sup>10</sup>

**Green Future and Climate Change** • The environment remains one of Europe’s top priorities. Climate change, sustainable energy and the protection of nature has consistently received the most attention and funding from the EU throughout the past decade. Europe plays an important role on the international stage by advocating for the implementation of the Paris Agreement. [The Paris Agreement is the first universal and legally binding global climate deal adopted by 195 countries.](#)<sup>11</sup> Through its international climate diplomacy, the EU fights for political

4 European Commission. The Sustainable Development Goals. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals_en) [Accessed 18 December 2018].

5 Official Journal of the European Union. October 2012. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. [online]. Available from: [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:2bf140bf-a3f8-4ab2-b506-fd71826e6da6.0023.02/DOC\\_1&format=PDF](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:2bf140bf-a3f8-4ab2-b506-fd71826e6da6.0023.02/DOC_1&format=PDF) [Accessed 17 December 2018].

6 European Commission. The Sustainable Development Goals. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals_en) [Accessed 18 December 2018].

7 European Commission. The Sustainable Development Goals. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals_en) [Accessed 18 December 2018].

8 European Commission. Europe 2020 strategy. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy_en) [Accessed 19 December 2018].

9 European Commission. European Development Policy. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/european-development-policy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/european-development-policy_en) [Accessed 15 December 2018].

10 European Commission. EU remains the world’s leading donor of development assistance: €75.7 billion in 2017. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news-and-events/eu-remains-worlds-leading-donor-development-assistance-eu757-billion-2017\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news-and-events/eu-remains-worlds-leading-donor-development-assistance-eu757-billion-2017_en) [Accessed 15 December 2018].

11 European Commission. Paris Agreement. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/international/negotiations/paris\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/international/negotiations/paris_en) [Accessed 15 December 2018].

“ When social inequality is a problem, it is never solved by increasing barriers to trade ”

“ Customs Union modernisation with Turkey is also likely to include important environmental and social elements ”

momentum, while raising awareness. Its natural alliance includes most small and medium-sized countries that are endangered by climate change and pollution. The EU stands against traditional superpowers and supports hundreds of countries and millions of people to engage in the climate implementation process. As part of its development policy, the EU also provides access to safe, efficient and sustainable energy services to over 500 million people by 2030. The European Commission (EC) has listed its targets for 2020: increasing energy efficiency by 20%, ensuring that 20% of energy comes from renewables and reducing greenhouse gas emission by 20% compared to 1990 level.<sup>12</sup> The EU's ambitious targets have been a success as the share of renewable energy consumption increased from 8.5% in 2004 to 17% in 2016. All estimations show that the 20% 2020 target will be comfortably reached by the EU. Countries which have reached beyond the 20% target include societies as diverse as Croatia, Latvia, Portugal, Romania and Sweden. This success has motivated many countries globally to pursue a more renewable and clean future, with a 97% success rate at the UN level. At the moment, one of the biggest threats to sustainable development is limiting global warming to 1.5°C. This is also the most ambitious target of the Paris Agreement.<sup>13</sup> This goal is only realistic if countries recognize the gap between their approaches, while allowing governments, citizens and NGO's to act together. Since 2016, the EU has started signing new generation trade agreements that include real environmental conditions with Ukraine, Ghana, Ecuador, Canada, Japan and Singapore, among many others. It continues to negotiate agreements with over 30 other countries that include environmental and social conditions to improve fairer and more sustainable trade. The upcoming Customs Union modernisation with Turkey is also likely to include important environmental and social elements.

**Trade = Peace + Innovation** • Economic growth and innovation are essential European values. This is because they directly increase the chances of peace, while contributing towards technological advancement and prosperity. EU trade policies promote an open, balanced and rules-based trading system where courts arbitrate with independence. Its investment agenda contributes towards smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. It also helps stimulate high levels of investment that increase employment rates and social redistribution. Opponents of free trade often misunderstand, or simply underestimate, the importance of connectivity for stability and prosperity. For example, protectionist politicians usually present trade barriers (tariffs) as a solution to social inequality. However, most studies show the opposite result. When social inequality is a problem, it is never solved by increasing barriers to trade. On the contrary, it is widely proved that growth, jobs and innovation happen as a result of open trade. Trade agreements with other countries increase international competitiveness and provide consumers with a wider choice of products at lower prices. They also help smaller companies from being blocked by complex and bureaucratic rules. Trade agreements with non-EU countries also help Europeans to impose higher standards for consumers' protection, social rights and environmental rules.<sup>14</sup> This is important for EU and Turkish consumers' health and safety, while also helping countries develop better quality and more competitive products.



12 European Commission. Europe 2020 strategy. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy_en) [Accessed 19 December 2018].

13 Stam, C. October 2018. EU environment ministers to target 1.5 temperature rise. [online]. Available from: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/climate-environment/news/eu-environment-ministers-to-target-1-5c-temperature-rise-hints-leaked-paper/> [Accessed 13 December 2018].

14 European Commission. A balanced and progressive trade policy to harness globalisation. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/balanced-and-progressive-trade-policy-harness-globalisation\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/balanced-and-progressive-trade-policy-harness-globalisation_en) [Accessed 20 December 2018].



“ The EU plays an important role in promoting science and industrial innovation ”

“ Technology plays an inevitable part of policy for any country that wishes to compete on the international stage ”

## | Technology, Digital Innovation and Start-ups |

“ Over the gates of the temple of science are written the words: Ye must have faith ”

Max Planck, German theoretical physicist and winner of Nobel prize

**About** • The importance of technology in our daily lives is undeniable. Technological development is vital in the fields of business, agriculture, education, transport, communication, healthcare, defence and endless other every-day sectors. Every country strives to get the latest technological devices for the benefits of its citizens and their standard of living. Technology and digital innovation is synonymous with a country's international ranking and economic competitiveness. In order to maintain a strong and leading position in digital technologies, the European Union (EU) has increased its research investments to develop technology and digital innovation in areas of public interest and industry. This chapter covers EU policies on technology, digital innovation and start-ups. Firstly, it discusses the rapid development of technology, including dependence, benefits and future ideas. Secondly, it will explain the EU's goal of digital innovation, with a special focus on the EU's biggest research and innovation programme, known as Horizon 2020. Finally, the chapter touches on EU funding and explains how Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs) and start-ups can apply for EU funding.

**The World is Changing** • Technological development is often driven by private-sector market innovation and government support. This applied for everything ranging from smartphones, high-speed internet and artificial intelligence to the idea of smart cities and disruptive technologies. The EU plays an important role in promoting science and industrial innovation, and thereby helps the funding of new technologies. It aims at strengthening the scientific and technological basis of European industries in order to make it more competitive at the international level. As specified in the Article 179 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), “the Union has the objective of strengthening its scientific and technological bases by achieving a European research area in which researchers, scientific knowledge and technology circulate freely”.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly all economic sectors within the EU are interlinked and depend on scientific discoveries, particularly in terms of research and technology. For example, in primary economic sectors such as agriculture, farmers are encouraged to use technology like satellites to improve fertilization and irrigation. In secondary economic sectors such as manufacturing, robotic technology and renewable energy helps produce quality products at lower prices. In tertiary economic sectors like financial services or hospitality, new online applications have changed tourism and mobility. The quaternary economic sector comprising entertainment, information and research also only exists because of changing technology. The interaction between people and software technology is significant in practically all economic sectors today. A simple example are mobile phone or tablet apps. A more meaningful example is perhaps how health and data privacy is likely to determine everyone's future. This trend is reflected in democratic government's policy making, as citizens start understanding the real value of consumer data. It is no coincidence that Phillips, the Dutch company, is leading the way in providing citizens ownership and well-coordinated data for millions of people.

<sup>1</sup> Gouarderes, F. October 2018. Policy for research and technological development. [online]. Available from: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/66/policy-for-research-and-technological-development> [Accessed 15 Dec 2018].

“ Future economic development depend on scientific developments, non-hierarchical societies and skilled human capital ”

“ EU invests in shared innovation by pooling resources among 27 countries, which reduces costs and enhance economies of scale ”

“ A sustainable digital economy always depends on government policy and intelligent laws ”

During the 1980s, research and innovation only accounted for a small part of European countries' industrial policy. Research, development and technology is multidisciplinary and interconnected. It is also an inevitable part of policy for any country that wishes to compete on the international stage. This explains why EU countries work towards further European integration of industry, science, and technology. For example, through major funding programs, the EU continues to promote space technology, biotechnology and digital transformation. These sectors have helped develop the fastest growing wave of highly innovative companies from countries like Lithuania, Finland and Malta. According to the 2018 Innovation Scoreboard, Sweden continues to top Europe's innovation ranking in all sectors, while Denmark scores highest in terms of human resources and capital. Luxembourg provides attractive research systems, whereas France leads the way in finance innovation. Despite declining manufacturing, it remains important to remember that future economic development depends on the tertiary and quaternary sectors, which both rely on scientific developments, non-hierarchical societies and skilled human capital.

**Innovation, Privacy and Start-ups** • In practice, the EU invests in shared innovation by pooling resources among 27 countries, which reduces costs and enhance economies of scale. The EU finances Digital Europe programs through the €9.2 billion Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF). These include Horizon 2020, Connecting Europe Facility, ISA2, Creative Europe, European Regional Development Fund, European Social Fund and Digital Single Market investments. [Digital Europe guides European economies and societies into the digital future, which brings benefits and opportunities to EU citizens and business.](#) Its priorities are high-performance computing, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity and advanced digital skills. It ensures the wide use and accessibility for people in the public sector, start-ups, and university education.

Broadband internet has allowed the digital economy to grow 7 times faster than the rest of the economy.<sup>2</sup> A sustainable digital economy always depends on government policy and intelligent laws. For example, can companies use your data freely? And does your government pressure companies to guarantee better quality? Maybe laws on copyrights will determine whether we will have music or films in the future. A government's decision to prioritise innovation will shape how a country looks 100 years from now. In 2015, the European Commission (EC) established a digital single market for the whole of Europe. Its aim is to create a smart and shared European law that defends e-commerce, copyrights, audio-visuals, e-Privacy, and digital rights for all citizens. This digital revolution creates a single digital market for nearly 500 million EU citizens for the first time in history. The benefits of the digital market include better protection for consumers, lower prices and creative job growth. Internationally, it allows Europe to compete technologically and maintain a leading role in future digital markets. One concrete example is roaming charges for mobile phones. Since roaming charges no longer apply to EU citizens as of 2017, there's been a clear drop in prices. In 2018, the EU put into law the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which helps to protect Europeans against privacy invasion and multinational tech-giants. As of 2018, all companies are obliged to ask EU consumers whether they want to activate location tracking and cookies. As of November 2018, Google has already been accused by seven EU countries of not respecting citizens' rights under GDPR. Facebook is also being investigated over privacy and security breaches. If found guilty, the EU will be able to charge Google and Facebook a historical fine of up to \$4 billion, the equivalent of 4% of annual global revenues. The EU is also working towards making everyday life more innovative, ranging from health to smart city services. Smart cities are best understood as “a place where traditional networks and services are made more efficient with the use of digital and telecommunication technologies for the benefit

<sup>2</sup> European Union. May 2018. Digital economy and society. [online]. Available from: [https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/digital-economy-society\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/digital-economy-society_en) [Accessed 14 Dec 2018].

of its inhabitants and business.”<sup>3</sup> Smart cities affect most people’s daily lives, including:

- **food production** (safe products, organic food),
- **environmental controls** (water management, upgraded water supply, pesticide control, conservation of animal populations)
- **utility services** (smart waste management, waste disposal facilities, recycling),
- **services** (mobile payments, online ordering),
- **transport** (smart roads, prevention of rush-hour, ride-sharing/bike sharing) and,
- **public safety** (video surveillance, emergency response, mass notifications, smart street lights).

“ For example, can companies use your data freely? ”

The result of these concerns for Europeans has led to funding programmes like Horizon 2020. Focused on smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, Horizon 2020 is among the EU’s biggest and most ambitious programmes. It aims to build a European society and economy based on knowledge and innovation, instead of manufacturing and raw materials. Covering the period of 2014-2020 and having a total budget of €80 billion, it is the first EU programme to integrate both research and innovation. It is unique because it receives government funding through EU instruments, while relying on public-private partnerships (PPPs) and SMEs. It addresses the challenges in society by bridging the gap between research and private markets, thereby helping enterprises to develop their technological capacities while creating a viable product. It has been legally helpful because it introduces a single set of rules, clarifying objectives and simplifying the entire procedure for governments and companies inside and outside of the EU.<sup>4</sup> The EU prioritises SMEs and start-ups in order to support youth, technology and innovation across Europe. Since the early 2000s, innovation is less monopolised, as start-ups play a bigger role. This has led the EU to become more inclusive towards SMEs and start-ups, which represent over 95% of European enterprises. The core sectors that benefit from funding are healthcare, biotechnology and advanced engineering. Since 2014, SMEs have created 85% of new jobs across Europe, while providing two-thirds of the total EU private sector employment.<sup>5</sup>

“ It aims to build a European society and economy based on knowledge and innovation, instead of manufacturing and raw materials ”

**Science and innovation** • Horizon 2020 focuses on three pillars in order to achieve its objectives: scientific excellence, industrial leadership and societal challenges. The first aim ensures the EU’s position as a world leader in science with a budget of €24.4 billion.<sup>6</sup> This is done by working together with the European Research Council (ERC), Future and Emerging Technology (FET), Marie Curie-Sklodowska actions and research infrastructures. The second aim of industrial technology ensures the EU’s leadership in innovation by investing in technological devices and supporting SMEs. This component includes a budget of €17.01 billion. It largely helps advance European information and communication technology, nanotechnologies, advanced materials, biotechnology, space, and advanced manufacturing and processing. The third part of Horizon 2020 deals with ‘societal challenges’. The EU has allocated the biggest portion of the budget (€29.68 billion) towards these priorities, which reflects the new needs of a post-industrial and advanced economic society. ‘Societal challenges’ include the prioritization of health, democratic change and citizens wellbeing. Under this category, it is important to also include food security, sustainable agriculture, marine and maritime research, as well as bio-

3 European Commission. *Smart cities*. [online]. Available from: [https://ec.europa.eu/info/eu-regional-and-urban-development/topics/cities-and-urban-development/city-initiatives/smart-cities\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/eu-regional-and-urban-development/topics/cities-and-urban-development/city-initiatives/smart-cities_en)[Accessed 15 Dec 2018].

4 Gouarderes, F. October 2018. Policy for research and technological development. [online]. Available from:<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/66/policy-for-research-and-technological-development> [Accessed 15 Dec 2018].

5 European Commission. Entrepreneurship and Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). [online]. Available from [https://ec.europa.eu/growth/smes\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/growth/smes_en) [Accessed 14 Dec 2018].

6 Gouarderes, F. October 2018. Policy for research and technological development. [online]. Available from:<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/66/policy-for-research-and-technological-development> [Accessed 15 Dec 2018].

“ EU countries have decided to cooperate, finance and share resources to advance innovation together ”

economy. Other important sub-topics include secure, clean and efficient energy production, as well as smart, green and integrated transport. Climate action, resource efficiency and raw materials also fall under this sub-category. Finally, priority is given to inclusive, innovative, secure and reflective societies; as well as the protection of the freedoms and security of Europe and its citizens.<sup>7</sup>

The success of Horizon 2020 depends on cooperation and interoperability. Interoperability is needed in areas of advanced digital skills, artificial intelligence, high performance computing and cybersecurity. These are all operations that require huge amounts of money that no EU member state would be able to afford on their own. Instead, EU countries have decided to cooperate, finance and share resources to advance innovation together, while avoiding inefficient duplications. Shared funding has helped technological spill-over between governments, research centres and private companies. That helps promote the collective advancement of countries, including innovative and young SME or start-up communities that aim towards new market-creation and disruptive technologies.<sup>8</sup>

7 Gouarderes, F. October 2018. Policy for research and technological development. [online]. Available from: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/66/policy-for-research-and-technological-development> [Accessed 15 Dec 2018].

8 European Commission. SME Instrument. [online]. Available from: <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/h2020-section/sme-instrument> [Accessed 16 Dec 2018].





## I EU Global Strategy and Foreign Policy I

“ It is Europe’s “soft power” in dealing with “non-traditional security” challenges which is really unrivalled – and increasingly relevant ”

Shada Islam, Director of Policy at Friends of Europe

“ Historically, democratic institutions last for hundreds of years ”

“ Europe thinks about universal and newer generation priorities of the 21st century ”

**About** • In 2015 and 2016 the European Union (EU) publishes two documents, outlining its own role in the world: the reviewed European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and a Global Strategy for the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy (Global Strategy). Both documents have helped shape the EU’s vision and broader strategy with its neighbours across the Middle East, Africa and Eurasia. This chapter gives a historical overview of the EU’s foreign and neighbourhood policy from 1992 until 2019. It looks at the EU’s two most important foreign policy strategies: ENP and the Global Strategy. It also takes a look at why geography, strong institutions and values are so important for European foreign policy.

**It’s all About Geography and Institutions** • The EU has always promoted stability, security and prosperity in its close geography, especially among its immediate neighbours like Ukraine, Turkey, and the Balkan countries. The reason is simple and geographic: when your closest neighbours enjoy trade and stability, it increases the chances of peace and stability in your home. This helps secure and bring safety to the wider Eurasian region. It also promotes trade and innovation in order to stay internationally competitive vis-à-vis other continents and areas. Another reason is ideological: democracy and trade – although not always perfect – are seen by most Europeans as the best long-term governing system. Democracies are of course known to be slow and inefficient. But they always win against undemocratic countries in the long-term. This is because they rely on strong institutions and ideas instead of strong people and personalities. Democracies regularly face internal criticism and crisis, but ultimately their institutions reform instead of breaking down. Historically, democratic institutions last for hundreds of years. Constitutions and parliaments live more than 20 times longer than the most powerful leaders. Institutions function like the modern-day principle of ‘feedback’. Statistically, you’re always more likely to find the best solution among hundreds of thousands of voices, compared to a small group of people or one individual. Another rule (or certainty of life) is also important: all humans are mortal and everyone is certain to die of old age. This is often a problem for less democratic countries, who’s governments face the problem of successful leadership transition. History also shows that strong and successful leaders rarely find competent people to replace them effectively. Democratic institutions on the other hand provide stability, plural voices and continuity in governance.

**The Value of Neighbours and Resilience** • The original EU foreign policy strategy – ENP – was made in 2004, when the world looked very different. In 2014, the European Commission (EC) and its President Jean Claude Juncker decided to make foreign policy a top priority for the EU. Federica Mogherini was selected as the new EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security. All EU countries came together to review the existing foreign policy in order to make it more relevant to new global circumstances and challenges. Consultations were held with the private sector, citizen groups, associations, ministries and over 250 non-governmental organisations (NGO’s), including academics and independent experts. The result was the 2015 reviewed ENP and the 2016 Global Strategy. The ENP explains how the EU wants to deal with its closest neighbours in the Southern Mediterranean and Eurasian region. The ENP consists of 16 neighbouring countries that can be divided into two geographies. First, the Eastern Partnership (EaP), which reinforces the regional dimension to the East of Europe. Second, the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), which provides a platform to increase support and cooperation with the Southern Mediterranean. From Minsk to Tbilisi and Amman to Rabat, the EU supports its neighbours and allies in order to promote trade,

innovation, jobs, growth, honest government, citizen's well-being, social justice and the environment.<sup>1</sup>

“ EU has learnt from its own colonial past and mistakes committed by traditional and aggressive superpowers ”

EU foreign policy is unique from a historical perspective. This is because it combines all 27 EU countries' individual foreign policies into one single policy. That means that sometimes Sweden or Lithuania have more to say, while sometimes Austria or Portugal have more impact. Because the EU's foreign policy is so young (less than thirty years old) it has a more modern and challenging perspective. This is especially the case when compared to traditional powers like the United States (US), China or Russia. For example, the EU promotes peaceful multilateral solutions, equal co-ownership and fairer trade. This opposes traditional self-interest diplomacy, in which borders define everything. Instead, Europe thinks about universal and newer generation priorities of the 21st century. These priorities include trade, traveling, people-to-people communication (e.g. internet or exchange programs), the environment, next generation good government, smart cities, robotics, digital innovation, conflict-prevention and citizen's well-being. In some ways, the EU has learnt from its own colonial past and mistakes committed by traditional and aggressive superpowers. That is why Europe today wants to support its geographical neighbours as equal partners. Both the Global Strategy and the ENP are influenced by German and Scandinavian diplomats, among others. They uphold a high respect for neighbouring countries' national sovereignty and prioritise peace over everything else. The aim is to give neighbouring countries the skills and support to create better and more sustainable conditions for peace and economic prosperity. This means helping societies fight unfairness and corruption, while promoting trade, innovation, the environment, more liveable cities and social rights. These priorities are meant to create resilient and strong societies across Eurasia and the Southern Mediterranean, from Turkey and Denmark to Georgia, Estonia and Tunisia. Resilient countries are the best partners for Europe because they are democratic and socio-economically sustainable. This makes these societies less vulnerable to conflict and instability. **Resilience is defined as sustainable and balanced socioeconomic development that anticipates and tackles socioeconomic inequalities, vulnerabilities, and their root causes. It is the capacity of a country (especially under the test of pressure) to maintain, restore and function properly, including social and political coherence, respect for democracy, rule of law, fundamental rights, security and progress.**

“ Give neighbouring countries the skills and support to create better and more sustainable conditions for peace and economic prosperity ”

The EU's foreign policy values are supported by four key principles. First, the EU aims to gain more strategic autonomy to protect itself and its surrounding neighbours from conflict. It aims for peace and security by strengthening its capacity on defence, cybersecurity, energy, terrorism and strategic communications. Second, the EU invests heavily in the resilience of countries ranging from the Caucasus and the Balkans all the way to Central Asia and Africa. EU foreign policy has an annual budget of nearly €9 billion. Many of those funds target resilience and are administered by the EU's Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI), Instrument for Pre-accession assistance (IPA III – from which Turkey benefits around 600 million every year, without counting cross-border funds), and Foreign Policy Instrument (FPI). Third, the EU aims to prevent conflicts across the Eurasian region through specific funds and instruments like the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), Instrument Contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), and European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) . To prevent escalating conflicts across the region, the EU works with the UN and takes action at all stages of the conflict cycle (e.g. regional, national and local levels).<sup>2</sup> Fifth, the EU remains a global defender of international rules and institutions. The logic behind this policy is simple: through international institutions,

<sup>1</sup> European Commission, “JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS: Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy”, p.2. Brussels, 18.11.2015 JOIN(2015) 50 final. < [http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/documents/2015/151118\\_joint-communication\\_review-of-the-enp\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/documents/2015/151118_joint-communication_review-of-the-enp_en.pdf) > [10/12/18].

<sup>2</sup> European External Action Service, “A Global Strategy”, p.9

trade and communication, Europe aims to increase the chance of peace, equal development and global economic progress. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reflect the EU's world vision of cooperation, which is supported by over 150 countries at the United Nations (UN).<sup>3</sup>

“ Europe aims to increase the chance of peace, equal development and global economic progress ”

**1992 to 2019: Europe's Foreign Policy Journey** • The CFSP was created in 1992 when the Maastricht Treaty was signed. The second pillar of the Treaty (Article I) deals with the CFSP. Legally, CFSP is divided into exclusive areas, supporting areas and shared areas. A very powerful and exclusive area of EU foreign policy is trade. This means that all trade agreements and negotiations are made by the EC, instead of specific EU countries. Other areas, like energy, share an internal and external component, therefore making them shared competencies. That means that power is shared between the EC and EU countries. In 2001, the Nice Treaty created the legal foundations for the ENP. [The ENP includes 16 different countries, which are divided into the East \(Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine\) and the South \(Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territories, Syria and Tunisia\).](#)

“ EU represents the second largest economy worldwide ”

In 2009, the Lisbon Treaty entered into force, which expanded the EU's role in foreign policy to a degree which was unprecedented in European history. 45 new foreign policy areas changed decision-making status overnight. Before Lisbon, each EU country had a veto on these foreign policy areas, whereas after 2009, decisions were taken by a united Europe through Qualified Majority Voting (QMV). [QMV means that you can only approve something with the consent of 55% of the Member States and 65% of the entire population.](#) In 2011, the European External Action Service (EEAS) was established. This point marked the first time in history that Europe deployed its own diplomatic corps, representing the entire EU across 140 EU delegations worldwide. It was also the first time that the EU's foreign policy was coordinated by one institution, resembling an 'EU Foreign Ministry'. In terms of organisation, the EEAS consists of various geographic directorates and a directorate that takes care of horizontal sectors like counter-terrorism, cyber or conflict prevention. In 2014, the ENI budget of €15 billion was established, which helped develop both the ENP and EEAS. ENI focuses on mobility and visa liberalisation, people to people contacts, anti-corruption, poverty reduction, tailor-made action plans, and extended partnership or trade agreements such as the Partnership Agreements (PA), Association Agreements (AA) and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements (DCFTA). The structure of the workforce of the EEAS is an interesting compromise between seconded diplomats from non-EU countries (diplomats representing their national EU country) and EU diplomats (diplomats representing only the EU). In 2016, the Global Strategy was released, putting a new focus on creating a peaceful, prosperous a stable European neighbourhood and regional geography.

“ China accounted for only \$95 billion in financial flows to Africa. During that same period, the EU financed \$350 billion on the African continent ”

Between 2016 and 2019, the EU signed several new generation trade agreements with countries like Ukraine, Ghana, Ecuador, Canada, Japan and Singapore. It continued to negotiate agreements with over 30 other countries that include environmental and social conditions to improve fairer and more sustainable trade. This is important because EU trade represents a very large and important part of the EU's foreign policy. Today, the EU represents the second largest economy worldwide. For goods and services, it trades more than any other country, while also retaining the title as the world's largest recipient of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) at 36%. The EU's advantageous economic situation affects global politics as a serious competitor among superpowers like the US, China and Russia. Despite China having a reputation for economic investments in developing countries, the reality is not so clear. Between 2000 and 2013, China accounted for only \$95 billion in financial flows to Africa. During that same period, the EU financed \$350 billion on the African continent. Another weakness is trade dependency. China is weakened by its trade dependency to Europe, and the US, as its economy is very export oriented. This is a big geo-economic vulnerability, as tariffs can change and importers can change preferences about which export country they should buy from. China equally remains trade dependent on the world's largest consumer union in the world: the EU. Similarly, over 50% of Russian trade today is with the

<sup>3</sup> European External Action Service, "A Global Strategy", p.10

EU, whereas Chinese trade with Russia only accounts for 14%. Because of the EU's advanced network of trade agreements and strong economic innovation, it plays an important role as an international coordinator, mediator and regulator.

“ The fund will place the EU among the top four defence research and technology developers in the whole of Europe ”

**European Army?** • The latest development in EU foreign policy is the new focus on defence. EU defence can be traced back to the concept of strategic autonomy, found in the 2016 Global Strategy. Its foundations also lay dormant in the Maastrich Treaty from 1992, which allows for increased EU military cooperation and defence coordination. However, the current global context has helped speed up this new initiative. The EU faces a series of external threats today. These include the migration crisis (and demography), a changing Transatlantic security architecture, Russian information and physical warfare (e.g. Ukrainians, Georgians and Tatars), as well as technological competition, unfair trade and cyber-attacks from China. These new threats have pushed the EU to develop two important and effective counter measures: Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and the creation of the European Defence Fund (EDF). PESCO is a structured and well-funded initiative to allow European militaries to jointly manage operations within the EU framework. It allows for EU defence coordination, integration and cooperation, while maximising defence spending. A PESCO secretariat will help EU countries coordinate and suggest new PESCO projects, ranging from maritime surveillance and cyber rapid response teams to European secure software and military mobility. Other shared EU military projects underway since March 2018 include Strategic Command and Control System, EUFOR Crisis Response and Network of Logistics Hubs<sup>4</sup>. Apart from PESCO, the new EDF is also helping to shape EU foreign and defence policy. EDF has a budget of €13 billion and will help finance European defence research and support defence prototype development and testing. The fund will place the EU among the top four defence research and technology developers in the whole of Europe. It is meant to coordinate and integrate various European defence industries, including competitive industrial or technological sectors. EDF will promote cooperation and cost savings measures among EU countries in an effort to produce state-of-the-art and interoperable defence technology and equipment. It will also avoid duplication, while allowing for economies of scale to foster effective military research spending. The new EU budget (Multiannual Financial Framework 2020-2027) is expected to increase the EU's foreign policy budget by 26% or €123 billion. On defence and security, the budget will be reinforced by €27.5 billion, which represents a 22-fold increase.

<sup>4</sup> <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-6393-2018-INIT/en/pdf>





## | EU Turkey Relations |

“ Now, at the start of a New Year, it may be the right time to redefine Turkey-EU relations on a brand-new footing of mutual trust and respect.”

Ozay Mehmet, Professor Emeritus of International Affairs at Carleton University

“ Turkey has benefited societally and economically from its relationship with the EU ”

**About** • Turkey is a paradox. It remains a European Union (EU) applicant country since 1987, but – realistically – has low chances of entering the EU. Economists agree that Turkey has benefited societally and economically from its relationship with the EU. During the 1990s, Turkey followed in the footsteps of countries like South Korea and chose to pursue an independent future by modernising its economy and anchoring its laws to international markets and EU standards. In less than two decades, Ankara went from a bureaucratic and low performing economy to a well-respected and globally competitive exporter, driven by a growing and educated middle class. Today, the EU accounts for 50% of all Turkish trade globally. Despite this economic success-story, Turkey doesn't always enjoy good relations with the EU. On the contrary, EU-Turkey relations are full of distrust and double standards. Accession negotiations face the 'political blocking' of 14 out of 35 chapters by two separate EU decisions from 2006 and 2009. The blocked chapters reflect anti-Turkish sentiments among certain EU countries. However, to think that Europeans are to blame for Turkey's failed accession process would be missing (half of) the point. It is difficult to imagine that EU countries (especially Scandinavia) would allow Turkey to enter the EU, considering Ankara's deteriorating press freedom and continuous violation of judicial independence throughout the past decade. This chapter takes an honest look at EU-Turkey relations from a historical perspective, starting from the era of Cold War security under the Ankara Agreement. It looks at the establishment of an economic relationship with the introduction of the Customs Union during the 1990s and concludes with the unstable political accession relationship between 2005 and 2019. It asks simple questions like: why is there distrust between the EU and Turkey when economic relations are going well? It addresses Turkey's deteriorating rule of law, while considering the multiple perspectives of the Cyprus dispute, as well as decreasing levels of public and political support for accession.

“ Turkey was very important for strategic reasons like missile sites, radar systems and military storage facilities ”

**A Brief Historical Perspective** • Turkey was the first country to seek closer cooperation with the EU in July 1959. At the time, the EU was known as the European Economic Community (EEC) and only included six countries: Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. After joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1952, Turkey developed closer ties with Western Europe through defence and trade. During this period, the EU was primarily interested in Turkey for security reasons. And due to Turkey's Eurasian geography, it was frequently considered 'the gatekeeper of Europe'. Ankara rapidly became a strategic Cold War ally as a non-Soviet country bordering the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Between 1945 and 1991, Turkey was very important for strategic reasons like missile sites, radar systems and military storage facilities. It also was important due to the Turkish Straights, both commercially and militarily. In order to minimize the Soviet influence in the region, Turkey was welcomed within the economic framework of the Ankara Agreement, signed on 12 September 1963. [The Ankara Agreement is a treaty that established an Association between the EEC and Turkey. This served as an interim measure to further economic integration between Turkey and Europe at the time.](#) The goal of the Ankara Agreement was to achieve a Customs Union, while harmonising the economic and social policies of the EU and Turkey. This would improve living conditions in Turkey and the EU through growth and lowered trade tariffs, thereby also decreasing the socio-economic disparity.<sup>1</sup> As part of such progress in Turkey, the EU made provisions

<sup>1</sup> European Commission. February 2018. Turkey agreements. [online]. Available from: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-96-42\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-96-42_en.htm) [Accessed 10 December 2018].

“ It would be dishonest to view Turkey’s deteriorating situation as only caused by Turkey ”

“ Turkish media became less free ”

“ Renewable energy has the potential to make Turkey self-sufficient by 2050 ”

for financial assistance, mostly focused on developing industries and infrastructure projects. The Agreement was supplemented by the 1973 Additional Protocol which ensured the establishment of a Customs Union over a period of 22 years. In 1995, this objective was successfully achieved when Turkey became part of the Customs Union, allowing for the free movement of goods at equal tariff rates for Turkey and the EU.<sup>2</sup> The Protocol emphasized that none of the signatories to the Ankara Agreement were allowed to introduce new restrictions on Turkey and its citizens when it comes to freedom of establishment, movement and freedom to provide services. This made Turkey an equal economic member of the Customs Union, which has also been an early objective of the 1963 Ankara Agreement. In September 1980, the Association Council released new guidelines concerning the employment and rights of Turkish workers and their families across the EU. It also established a timetable and instructions for the EU to eliminate all customs duties on Turkish imported primary agricultural products by 1 January 1987.<sup>3</sup>

EU-Turkey relations change gears again throughout the late 1980s with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the USSR in 1992. Whereas the 1945-1987 period was shaped by security and economic cooperation, the 1990s were defined by less threat and more idealism for political change and integration. Populations who had suffered under Soviet dictatorships across Eastern Europe looked to Europe for better, fairer and more innovative societies. EU-Turkey relations were also affected by democratic values as Turkey aimed for Europeanisation and joining the EU. As a result, the period between 1995 and 2005 witnessed big economic and societal progress for Turkey. In 1995, the EU-Turkey Customs Union entered into force, allowing Turkey to transform its agrarian economy into the fifth largest exporter to the EU.<sup>4</sup> With the support of the EU, Ankara also continued to develop its industrial base, while expanding its educated middle class population. In December 1997, the European Council in Luxembourg declared Turkey eligible for EU membership. And by December 1999, Turkey was officially declared a candidate country at the European Council in Helsinki. The belief in Turkey being able to join the EU was rooted in political idealism instead of traditional security. Social democratic and liberal parties across Europe genuinely believed that Ankara was capable of rejecting its military past and transition towards modernity. During this period, Turkey’s legal and judicial system did many positive reforms in order to adhere to European standards and rules. This included economic and political changes like citizen’s protection, privacy, consumer rights and stronger parliamentary oversight. In October 2005, the accession process was officially opened with 35 chapters representing a reform process in areas as different as phytosanitary standards (e.g. food safety rules) and judicial appointees (e.g. democracy). The 1990s and early 2000s could be described as visionary, but unrealistic. Despite initial optimism, Turkey’s EU ambitions were short-lived. Initial progress by Turkey in updating laws to EU standards and reforming the country were gradually undone after 2006/7. This is shown in the European Commission (EC) Progress Reports and by the European Council’s Venice Commission. Turkish media became less free and judicial courts acted with less independence from the government. Also, many more non-violent opinions started being prosecuted. The EC Progress Report from 2007 clearly explains this trend:

*“the prosecution and conviction for the expression of non-violent opinions under certain provisions of the Turkish Criminal Code are a cause of serious concern. The number of persons prosecuted almost doubled in 2006 compared with in 2005, and there was a further increase in the number of prosecutions in 2007. More than half of these charges were brought under the Criminal Code, and in particular under article 301”<sup>5</sup>*

2 European Commission. February 2018. Turkey agreements. [online]. Available from: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-96-42\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-96-42_en.htm) [Accessed 10 December 2018].

3 European Commission. February 2018. Turkey agreements. [online]. Available from: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-96-42\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-96-42_en.htm) [Accessed 10 December 2018].

4 Kistak, S.T. August 2018. Urgent need for better EU-Turkey relations: Analysis. [online]. Available from: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/urgent-need-for-better-eu-turkey-relations-analysis-135359> [Accessed 11 December 2018].

5 [https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/turkey\\_progress\\_report\\_2007.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/turkey_progress_report_2007.pdf)

“ The paradox is that Turkey and Europe continue to depend on each another ”

Yet this only reflects one side of the story. It would be dishonest to view Turkey's deteriorating situation as only caused by Turkey. An important source of friction is the territorial dispute surrounding the island of Cyprus. Although both the EU and Turkey publicly expressed their interest in finding a solution, the EU granted membership to Cyprus in 2004. This posed a serious obstacle for Turkey's accession process. This is because Cyprus rejected the internationally supported United Nations Annan Plan for reunification in 2004. As an EU country, Cyprus now holds a veto on Turkish EU membership and opposes the military presence by the Turkish Armed Forces on the northern part of the island. This has led to the blocking of chapters and during Cyprus' 2012 EU Presidency, Nicosia made it clear that Turkish EU accession would depend on the island's territorial dispute. The Turkish government views the 'Cyprus question' as a French and German excuse to block its accession process. The argument however doesn't account for the complex change in French and German governments over the years. It also doesn't take into account the fact that changing European political parties and popular opinion has shaped policies towards Turkey since 2005. It therefore remains difficult to determine how favourable EU governments could have been towards Turkish EU membership had Ankara followed a traditional reform path.

“ Geography, security and migration bind together the Eurasian landmass ”

Since the Cold War, EU-Turkey relations have moved from security and economic success to political deadlock. Today, the likelihood of Turkey entering the EU is low – a reality that everyone seems to recognise. The paradox is that Turkey and Europe continue to depend on each another. Half of Turkey's trade and financial investments come from the Eurozone. Renewable energy has the potential to make Turkey self-sufficient by 2050. Geography, security and migration bind together the Eurasian landmass. And both the EU and Turkey have a shared interest in maintaining regional peace and stability. Yet the institutionalisation of relations under the EU accession process hasn't worked. This calls for a new and equal model of partnership between the EU and Turkey. A reset of relations needs trust and mutual understanding based on both sides' priorities for the future. This could mean both economic and political cooperation in areas like innovation, defence, privacy, trade rules, as well as social and consumer rights. Such a process should also depend on the views of a new generation, including the participation of active citizens, associations, and young professionals. A little effort could help secure mutual well-being and increased prosperity. And the potential of ending Europe and Turkey's four biggest shared threats: energy dependency, climate change, conflict and global economic instability.





## | EU Funding Opportunities |

“ An entrepreneur without funding is a musician without an instrument.”

Robert A. Rice Jr. (author)

“ Individuals, organisations and start-up businesses are not always aware of the ways in which the EU can provide innovative assistance and life-changing opportunities ”

“ Upon selecting a relevant application program, entrepreneurs, civil society and researchers can proceed in the following way ”

**About** • Turkish citizens are eligible to receive funding from the European Union (EU) for a wide variety of projects through different programmes. Individuals, organisations and start-up businesses are not always aware of the ways in which the EU can provide innovative assistance and life-changing opportunities. This chapter looks at EU funding instruments available to Turkish citizens and organisations. It both examines who (eligibility) can apply and how (criteria) to apply for these funds, including sectors in which funding is available. It also includes practical information about successful EU proposals and tenders, as well as information for future first-time applicants.

**The Basics** • When an organisation or an individual considers signing up for an EU funded project, it is first of all important to understand the difference between calls for tenders and calls for proposals. The first concept (tender) is used when the European Commission (EC) buys services, goods or works in exchange for a fixed price, agreed upon by both the buyer and the seller. In other words, while the company that submits the procurements aims to make profit, the EC wants to become owner of the product. These purchases support the EU in the accomplishment of its objectives, for example: translation services. This is usually reserved for start-ups, Small and Medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) or traditional companies. The second concept (proposal) does not aim to make profit. Calls for proposals consist of the EC's decision to contribute to interesting projects of organisations and individuals.

Once the EC selects a project, the entrepreneurs will have to provide a cost statement. The EC demands progress reports during and at the end of the project. If a commercial project is successful, often the intellectual property rights are divided. These are examples of calls for proposals/EU programmes, which can be applied for and accessed online: Horizon 2020, Third Health Programme, Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, a Consumer Programme, EMFF, a European Statistical Programme, HERCULE III, Internal Security Fund Borders and Visa, Internal Security Fund Police, a Justice Programme, Pilot Projects and Preparatory Actions, Programme for the Competitiveness of Enterprises and small and medium-sized enterprises, Promotion of Agricultural Products, Research Fund for Coal and Steel, Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme, and the Union Civil Protection Programme.<sup>1</sup>

Upon selecting a relevant application program, entrepreneurs, civil society and researchers can proceed in the following way. They create an account and explore the EU's Funding and Tenders Portal. [The Funding and Tenders Portal is the entry point \(the Single Electronic Data Interchange Area\) for participants and experts in funding programmes and tenders managed by the European Commission and other EU bodies.](https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/home) It can be accessed here: <https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/home>. Attached to the EU Official Journal, the Tenders Electronic Daily (TED) informs businessmen of possible contracts. Sometimes contracts of a lower price value can also be discovered on the websites of the Commission directorates.<sup>2</sup> In the database it is easy to distinguish between calls for tenders and calls for proposals through search filters. It also filters easily the

<sup>1</sup> “Calls for proposals by EU Programme”, European Commission, <<https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/home>> [accessed 17/12/18].

<sup>2</sup> European Commission, “what is a call for tender?”.

“ Nearly 80 billion euros are available from 2014 until 2020 ”

“ This evaluation is based on the Standard Evaluation Criteria, in which the level of excellence, impact, quality and efficiency of the implementation play a crucial role in the assessment ”

“ In the annual document, one can have easy access to the aims, the different actions, the potential actors, the budget and the time period, and the submission deadline of every project ”

submissions into three categories: forthcoming, open and closed. All the projects have an opening date and a certain deadline to apply.<sup>3</sup>

**Horizon 2020** • This is the biggest Research and Innovation Programme that the EU has ever created for large cooperation projects and individual scientists. Nearly €80 billion are available from 2014 until 2020, including also the possibility of receiving funds from external investors like Innovation Union and Europe2020 Flagship.<sup>4</sup> The initiative has the ambition to make the EU a world leader in science performance, while promoting innovation. It aims to transform cooperation between the public and private sectors by promoting Innovative Partnerships that also support new business and start-ups.<sup>5</sup> It also contributes to the EU's agenda for sustainable growth and jobs. By supporting progress in competitiveness and productivity, the EU's aims to contribute towards jobs and sustainable growth and improved competitiveness, both inside the EU and among its closest partner countries like Turkey.<sup>6</sup> For example, Horizon2020 deals with the following thematic areas: spreading excellence and widening participation, societal challenges such as food security, health, transport, and climate change, access to risk finance, innovation in SMEs, excellent science, and leadership in enabling and industrial technologies.<sup>7</sup>

When applying for EU tenders and calls for proposals it is important to remember that the process is very competitive. Once a proposal has been submitted, the EC inspects whether the project idea is admissible and eligible. It is important to have a well-balanced project: it needs to have one objective, one or two outputs, and the deliverables have to be quantifiable by surveys. Whether the applicant is an entrepreneur or working for a non-governmental organisation (NGO) the rules are often the same: it is important to explain the logic, structure and uniqueness of the future project in the application. Afterwards, independent experts take over the EC's role by evaluating the proposed project. This evaluation is based on the Standard Evaluation Criteria, in which the level of excellence, impact, quality and efficiency of the implementation play a crucial role in the assessment. The independent experts will evaluate and agree on a common position in a consensus group, which in turn will be monitored by a panel. The panel will evaluate the consistency of the application with regards to the application checklist. At the end of the process, a final ranking list and a rejection list is made by the EC. Participants and coordinators will receive an Evaluation Results Letter, which announces the result of the evaluated proposal.<sup>8</sup>

**Horizon 2020 Framework Programme** • This program is part of the development of the SME Instrument. It has been designed to support SMEs with innovative proposals during all the three stages of the production process. The first phase is a very short process of six months. A ten page application of the initial business plan will have to be made. The funding for the product is €50.000, which may be spend on risks assessments and intellectual property exploration. The outcome of this phase is mainly a feasibility assessment with three coaching days, which leads to a more elaborated business plan. The second phase consists of a big grant between €500.000 and €2.5 million for two years. This gives funds to entrepreneurs and

3 “Search Funding & tenders”, European Commission, < <https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/topic-search> > [accessed on 17/12/18]

4 “What is Horizon 2020?”, European Commission, < <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-horizon-2020> > [accessed 17/12/18].

5 “Innovation Union”, European Commission, < [https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/strategy/goals-research-and-innovation-policy/innovation-union\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/strategy/goals-research-and-innovation-policy/innovation-union_en) > [accessed 17/12/18].

6 “Europe 2020 strategy”, European Commission, < [https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy_en) > [accessed 17/12/18]

7 “What is a Work Programme?”, European Commission < <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-work-programme> > [18/12/18]

8 “Evaluation of proposals”, European Commission, <[http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/docs/h2020-funding-guide/grants/from-evaluation-to-grant-signature/evaluation-of-proposals\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/docs/h2020-funding-guide/grants/from-evaluation-to-grant-signature/evaluation-of-proposals_en.htm) > [accessed 17/12/18]

“ Groups can find more practical information on the latest Call for Proposals on the website’s funding section ”

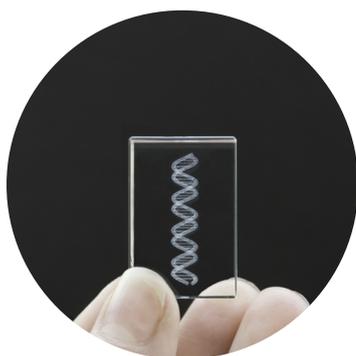
“ It has allocated a budget of 14.7 billion euro to support education, training, youth and sport across Europe, including Turkey ”

start-ups to put a product on the market by building the necessary commercial architecture and by finalising the product development, such as performance verification, testing, and the development of pilot lines. The entrepreneur will also be coached for 12 days. The third phase quickens the development and the use of resources, which includes assistance in linking with private investors and customers, aid in the application process for EU risk finance and supporting services proposed by the Enterprise Europe Network.<sup>9</sup> It completes the business cycle for SMEs and start-ups to get their product onto the market with EU support and assistance.

Another important platform for funding is the Education, Audio-visual, Culture, Citizenship and Volunteering Participant Portal. [The Participant Portal gives information and manages funding opportunities for programmes such as Erasmus+, Creative Europe, Europe for Citizens, EU Aid Volunteers, the Intra-the Africa Academic Mobility Scheme, and the European Solidarity Corps.](#) It can be accessed here: [https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/homepage\\_en](https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/homepage_en). Interested NGOs or other organisations need to submit a project proposal after having created an EU login account.<sup>10</sup> The simple registration process consists of accessing the Participant Portal (see link above) and registering to receive a 9-digit Participant Identification Code.<sup>11</sup>

**EU’s Erasmus+ Programme** • It has allocated a budget of €14.7 billion to support education, training, youth and sport across Europe, including Turkey. It is possible for individuals as well as organisations to apply, including NGOs and associations. The initiative gives individual citizens the chance to gain experiences by studying and volunteering abroad while taking language classes. It also allows for organisations to cooperate in partnerships in areas such as academic and vocational schooling, adult learning and participation in European sport events. With this initiative, the EU supports three goals: it promotes the learning mobility of individuals, cooperation for innovation and the exchange of best practices, and the advancement of policy reform.<sup>12</sup> The programme’s range of activities contributes to the Europe 2020 Strategy, European Cooperation in education and training, sustainable development and the EU Youth Strategy.<sup>13</sup>

When the EC annually publishes its General Call for Proposals, individuals and organisations can apply to be among the four million people that will join the programme. While national governments have to order institutions to implement actions related to Erasmus+, the bodies are also invited to submit a proposal on calls that are not open to the public.<sup>14</sup> In the annual document, one can have easy access to the aims, the different actions, the potential actors, the budget and the time period, and the submission deadline of every project. Groups can find more practical information on the latest Call for Proposals on the website’s funding section of the Education, Audio visual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), National Agencies or National Erasmus+ Offices. However, it is not possible for individuals to apply on the portal. They should consult their own organisation (NGO) or institution (local association or university) to help with the administrative part.<sup>15</sup>



9 “SME instrument”, European Commission, < <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/h2020-section/sme-instrument> > [18/12/18].

10 “Welcome to the Education, Audio-visual, Culture, Citizenship and Volunteering Participant Portal”, European Commission, < <http://ec.europa.eu/education/participants/portal/desktop/en/home.html#collapseOne> > [19/12/18]

11 “How to apply”, European Commission, < [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/opportunities/how-to-apply\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/opportunities/how-to-apply_en) > [18/12/18].

12 “Erasmus+”, European Commission, < [https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus-plus\\_en](https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus-plus_en) > [18/12/18].

13 “What is Erasmus+”, European Commission, < [http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about_en) > [18/12/18].

14 European Commission, “Erasmus”.

15 European Commission, “How to Apply”.

**ENC** ● ●   
ENCouncil.org  
European Neighbourhood Council