

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE & TURKEY



Future of Europe & Turkey

ENC Booklet



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Christian Berger

“ More than half a million young people from Turkey have taken part in Erasmus ”

| Foreword |

Ambassador Christian Berger
Head of Delegation of the European Union to Turkey

EU-Turkey: sometimes difficult, but always relevant

EU-Turkey relations have seen many ups and downs but have always moved forward, are not always easy but highly relevant for both sides, with high expectations of the younger generations which we must not disappoint.

When talking to people across the country, when debating with students, when meeting young business people I often hear three reasons why EU-Turkey relations continue to be relevant in the long-term.

The first reason is that we share a common space in the same geography which we want to be of peace and stability but it is marred with problems affecting both of us like terrorism, migration, the climate crisis, etc. We face the same challenges to which we need to find answers jointly and need to act together. Neither the EU nor Turkey can deal with these issues on their own. Burden sharing and upholding the principle of multilateralism have become a necessity.

The second reason is economic. The EU has always been the main trading partner of Turkey. Current figures stand at about €140 billion of exchanges representing about 42% of Turkey's global trade. The EU receives nearly 48% of Turkey's exports. Thanks to the EU-Turkey Customs Union, the EU, being the largest integrated market in the world, remains a secure and open market for Turkish exporters. The Customs Union has been instrumental in integrating Turkey into EU and global markets but also for the overall modernisation of the country. With three quarters of overall Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) coming from the EU (66.3% on average between 2008 and 2016), Turkey has become an investment base for European business with increasing integration into the EU's supply and production chains.

The third reason is our broad cooperation in almost every walk of life. The transformative power of the accession process, while now stalled, is still there. Business and industry apply European standards to get a better edge on the global market; universities and research institutions participate in EU programmes; more than half a million young people from Turkey have taken part in Erasmus; we face the same problems in making our cities more liveable; promote sustainable urban transportation and free our oceans from plastic waste, but also in promoting the rule of law and upholding fundamental rights such as the freedom of expression.

There is a close bond of cooperation through very successful local, national and non- governmental initiatives, which help thousands of Turkish women, youths, and students in their field of work or education. Turkish cities are taking part in the European mobility initiatives and the EU's climate awareness campaigns, Turkish farmers benefit from the EU's rural development support and SMEs are able to enhance their businesses.

We support Turkish civil society organisations in their many tasks and activities, ranging from human rights promotion, to fighting violence against women, and support to vulnerable groups, biggest of them all the Syrian community that has sought and was given refuge in Turkey.

Relations are not always easy but they are very relevant for the benefit of so many!



Faruk Kaymakci

“ Turkey and the EU need more engagement and more dialogue not disengagement from each other ”

| Foreword |

Faruk Kaymakci

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director for EU Affairs

Turkey-EU relations: past, present and future

Turkey's association with the European Economic Community, today's European Union (EU) dates back to Ankara Agreement of 1963 following Turkey's application in 1959 when some other European nations were after the creation of an alternative to the EEC such as the EFTA. Following a period of ups and downs, Turkey and the EU were connected by a Customs Union in 1996 which envisaged a full membership to the EU. This is the closest economic relationship between the EU and a non-member country. After Helsinki Summit of 1999, at which Turkey was officially declared a candidate country, the accession negotiations opened in 2005 marked a turning point in relations.

However, since 2006, while the bonds created in 1963 are solid, Turkey-EU relationship has suffered from a highly politicized and nationalized course of accession negotiations that was supposed to be technical and European in nature. 16 chapters have been opened and one chapter is temporarily closed, whereas 14 chapters are still blocked due to the Cyprus problem, and for the same reason, no chapter can be temporarily closed.

The fact the Greek Cypriots were taken in the EU without the settlement of the Cyprus dispute and are allowed to abuse their EU membership against candidate Turkey continues to jeopardize Turkey-EU and EU-NATO relations.

There was a recovery and even improvement in relations thanks to Turkey-EU Statement of 18 March 2016 which suggested cooperation in migration management, visa liberalization process for Turks, revitalization of accession negotiations, acceleration of the process to update the 1996 Customs Union, better cooperation in counter terrorism and regular high level dialogue and summits between Turkey and the EU.

The EU's attitude in the aftermath of 15 July coup attempt created frustration and mistrust on the Turkish side. Steps taken by Turkey were portrayed as drifting away from the EU which has taken decisions alienating Turkey rather than embracing her.

As some member states abusing their EU membership for their own interests against candidate countries, not only in accession negotiations, but also in other areas and the EU hides behind the pretext of membership solidarity, Turkey and the EU are losing ground for cooperation.

However especially against the regional and international challenges lying ahead, Turkey and the EU need more engagement and more dialogue not disengagement from each other.

Indeed the Turkish accession process is far more resilient to outside shocks like political rhetoric, populist discourses or "enlargement fatigue", than it is expected to be. Turkey firmly maintains its strategic choice of becoming an EU member. The strategic importance of Turkey-EU relations has increased in parallel with the rapid changes in the international and regional relations. Recent dramatic events, from the Middle East to the North Africa and challenges in Europe require Turkey and the EU to act jointly against global and regional threats.

Turkey as a negotiating candidate is the most important asset for the EU on key issues that the EU faces, such as terrorism, security, defense, irregular migration,

radicalization, xenophobia and security of energy supply. Concrete and positive results of Turkey-EU cooperation and joint actions both in the refugee crisis and in the fight against terrorism make this visible. Indeed contributions that Turkey and the EU could make to one another on a wide scale ranging from economics to politics, from culture to foreign policy are significant not only for the two, but also for regional and global peace, stability and prosperity. However, the only way to fully tap this relation's full potential is Turkey's membership to the EU. Deeper cooperation without accession can only deliver limited success and cannot go beyond transnationalism.

20 years ago at the Helsinki Council of 1999 by declaring "Turkey as a candidate country destined to join the EU", our leaders confirmed the common future of Turkey and the EU. Since then, political, economic, geostrategic and demographic developments not only in Europe, the neighbourhood but also around the world reinforced this argument.

Thus today it is time to have a new paradigm within the new political cycle of the geostrategic EU administration 2019-2024 in Turkey-EU relations with a clear accession perspective and it is also time to steer the wheel of change to the benefit of both sides.



Ronald Meinardus

I The Right to Privacy, or: How to control the digital *Leviathan* I

Ronald Meinardus

Head of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung Turkey Office

“ As more and more personal information is stored in digital spaces, the Right to Privacy has become a major concern of governments, civil society and citizens in all parts of the world ”

“No one should be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence.” The confirmation of the Right to Privacy in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 has become increasingly relevant in these times of digital transformation also termed the “Age of Big Data”. As more and more personal information is stored in digital spaces, the Right to Privacy has become a major concern for governments, civil society and citizens in all parts of the world. The challenges are manifold and novel. Therefore, the policy responses also need to be innovative.

According to a recent report by Amnesty International titled “Surveillance Giants. How the business model of Google and Facebook threatens human rights”, these technology companies have established “near-total dominance over the primary channels through which people connect and engage with the online world.” This gives them unprecedented power over people’s lives, the human rights organization laments.

AI concludes that the tech giants have established “insidious control of our digital lives” and goes on to state that the protection of privacy has become “one of the defining human rights challenges of our era.” Amnesty International is not alone in sounding the alarms. More and more individuals, groups and governments warn of the downsides of the proliferation of the Internet economy – and demand action.

Facebook and Google’s business model relies on the availability of users’ personal data. The companies collect huge amounts of personal information and use them for purposes of advertisement and targeting of consumers and potential buyers of products. The model is as simple as it is genial: Instead of charging customers to pay a fee for products or services, the tech firms monetize the consumers’ personal data. In most cases, the data “providers” – that includes also you, dear reader – aren’t sufficiently informed about what happens with the data. Consequently, the call for (more) transparency stands at the center of privacy advocacy efforts.

As ever more transactions move from the analogue to the digital sphere, the scope of what we define as privacy has evolved. We may consider three related concepts: The freedom from interference into our private sphere, the right to control information about ourselves and, lastly, the right to have a space where we can freely express ourselves.

If we look around, we may note that these spaces or concepts are under threat. We need a concerted and principled effort to preserve and defend these spaces.

In light of the gigantic powers of the leading tech-companies, more self-regulation and additional efforts to increase media literacy of the users are not an adequate response. While self-constraint and responsible behaviour are useful, they are not sufficient. Also in a liberal perspective, and the belief in the self-regulatory power of the market, government regulation is needed to curtail the power of the “surveillance giants” as these have morphed into digital Leviathans with quasi monopoly status. In coordination with the business community, civil society and the consumers, governments must adopt positive steps to reduce or curtail the harm stemming from the practices of the privacy encroachers. Data flows do not stop at national borders. Therefore, international coordination is in demand. In this regard, the European Union has come a long way.

“ In 2016, the European Parliament, the Council and the EU Commission adopted the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) ”

“ The General Data Protection Regulation provides individuals with more rights to control the spread of their personal data, consent provisions, access rights, data modification and deletion ”

Over the years, governments have enacted data-protection-laws in many parts of the world aiming to enhance “privacy self-management” and “data sovereignty”. In most cases, a set of principles dating back to the early seventies of last century and still relevant today guides these regulations. Referred to as FIPs (or Fair Information Practices), these principles are the following:

1. The existence of personal data recording systems should not be kept secret.
2. The users need to be able to find out which information about them is stored and for what purpose.
3. The users must have a way to prevent information about them obtained for one purpose and used for another purpose without consent.
4. The user must have a way to correct or amend personal data.
5. All organizations that collect data must assure that the data is used in a reliable manner and only for the intended purpose. They must also take precautions against misuse.

“These practices and rights have remained a cornerstone in the data ecosystem despite enormous changes in the use and capture of personal information through the advent of big data”, writes the Bertelsmann Foundation in a recent report about the policy regimes of data protection in the United States and the European Union.

Technological developments have led to a linkage of ever more devices to the web, creating what we refer to as the “Internet of Things”. With more or less all movements (potentially) recorded digitally, the idea of self-management of privacy becomes ever more challenging.

Data protection issues have been on the agenda for many years. In international debates, the United States and the European Union have often been a point of reference. Several legal provisions for the protection of personal information exist in the EU. These are included in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, the 1995 EU Data Protection Directive and finally the General Data Protection Regulation, which came into force in 2018.

The Data Protection Directive was established at a time the EU Institutions aimed at strengthening the Common Market. The idea was to set basic minimal standards for data protection. These standards required regulation of personal data and a shared responsibility between the members.

In 2016, the European Parliament, the Council and the EU Commission adopted the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) to pursue a Digital Single Market and harmonize the data protection regime among EU members. Like many important EU directives, this also needed the approval of the national parliaments of all the member states.

The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) came into force in May 2018. It sets a new standard for privacy regulation and data protection replacing the Data Protection Directive. The new regulation applies not only to companies in the EU (even if their data is processed outside the Union) but also to companies outside the territory and jurisdiction of the European Union – that process data of EU citizens. One of the key principles of the much-debated GDPR is the “purpose limitation.” This means that the aim of collecting information should be stated clearly and used only for the stated purposes. In the new regulation, the individual’s consent is a major concern: individual users or consumers must agree to the processing of their personal data through a clear action of consent.

A further significant adjustment is the expansion of the definition of personally identifiable data, now also including emails and IP addresses. Moreover, EU citizens are entitled to request information on the personal data which companies collect. They also have the right to request the data to be changed - or deleted.

“ Treat the data of other people in a manner that you wish your own data to be treated ”

The General Data Protection Regulation provides individuals with more rights to control the spread of their personal data, consent provisions, access rights, data modification and deletion. Companies must also provide information to all interested users about any data violations and report them to the supervisory authority within 72 hours.

The European privacy regulations and their ensuing legislative implementation on the national level in Germany have various implications also for the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, which the author of this note represents in Turkey. These are manifold and relate to more or less all our interactions with staff members, partners or participants of educational activities. This said, we are presently in the process of updating our data processing procedures regarding participants' lists, attendance sheets and all other records containing data of individuals or groups we cooperate with. As a rule of thumb we are prohibited – a term used repeatedly in the internal directives – to process data of an individual without her or his explicit consent.

To give you just one example: It is not permissible to add to the mailing list the name of an interested interlocutor who has shared her business card without asking for her explicit consent to receive mail from us in the future.

To familiarize the staff with the new and stringent policies, the Foundation recently organized a half-day workshop. The speaker ended his presentation with a message: “Treat the data of other people in a manner that you wish your own data to be treated.”



Ayhan Zeytinoğlu

I Turkey's candidacy to the EU: the Helsinki moment at its 20th anniversary I

Ayhan Zeytinoğlu
IKV Chairman

The European Council Summit meeting in Helsinki on 10-12 December 1999 was a special moment, a milestone in Turkey-EU relations. In the Helsinki conclusions, the European Council stated the following:

“...Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate States. Building on the existing European strategy, Turkey, like other candidate States, will benefit from a pre-accession strategy to stimulate and support its reforms. This will include enhanced political dialogue, with emphasis on progressing towards fulfilling the political criteria for accession with particular reference to the issue of human rights, as well as on the issues referred to in paragraphs 4 and 9(a)...”¹

This statement differentiated Turkey from countries like Georgia, Ukraine or Tunisia, since Turkey was designated a candidate to join the EU and not as a country without a membership perspective despite being in the immediate neighbourhood of the Union. Looking at the state of Turkey-EU relations exactly 20 years after the declaration of Turkey's candidacy to the EU, one can only conclude with dismay that the candidacy status could not be completed with Turkey's accession to the EU. Today, despite a majority support to EU membership among the Turkish public, most people have lost hope that it is actually going to happen.

IKV conducted a public opinion survey together with TEPAV with the support of TOBB. The survey carried out between 26 April and 12 May of 2019 with 4506 respondents across 35 provinces in Turkey presented interesting results. 60 % of the respondents supported Turkey's membership to the EU while only 23 % believed that it was actually going to happen in the near future. While those who believed that EU membership would take place constituted 36 % of the respondents in 2016, this percentage fell to 31 % in 2017 and 23 % in 2019. It is really sad and regrettable that an endeavour to integrate Turkey into the EU on the basis of membership could not be accomplished until now. Turkey's membership to the EU would have provided a stabilizing effect on the EU and the wider neighbourhood. Conflicts around the EU would surely have different consequences or would not have taken place at all had Turkey's accession to the EU been realized.

What Went Wrong?

Candidacy status to the EU triggered a process of extensive reforms in Turkey with the aim of fulfilling the political aspects of the Copenhagen criteria. Abolishing the death penalty, revision of the Penal and Civil code, revising the composition of the National Security Council were only a few of the multitude of reform steps Turkey accomplished following the Helsinki European Council. Reform process led to the hopeful start of Turkey's membership negotiations on 3 October 2005. However, the Council of the EU adopted a decision one year later and decided not to open 8 chapters which they regarded as being directly related to the customs union. They also decided not to provisionally close any of the chapters until Turkey opened its ports and airports to vehicles originating from the South of Cyprus. Hence this decision effectively brought the membership negotiations to a standstill. Until now while 16 chapters could be opened to negotiations, only one of them was deemed

¹ Paragraphs 4 and 9(a) concerned bilateral disputes between candidates and EU Member States, hence in Turkey's case bilateral issues between Turkey and Greece, and the Cyprus problem.

“ 60% of the respondents supported Turkey's membership to the EU ”

“ The European Commission asked for a mandate to start negotiations for the modernisation and updating of the customs union with Turkey in 2016 ”

“ Following the decisions of the Council to implement sanctions against Turkey due to hydrocarbon explorations in the Eastern Mediterranean, relations retreated to an all-time low between Turkey and the EU ”

“ Turkey and the EU should create a new agenda which intends to bring about a limited list of the most pressing issues and offer solutions ”

to be provisionally closed. Enlargement of the EU to Cyprus before a political settlement could be found to the division of the island was one principal factor that also hampered Turkey's relations with the EU and its membership process.

There have also been other attempts to revamp the relations such as the positive agenda initiated in 2012, visa liberalisation roadmap started in 2013, modernization of the customs union agreed by respective officials of Turkey and the EU in 2015, and the Turkey-EU Statement of 2016. Yet none of these attempts have produced concrete results. Though Turkey fulfilled 66 of the conditions outlined in the visa liberalisation roadmap and the European Commission recommended the lifting of the visa barrier in its final report of May 2015, the final goal of visa-free travel could not be accomplished. The visa requirement for Turkish citizens who wish to travel to the Schengen area for short-term business or touristic visits continues to present both a financial and psychological burden due to the fees involved (visa fee, agency fee, notary fee, translation etc.), number and substance of documents (such as bank statements and invitation letters) and the cumbersome application process.

Customs union modernization met the same fate. The European Commission asked for a mandate to start negotiations for the modernization and updating of the customs union with Turkey in 2016. Yet due to political considerations the Council decided against the opening of negotiations. The modernization of the customs union continues to be a matter that requires urgent action due to problems experienced in the functioning of the customs union and the need to expand its scope to new areas such as agriculture, services and public procurement.

Perhaps the Turkey-EU Statement of 18 March 2016 was one of the high-water marks of Turkey-EU relations in the recent past. The Statement consisted of 9 points that envisaged progress in different areas of Turkey-EU relations such as the opening of new chapters in the accession process, visa liberalisation and customs union modernization. The immediate impact of the Turkey-EU Statement was on the issue of Syrian refugees whereby one Syrian refugee would be resettled in the EU in exchange for each migrant return to Turkey from Greece. The EU also promised to support Syrians in Turkey by way of a Facility comprised of two tranches of 3 billion euros for 2016-17 and 2018—19 periods respectively. The allocations are continuing to be made, albeit belatedly, to several projects aiming to provide aid and services to the over 3 and a half million Syrians residing in Turkey. However readmissions from Greece have been halted and the readmission agreement signed between Turkey and the EU is not in operation at the moment. It may easily be found that burden-sharing between Turkey and the EU regarding the protection and settlement of Syrian refugees have not been on an equal footing and Turkey assumed most of the responsibility of hosting Syrians fleeing war and persecution.

Is it too Late to Fix it?

Following the decisions of the Council to implement sanctions against Turkey due to hydrocarbon explorations in the Eastern Mediterranean, relations retreated to an all-time low between Turkey and the EU. Even the Association Council meetings or forums such as the high-level dialogue meetings cannot be held at the moment. Dialogue or cooperation channels are blocked. Despite this quite pessimistic outlook, Turkey continues to be a leading economic partner of the EU. The customs union relationship is critical especially for leading industries in the EU such as automotive and white goods. The EU continues to be a social and cultural destination for Turkish citizens. Turkey continues to take part in several EU programs such as Erasmus plus and Turkish civil society continues to make use of EU funds within the framework of pre-accession assistance. We can concur that not all is lost between Turkey and the EU and it is still possible to make a new beginning.

Firstly, Turkey and the EU should restart institutional mechanisms and forums which provide for both parties to come together and discuss issues of common concern. Then these mechanisms should be used to resolve problems in the current state

“ I would like to underline that the membership perspective is still relevant ”

of relations such as the functioning of the customs union or problems associated with the visa process. Turkey and the EU should create a new agenda which intends to bring about a limited list of the most pressing issues and offer solutions. Continuous dialogue and consultation is needed to revamp the relations, deal with urgent problems and prevent a further deterioration of the relations. From that point onwards the contours of a future relationship can be built. As the Chairman of an organization representing the Turkish business community, I would like to underline that the membership perspective is still relevant for us and provides the ideal solution to resolving disputes between Turkey and the EU and making Turkey's fullest contribution to the future of Europe possible.

I Turkey is European, regardless of EU membership I



Samuel Doveri Vesterbye

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

“ Turkey can be a future energy hub, supply chain technology hub, and trade hub between East and West if it engages positively with its neighbours and Europe ”

“ Unfortunately, it is not in everyone’s interest that the most powerful trading block in the world, the EU, and NATO’s second largest army, Turkey, try to align in a strong and stable partnership ”

“ Sanctions against Iran both negatively impact Europe and Turkey ”

Turkey and the European Union (EU) have a long and important relationship. Before anyone talked about EU membership, this relationship was already established and well-functioning. The relationship is historically based on geography and culture, as well as economy, security and exchanges among people. That’s because both countries inside the EU and Turkey depend on each other. Here are some important examples from a security, migration and conflict perspective, which should not be forgotten:

- If there is a conflict in the Mediterranean or the Middle East, who will it affect first: North America and Indonesia or Turkey, France and Croatia? If the demographic growth of Africa continues and migration flows increase, who will it affect first? Iceland and China, or Turkey and Greece? If PKK and Daesh youths are radicalised in Iraq and Syria, who will it affect first? Geographically close countries with large Muslim populations like Turkey and Germany, or far-away regions with little or no connection to these issues?

It shows how important geography and distances from conflicts and migration are. Europe and Turkey share the same region and have to deal with the same problems. And problems are always best solved together. The same argument applies when looking at trade and commerce. China’s rising economic position and today’s increase in cross-Eurasian trade and energy exemplifies this. Here are some important examples from an energy, trade and connectivity perspective:

- As Europe continues to be the world’s leading consumer (and China a leading producer), it is logical that countries placed in-between, like Turkey, take the role of ‘connection countries’.
- Turkey can be a future energy hub, supply chain technology hub, and trade hub between East and West if it engages positively with its neighbours and Europe.

Despite these positive arguments, the Euro-Turkish relationship is at a low point today. Unfortunately, it is not in everyone’s interest that the most powerful trading block in the world, the EU, and NATO’s second largest army, Turkey, try to align in a strong and stable partnership.

In order to overcome the current tensions, it is important to remember that:

- Over 50% of Turkey’s trade and Foreign Direct Investment is with Europe;
- The EU is building new and independent military capabilities. It is impossible for individual countries, like Turkey or Denmark, to match such costs in defence and technology. Only by working together collectively – multilaterally - is this possible;
- The current energy crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean is very dangerous, and could spill over into regional conflict. There is a more peaceful solution, in which the Southern Gas Corridor is taken into consideration;
- The EU and Turkey should, together, engage in conflict resolution and work towards regional peace, including in Iraq, Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria, Ukrainian Donbass/Luhansk, and Crimea;
- Sanctions against Iran both negatively impact Europe and Turkey. This also applies for steel and other tariffs imposed unfairly on both the EU and Turkey;
- Europe must acknowledge that it has treated Turkey unfairly in the past. Turkey must make efforts to guarantee stronger rule of law, open dialogue and free elections.
- The accession process is unlikely to move forwards because of lacking willingness among many countries. However, it is vital to consider a special and equal Euro-

Turkish partnership. Because of Turkey's key historical relationship with Europe, such a partnership should include deep structural, legal, economic, security, energy, and co-decision-making components.

- Constant disinformation and “fake news” tries to poison and break European-Turkish relations.
- European leaders and Turkish leaders, as well as Turkish-European civil society, academics, youths, students, and journalists must continue to engage, talk, exchange and work towards a better and stronger relationship.

When Turkey became an EU accession country in 2005, hopes were high on both sides. Turkey, as everyone knows, belongs to Europe. And in the 21st century, it is more important to be part of a club, than standing alone in the cold. But four very unfortunate things happened in the 21st century that made Turkish EU membership very difficult:

“ Peace and respect for the environment will be the most important priorities for developed countries, like France, Finland or Turkey, in the 21st century ”

- First, the Annan Plan didn't work out as planned. The Greek Cypriots voted no, while the Turkish Cypriots voted yes. Today Turkey feels betrayed, and they have a point. But the EU is a unanimous membership club, and all countries have a veto.
- Second, some of the European electorate has moved to the right during the past decade. Countries that accepted Turkish EU accession in 2005 are unlikely to do so today, because they are no longer governed by liberal, green or left-wing parties.
- Third, Turkey has been experiencing difficulties regarding democratic rights, liberties, rule of law, freedom of the media, freedom of expression, independence of the judiciary, and democratic checks and balances. The EU already fights with its own members about these issues, and can therefore absolutely not accept that an EU candidate country doesn't respect freedom of expression, judicial independence and immunity of parliamentarians.
- Fourth, the new government of Donald Trump is against Turkey developing closer relations with its natural neighbours and allies in Europe and Eurasia. The Trump administration plays dirty-tricks against Turkey.

In 2020, the world will officially have moved into multi-polarity. Russia is in Syria, China is the world largest exporter, and the United States is flexing its military muscle. And Turkey – in the middle of this chaos – is trying to position itself, sometimes together with Europe, and sometimes against. What remains essential for the younger general of Turks to remember is that:

“ The cost of being competitive in terms of technological developments, military capacities and international business is too large for any single country, with the exception of the United States and China ”

- The 21st century is nothing like the 20th century. Concepts like technology, privacy, citizens' democratic engagement, universal basic income (basically “paid civic holiday”), as well as real or dis-information will dominate our lives.
- The cost of being competitive in terms of technological developments, military capacities and international business is too large for any single country, with the exception of the United States and China. That is the reason why partnerships, cooperation, multilateralism, and membership or special partnership with the EU remains a serious benefit.
- In an interconnected and multipolar world, the perfect balance between membership and flexibility will provide the winning outcome. That is why Europeans today are part of the EU, OSCE, Council of Europe, AIIB, and other institutions.
- Turkey has the potential to advance a culturally tolerant and modernised version of Islam, based precisely on Turkey's reformed cultural identity and modern society.
- Peace and respect for the environment will be the most important priorities for developed countries, like France, Finland or Turkey, in the 21st century. Political relations should build on promoting cooperation, student exchange, trade, innovation; climate targets, renewable energy, privacy for citizens, and conflict-resolution in order to guarantee the well-being, safety and rights of individuals.



| 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

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

“ Concepts like *rule of law*, *democracy* and *civic rights* turn into buzzwords, as we sometimes forget their historical purpose ”

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 2020 represents the longest period of non-war in over 2.000 years.¹ 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 on 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.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights describes universal values as being present

¹ 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# [Accessed 5 December 2019].

“ pressure by non-governmental organisations (NGO’s) allows for citizens to always keep governments ‘in check ’”

“ As governments were always biased, the concept of an independent judge was created ”

“ 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 ”

in all societies that promote “inclusion, tolerance, justice, solidarity and non-discrimination.”² 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.³ 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=IwAR0meelpNDasjAe4B3yTSVRZocmi9z2Qki5IQfz62mMkJ-vQXp_rM87Ni98 [Accessed 5 December 2019].

3 European Union. July 2017. The EU in brief. [online]. Available from: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en?fbclid=IwAR0meelpNDasjAe4B3yTSVRZocmi9z2Qki5IQfz62mMkJ-vQXp_rM87Ni98 [Accessed 5 December 2019].

“ The natural ally of Europe are other small and medium sized countries ”

“ Societal concerns like gender equality, education, peace and justice are enshrined in Europe’s political and legal frameworks ”

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

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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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 2020.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.](#)¹¹ Through its international climate diplomacy, the EU fights for political momentum, while raising awareness. Its natural alliance includes most small and medium-sized

4 European Commission. *The Sustainable Development Goals*. [online]. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals_en [Accessed 5 December 2019].

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 [Accessed 5 December 2019].

6 European Commission. *The Sustainable Development Goals*. [online]. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals_en [Accessed 5 December 2019].

7 European Commission. *The Sustainable Development Goals*. [online]. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/sustainable-development-goals_en [Accessed 5 December 2019].

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 [Accessed 5 December 2019].

9 European Commission. *European Development Policy*. [online]. Available from: 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 [Accessed 5 December 2019].

11 European Commission. *Paris Agreement*. [online]. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/international/negotiations/paris_en [Accessed 5 December 2019].

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

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



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.¹² 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.¹³ 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. A 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.¹⁴ 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 [Accessed 5 December 2019].

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 5 December 2019].

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 [Accessed 20 December 2018].



| 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

“ 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 1995, the EU-Turkey Customs Union entered into force, allowing Turkey to transform its agrarian economy into the fifth largest exporter to the EU ”

About • For most Europeans, Turkey is seen as a paradox. It remains a key strategic partner of the European Union (EU) and an applicant country since 1987, but with low chances of entering the EU in the near future. Economists agree that Turkey has benefited socially and economically from its accession 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 – at times - double standards on both sides. Accession negotiations faced the 'political blocking' of 14 out of 35 chapters by two separate EU decisions in 2006 and 2009. The blocked chapters reflect reservations about allowing Turkey to enter the EU among some EU countries, which were motivated by political reasons instead of technical procedures. However, to think that Europeans are entirely to blame for Turkey's failed accession process would be missing the point entirely. Many EU countries and political parties were historically in favour of Turkey entering the EU. However, it is difficult to imagine that EU countries in Scandinavia will allow Turkey to enter the EU today, considering Ankara's deteriorating press freedom and continuous violation of judicial independence. This chapter takes an honest look at EU-Turkey relations from a historical and geographical perspective, while also reviewing the establishment of an economic relationship with the introduction of the Customs Union during the 1990s. It addresses key areas in the framework of EU-Turkey relations including big data & migration.

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 6 countries: Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. After Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1952, it 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 as '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 was also important due to the Turkish straits (Bosphorus), 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 ECC 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.¹ The Agreement was supplemented by the 1973 Additional Protocol which ensured the establishment of a Customs

¹ European Commission. February 2018. *Turkey agreements*. [online]. Available from: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-96-42_en.htm [Accessed 10 December 2018].

“ 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. Turkish media became less free and judicial courts acted with less independence from the government ”

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.² 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 established a timetable and instructions for the EU to eliminate all customs duties on Turkish imported primary agricultural products by 1 January 1987.³

EU-Turkey relations changed 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. 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 a 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 5th largest exporter to the EU.⁴ 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. 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 move towards modernity and democratic consolidation. During this period, Turkey’s legal and judicial system made many positive reforms in order to adhere to European standards and rules. This included economic and political changes like citizens’ 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 also 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. Turkish media became less free and judicial courts acted with less independence from the government. Also, many non-violent opinions and statements started facing criminal prosecution. Since the Cold War, EU-Turkey relations have switched from security and economic success to political deadlock. Today, the likelihood of Turkey entering the EU remains low – a reality that everyone appears to recognise. The paradox is that Turkey and Europe will always depend on each other for commercial, cultural, geographical, institutional and security reasons. Three simple examples: Half of Turkey’s trade and financial investments comes from the Eurozone. Renewable energy has the potential to make Turkey self-sufficient by 2050 and European security and migration impacts Turkey as much as France and Poland for example. Yet the institutionalisation of relations under the EU accession process hasn’t worked properly. Instead, a new and gradual transition towards an equal partnership between the EU and Turkey is needed. A reset of relations therefore requires trust and mutual understanding based on both sides’ priorities for the future. This could mean both economic and political cooperation in areas like innovation, migration, defence, energy, privacy, trade, as well as social rights and consumer protection. Such a process should also depend on the views of a new generation of young citizens, academics, associations, and professionals who understand that success in the 21st century will rely on partnerships, cooperation and technology, which always needs more than one country to work.

2 European Commission. February 2018. *Turkey agreements*. [online]. Available from: 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 [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].

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EU-Turkey Trade Relations • The 1995 EU-Turkey Customs Union agreement is of historical fundamental importance. It was a milestone for economic and trade relations between the EU and Turkey⁵ and a catalyst for Turkey’s economic transformation. The rules laid down by this agreement establish the foundations of a system that regulates the commerce of industrial and processed agricultural goods between Turkey and the EU for the past two and a half decades. It also eliminates all distortive mechanisms that result in unfair advantages and support a rules-based trading system, which relies on neutral courts rather than politics. The institutional importance of the EU-Turkey Customs Union highly contributed in standardising the Turkish regulatory frameworks, while supporting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) levels and the growth of Turkish industry. It also increased competitiveness and productivity of Turkey’s manufacturing sector, thereby diversifying production patterns and introducing modernised structural changes. The settlement of a legislative framework in conformity with EU rules in terms of intellectual property and competition also enhanced Turkey’s comparative advantages and economic integration on a global scale. On the 21 December 2016, the European Commission (EC) supported the opening of negotiations with Turkey on the modernisation of the Customs Union. This decision was blocked in June 2018, as a result of negative developments in terms of rule of law, human rights or judiciary reforms inside of Turkey. The EU’s General Affairs Council stated that no further step towards this modernisation could be taken⁶. The decision continues to divide analysts, academics and policy-makers. Some believe that the modernisation of the Customs Union would help develop better relations between the EU and Turkey, whereas others are of the opinion that the modernisation should only take place once the Turkish government has shown willingness to reform and improve its rule of law, judiciary independence and press freedom for Turkish citizens.

Big Data and Migration • Turkey hosts the highest number of Syrian refugees in the world, and has already spent significant financial resources to address this crisis. In October 2015, a Joint EU-Turkey Action Plan⁷ was approved and activated during the EU-Turkey Summit in November 2015. The Action Plan provides a framework to structure migration flows and restrain irregular migration. So far, Turkey has made good progress⁸ in this area and has committed by consolidating law enforcement agencies, setting up working groups for technical work on visa liberalisation and providing massive humanitarian aid and support. However, policies responding to migration flows are not inclusive enough, as economic drivers are not the only reasons behind migration anymore. The need for new approaches and alternative data sources to better understand migration flows and its impacts is therefore imminent. In fact, the adoption of alternative data sources for the analysis of migration-related topics is crucial to fill potential gaps in conventional data sources and methods⁹. Big data sources encompassing social media or mobile call records are able to provide statistics on migration flows, but also help determine migration drivers and impacts. Taking Istanbul as an example, it is possible to work on Twitter hashtags to come up with better projections and track migrant-friendly neighbourhoods and trends. Another example is using mobile phone data to estimate the number of irregular migrants in Istanbul in order to have better geographical approximation. Two rounds of negotiations took place in November 2018 and April 2019 between Turkish authorities and the EU about an international agreement concerning the exchange of personal data between Europol and Turkey. It is a crucial matter that policy makers are provided with

5 Samuel Doveri Vesterbye & M. Sait Akman (2017), *ENC Perspectives: A Modernized EU-Turkey Customs Union, Experts Interviews and Analysis*. Available from: <http://www.encouncil.org/ourwork/release-enc-report-modernized-eu-turkey-customs-union-expert-interviews-analysis/> [Accessed on 28 November 2019]

6 European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document {COM(2019) 260 final}: *Turkey 2019 Report*, 29.05.2019. Available from: <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-turkey-report.pdf> [Accessed 28 November 2019]

7 European Commission, EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan (October 2015). Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_15_5860 [Accessed 28 November 2019]

8 European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document {COM(2019) 260 final}: *Turkey 2019 Report*, 29.05.2019. Available from: <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-turkey-report.pdf> [Accessed 28 November 2019]

9 Migration Data Portal. *Big Data, Migration and Human Mobility*. Available from: <https://www.migrationdataportal.com/themes/big-data> [Accessed 3rd December 2019]

precise evidence as controlling migration flows doesn't mean stopping them alone. Working on new methods, which combine computer scientists and experts on ethics will be a solution to tackle the roots of migration in the country. Only through EU-Turkish cooperation in technology and foreign policy, to prevent the root cause of migration (war and conflict) will both Brussels and Ankara be able to solve such collective regional problems together.

“ Only through EU-Turkish cooperation in technology and foreign policy, to prevent the root cause of migration (war and conflict) will both Brussels and Ankara be able to solve such collective regional problems together ”





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

“ Forty-five new foreign policy areas changed decision-making status overnight ”

“ Between 2016 and 2019, the EU signed many ‘new generation trade agreements’ with countries like Ukraine, Ghana, Ecuador, Canada, Japan and Singapore ”

“ In terms of goods and services, the EU trades more than any other country in the world ”

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

A Brief Historical Perspective • The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was created in 1992 when the Maastricht Treaty was signed. Legally, CFSP is divided into three categories: 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 European Commission (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. 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. 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 handles horizontal sectors like counter-terrorism, cyber or conflict prevention. Between 2016 and 2019, the EU signed many ‘new generation trade agreements’ with countries like Ukraine, Ghana, Ecuador, Canada, Japan and Singapore. It continues to negotiate agreements with over 30 other countries which include environmental and social conditions to improve fairer and more sustainable trade, better rights and standards for people. 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. In terms of goods and services, the EU trades more than any other country in the world, 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. However, this is only made possible because of the EU’s efforts in keeping unity and the sharing of budgets, rules, institutions and democratic courts.

It’s all about Geography and Institutions • The EU tries to promote stability, security and prosperity in its neighbouring geography, especially among its immediate neighbours like Ukraine, Turkey, and the Balkan countries. The reason is simple: when your closest geographical neighbours enjoy trade and stability, it increases the chances of peace and stability in your own home. By focusing on avoiding conflict and stopping terrorism, this approach supports peace and lower levels of displacement across the wider Eurasian region. It also promotes trade and innovation in order to stay internationally competitive. Another reason is ideological: democracy and trade (although not always perfect) are seen by most Europeans as the best long-term governing solutions. Democracies are of course known to be slow and inefficient. But they always win against undemocratic countries in

“ This is only made possible because of the EU’s efforts in keeping unity and the sharing of budgets, rules, institutions and democratic courts. ”

“ That is the reason why constitutional parliaments live 20 times longer than the most powerful of leader in history ”

“ Democratic institutions and independent courts on the other hand provide stability, fairness and balanced opinions that reflect a united and strong country ”

“ The EU promotes peaceful multilateral solutions, equal co-ownership and fairer trade ”

the long-term. This is because democracies rely on strong institutions and ideas, instead of strong people and personalities. Democracies regularly face internal criticism and crisis (e.g. French Protesters), but ultimately their institutions reform instead of breaking down. Statistically, democratic institutions last for hundreds of years, whereas powerful leaders only live as long as the average life expectancy: around 85 years. That is the reason why constitutional parliaments live 20 times longer than the most powerful leader in history. Institutions are very important in this case, because they play the same ‘feedback function’ as a mobile phone app. For example, if Uber or other service apps didn’t have a feedback function, the quality would decrease, because there would be no consumer to rate the quality of the service. In turn, the driver would be more likely to cheat, or make the Uber drive longer to earn more money. The same concept applies in politics: the more feedback you have from citizens, through independent courts and institutions, the better a society functions. Another example is numbers: Statistically, you’re more likely to find the best solution among thousands of people and ideas, compared to a small group of people or – in the case of dictatorships - one individual. Finally, there is another problem: when a leader dies of old age, many governments face the problem of successful leadership transition. History unfortunately shows that strong, intelligent and successful leaders rarely find competent people to replace them effectively, unless they are democratically elected. Democratic institutions and independent courts on the other hand provide stability, fairness and balanced opinions that reflect a united and strong country.

The Value of Neighbours and Resilience • The original EU Foreign Policy strategy – ENP – was created in 2004, when the world looked very different. In 2014, the EC and its President Jean-Claude Juncker decided to make foreign policy a top priority for the EU. Federica Mogherini was selected as the 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 the Eastern/Eurasian region. The ENP consists of 16 neighbouring countries¹ 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.²

EU Foreign Policy is unique from a historical perspective. This is because it combines all 28 EU countries’ individual foreign policies into one single policy. That means that sometimes Sweden or Lithuania have more to say, while on other times Austria or Portugal have more impact. Because the EU’s foreign policy is so young (less than 30 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 and military power defines everything. Instead, Europe thinks about universal and newer generation priorities for the 21st century. These priorities include trade, traveling, people-to-people communication, the environment, smart cities, robotics, digital innovation, conflict-prevention and citizen’s well-being. In many ways, the EU has learnt from its own colonial past

1 Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territories, Syria and Tunisia.

2 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 > [Accessed 5 December 2019].

“ Because the EU’s foreign policy is so young, 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 ”

“ 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 ”

“ Resilient countries are the best partners for Europe because they are democratic, socio-economically strong and capable of managing problems. This makes these societies less vulnerable to conflict and instability – which also means more safety for Europe, because of their shared geography ”

and mistakes committed by traditional and aggressive superpowers. That is why Europe today wants to support its geographical neighbours as equal partners. The aim is to give neighbouring countries, including Turkey, the skills and support to create a better and more sustainable condition for peace, stability 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, socio-economically strong and capable of managing problems. This makes these societies less vulnerable to conflict and instability – which also means more safety for Europe, because of their shared geography. **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.**

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 and foreign intervention. It aims for peace and security by strengthening its capacity on defence, cybersecurity, energy, counter-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. The EU new Multiannual Financial Framework budget for foreign policy accounts for over €70 billion. Currently, such funds target resilience through development and good governance, 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).³ Fifth, the EU remains a global defender of international rules and institutions. The logic behind this policy is simple: through international institutions, 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).⁴

From Economic Relations to the Promotion of Values • The EU’s Foreign Policy is a way for the EU to export its values and peace project abroad, based on its own history of multiculturalism, peace and innovation. In fact, Article 21§2 of the Treaty on EU stipulates the following:

“The Union shall define and pursue common policies and actions, and shall work for a high degree of cooperation in all fields of international relations, in order to: a) safeguard its values, fundamental interests, security, independence and integrity, b) consolidate and support democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the principles of international law; c) preserve peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security [...].”

Based on these considerations, the EU integration process is twofold: one political and one economic. The political approach first included the plan for a European

³ European External Action Service, “A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy” (2016), p.9

⁴ European External Action Service, “A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy” (2016), p.10

⁵Treaty on the European Union (TEU), Article XI§2. Available from: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:EN:PDF> [Accessed 4th December 2019]

“ The EU faces a series of external threats today ”

“ It’s easier, more efficient and cheaper if 28 countries pool together defence spending, compared to one country doing the same ”

Defence Community (EDC) which was rejected by the French National Assembly in 1954. This refusal of ratification led to the plan for a European Political Community, which was also abandoned. One explanation behind this distrust is that, at the time, EU countries wanted to keep their sovereignty and didn't face the same global challenges as today. The economic choice of integration was considered as a great alternative, since political commitment was lower. The establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958 paved the way for the so-called “European Union”. By then, economic ties and exchanges became the drivers of the peace process.

European Army? • While the EU does not have an army, it is developing stronger defence cooperation and research, based on EU Member States' military capacities. In recent years, the EU has outlined a few initiatives that would provide more resources and support the development of capabilities in the field of defence, including military co-development and procurement. 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 Maastricht Treaty from 1992, which allows for increased EU military cooperation and defence coordination for peaceful purposes. 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, a changing Transatlantic security architecture (relationship to the US), Russian disinformation and physical warfare (e.g. Ukrainians, Georgians and Tatars), as well as technological competition, unfair trade practices, and the threat of sanctions on Iran by the US (which will affect Turkey, Russia, China and the EU). These new threats have pushed the EU to develop two important and effective countermeasures in order to protect itself: 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 (it's easier, more efficient and cheaper if 28 countries pool together defence spending, compared to one country doing the same). A PESCO secretariat will help all EU countries (and potential non-EU partner countries) coordinate and suggest new PESCO projects. These range 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 Hubs⁶. Apart from PESCO, the new EDF is also helping to shape EU foreign and defence policy. The fund will place the EU among the top four defence research and technology developers. 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 for peaceful and defensive-only purposes. 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.



⁶ <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-6393-2018-INIT/en/pdf> [Accessed 4 December 2019]



| 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

“ New disruptive technologies, like Blockchain, will positively impact social policy, democracy, and civil society across the EU and its Eurasian neighbours ”

“ Robotic technology and renewable energy helps produce quality products at lower prices ”

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 many 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 explains technology and privacy with an emphasis on the EU's digital policy, including factors that influence and improve digital, economic and social development. The chapter also touches on the importance of privacy protection and how new disruptive technologies, like Blockchain, will positively impact social policy, democracy, and civil society across the EU and its Eurasian neighbours.

The world is changing • Technological development is often driven by private-sector market innovation and government support. This applies 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.”¹

Nearly all economic sectors in 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 (e.g. AirBnB) have totally changed tourism and mobility. The quaternary economic sector comprising of entertainment, information and research also exists because of new technology. The interaction between people and software technology is significant in practically all economic sectors today with an exponential growth-rate. A simple example are mobile phone or tablet apps. A more meaningful example is how health and data privacy is likely to determine everyone's future, anonymity and well-being. This trend is reflected in democratic government's policy making, as citizens start understanding the real value of consumer data and how it can be easily exploited by dishonest politicians and monopolistic companies. It is no coincidence that Phillips, the Dutch company,

¹ 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 5 Dec 2019].

is leading the way in providing citizens ownership and transparent data for millions of people. This is because of citizens and associations that work to maintain pressure on the Dutch and EU governments (and thereby also companies) to make rules that truly benefit citizens and respect their rights, health and privacy.

“ This is because of citizens and associations that work to maintain pressure on the Dutch and EU governments to make rules that truly benefit citizens and respect their rights, health and privacy ”

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 into the 21st century. These sectors have helped develop the fastest growing wave of highly innovative companies from countries like Lithuania, Finland and Malta. According to the 2019 Innovation Scoreboard, Sweden continues to top Europe's innovation ranking in all sectors, while Denmark scores highest in terms of human resources and innovative-friendly environment. 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 development/technology, non-hierarchical societies and skilled human capital.

Today, there are several Silicon Valleys in Europe. The Berlin start-up ecosystem is distinguished by its creativity, attractive lifestyle, diversity in talents and high presence of local companies. It also relies a lot on European and non-European young talents. Paris is one of the European leaders when it comes to tech start-ups as it gathers rapidly growing companies specialised in many areas. It aims to create the largest start-up incubator in the world, with many companies already transferring their headquarters to France due to Brexit. In recent years, the Lisbon's start-up ecosystem has flourished and is becoming a huge attraction for large tech conferences. Local development, university research, tech transfer and synergies between start-ups, academics and investors are key elements to make successful hubs, due to the transfer of ideas and entrepreneurial cooperation.

“ The Berlin start-up ecosystem is distinguished by its creativity, attractive lifestyle, diversity in talents and high presence of local companies. It also relies a lot on European and non-European young talents ”

Disruptive Technologies: An opportunity for SMEs • A disruptive technology is an innovation that significantly reshapes how consumers, business or even society operates. It replaces the traditional systems or habits as its characteristics are recognizably superior for society. Disruptive technologies like “Blockchain” are catalysts for change in society. In fact, such technologies are key drivers for societal and economic change and push towards a more inclusive digital transformation and transparent society. Digital Innovation Hubs (DIHs) accelerate SMEs' adoption of digital innovations into their existing business models. The EU works towards to support the digitalisation process of SMEs in the following ways:

★ In October 2019, the EU launched the first programme dedicated to the digitalisation of SMEs across Europe. It offers the possibility for SMEs to apply for microloans and economic support. It provides public financing to national banks and proposes subsidized loans to companies for up to 150,000 euros to develop new business. This programme also allows SMEs to purchase copyrighted programmes to use professionally. Sometimes SMEs cannot foresee the benefits of digitalisation because they don't fully understand “how digital the future is”. It is undeniable that across Europe, SMEs are the engines of growth and employment, which is the main reason why this programme is SMEs-oriented and why they target digitalisation.

“ Blockchain helps to control your data and privacy ”

★ **InnovFin:** InnovFin is an European Investment Bank (EIB) programme which focuses on innovation. It offers loans, guarantees, equity investments and advisory services. This programme deals with larger companies and investments to promote innovative investment.

★ **Startup Europe:** Startup Europe is an initiative launched in 2011 by the European Commission. It acts as a bridge between start-ups, innovation and finance. It is designed to connect start-ups, digital systems, investors, entrepreneurs, corporates

“ Authorities have installed hundreds of thousands of cameras across China and have created the social identity card, which tracks many of people’s daily lives. ”

“ The EU’s GDPR guarantees that such privacy demands are respected and put pressure on multinationals and companies to respect consumer privacy ”

and universities through multiple networks and enhance start-ups’ capacities to invest in other markets. Startup Europe’s has two main objectives. First, to remove barriers to scaling up in the single market with ecosystem building projects and second, to enhance the start-up ecosystem by connecting clusters and peoples across Europe. This initiative was able to mobilise tech-entrepreneurs and help make their voices heard in the EU policy-making process.

Start-up summits are expanding across Europe and their main objective is to facilitate networks and facilitate new and innovative exchanges of ideas between EU and non-EU (neighbours) start-ups and innovators. For start-ups that are at an early stage, it is important to take ‘business success stories’ into consideration. “Slush” is the biggest start-up conference and it takes place in Helsinki (Finland) and gathers up to 25.000-30.000 people aiming to address the importance of Digital Europe. It is a forum for investors, venture capitalists and start-ups namely from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Nordic countries, the current leaders in the digital sector.

Blockchain • Blockchain and Distributed Ledger Technologies (DLT) offer alternatives from Google, Facebook, and Microsoft. They specifically have a great added value for the European industry and citizens from anywhere around the world who believe in privacy. They allow start-ups and larger companies to benefit from trusted, transparent, decentralised and user-centric digital services. From these initiatives can emerge new business models which could stimulate sustainable economic growth. Blockchain is an important technology and it revolutionises the way we use the Internet. It allows people and organisations to reach agreement on and permanently record transactions and information in a transparent way without a central authority. Back in 1999, the Internet was completely different as it started as a decentralised network of notes. The first networks were made by academics. Today, we are dominated by “platform economies”, which is economic and social activities facilitated by platforms like Facebook, Apple, Google. These platforms give a lot of power to multinational companies and take away authority from citizens. With Blockchain, a decentralized mechanism is in place that enables Internet users to trust different sources. First, Blockchain has multiple uses and is defined as an incorruptible digital ledger of economic transactions that can be programmed not only to record financial transactions, but virtually anything of value. It is an extremely powerful instrument which can be used for payments and online transactions. For example, the United Nations Food Programme is using it to provide direct funds to refugees in Jordan since these people don’t have bank accounts. With Blockchain, they are paid with crypto-currencies (e.g. Bitcoins) and can therefore buy their goods easily. Second, it allows the traceability of funds and provides a stamp on any transaction. Third, Blockchain helps to control your data and privacy. As for the context of the establishment of Blockchain, it all started with an EU-Blockchain Observatory Forum. This is a think tank that does research on this particular subject. Thousands of organisations have participated in that forum with the goal of accelerating Blockchain innovation and the development of the Blockchain ecosystem within the EU. This initiative highly contributed in cementing Europe’s position as a global leader in this transformative new technology. Second, with the European Parliament, a European Blockchain Partnership Programme started: each of the member states besides Croatia has signed the partnership at the highest level, which enables them to contribute in building Blockchain for public and citizen services. Third is the creation of International Association for Trusted Blockchain Applications. It is a global programme with partners from around the world that meet in a multi-stakeholder event in which start-ups or policy-makers discuss regulatory issues. For instance, the government of Malta is one of the first countries that have developed regulations on Blockchain. The reason why Blockchain should be used is that it ensures more and better trust, while being able to fight corruption for example.

Artificial Intelligence (AI) • A huge gap exists between North America, Asia and Europe in terms of investments in AI. Overall, the financing market in Europe is approximately five times smaller than in the US. Also, while China invests approximately 17-18 billion euros into AI, the US invests around 23-25 billion euros.

“ The EU is increasing its support for digital transformation among its Member States and Neighbourhood, and accession countries like Turkey ”

The Chinese case is particular as platforms like Google, YouTube or Amazon are banned. What China has done successfully is building its own platform: Alibaba. The other issue is about surveillance in China. Authorities have installed hundreds of thousands of cameras across China and have created the social identity card, which tracks people's daily lives. They are able to trace a person and even to know what they order online, where they travel and what their online search history looks like. China is also very proactive in engaging in bitcoin and created huge computer centres that do "bitcoin mining". By now, Europe has developed the "EU AI and Blockchain Investment Fund". This fund aims at financing the development of highly innovative AI and Blockchain companies in order to establish an EU-wide innovation ecosystem. This initiative is run by the European Investment Fund and 100 million euros will be available by 2020 to support companies operating in this sector that try to promote AI and Blockchain. AI is changing the world and everyone is increasingly affected by it. The question is how to use it successfully, and in a way that benefits citizens, instead of simply controlling them. The European Commission has a high-level expert group on AI and created ethical standards and guidelines on how to use AI and for which purposes. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) has become very important in this respect. Many companies are relocating to Europe because of the new EU laws that protect citizens' privacy, known as GDPR. More consumers today – especially among young people – demand that apps or social media companies like WhatsApp, Instagram or Facebook respect their privacy demands. The EU's GDPR guarantees that such privacy demands are respected and put pressure on multinationals and companies to respect consumer privacy.

The digital revolution is extremely complex and can only be tackled globally. A common approach and a digital single market is absolutely crucial to be able to ensure competitiveness on a global scale. It is important to underline that the EU and its Member States are trying to find an alternative direction to the Chinese and United States (US) model of privacy and technology. The EU tries to work closely with neighbouring countries and partners in order to co-fund and identify the key future- technologies for investment. It also aims to focus on technologies that promote democracy, citizens' rights, societal well-being, environmental support and efficiency. Strategic investments are being made in "fifth generation" telecommunication systems, also known as 5G, which will play a very critical role in our future societies and economies. Europe has taken significant steps to lead global developments towards this strategic technology, as can be seen by the return of European global telecommunications players like Ericsson and Nokia. The EU is increasing its support for digital transformation among its Member States and Neighbourhood, and accession countries like Turkey, in the coming years in order to boost infrastructure investment. In turn, this will help to support new digital champions and businesses digitalisation while establishing a solid regulatory framework in areas of AI technology and cybersecurity². The developments of expensive, globally competitive and highly innovative technology are only possible due to the fact that EU countries share budgets for such large-scale and long-term investment projects.

² European Parliament BRIEFING : EU POLICIES DELIVERING FOR CITIZENS, "DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION" (JUNE 2019). Available from: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/633171/EPRS_BRI\(2019\)633171_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/633171/EPRS_BRI(2019)633171_EN.pdf) [Accessed 3rd December 2019]



| EU Funding Opportunities |

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

Robert A. Rice Jr. (author)

“ This is usually reserved for start-ups, Small and Medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) or traditional companies ”

“ All the projects have an opening date and a certain deadline to apply ”

About • Turkish citizens are eligible to receive funding from the European Union (EU) 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 important opportunities. This chapter looks at EU funding instruments available to Turkish citizens, organisations and companies. 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/grants. 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 or graphic design. 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 or civil society 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', '3rd Health Programme', 'Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund', 'Consumer Programme', 'Erasmus + Programme', 'EU External Action', 'Internal Security Fund Borders and Visa', 'Pilot Projects and Preparatory Actions', 'Programme for the Competitiveness of Enterprises and SMEs', 'Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme', and the 'Union Civil Protection Programme'.¹

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/women of possible contracts. In the database it is easy to distinguish between calls for tenders and calls for proposals through search filters. It also filters easily the submissions into three categories: forthcoming, open and closed. All the projects have an opening date and a certain deadline to apply.²

When applying for EU tenders and calls for proposals it is important to remember that the process is competitive. Once a proposal has been submitted, the EC inspects whether the project idea is admissible and eligible. It is important to have

¹ "Calls for proposals by EU Programme", European Commission, <<https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/home>> [Accessed 4 December 2019].

² "Search Funding & tenders", European Commission, <<https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/topic-search>> [Accessed 4 December 2019].

“ 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”

“ IPA targets both institutions and individuals with the hope of creating societal and economic improvements ”

“ The total budget every year is €300 million ”

a well-balanced project: it needs to have one objective, one or two outputs, and deliverables have to be quantifiable. 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.³

Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) • IPA is a financial instrument (European budget) which has been created specifically for candidate countries like Turkey. The logic of the instrument is linked to the goal that it is meant to achieve: candidate countries are trained in the use and allocation of funds in preparation of becoming full members of the European Union (EU). The rules and the limits imposed by the regulations and the directives of the EU need to be respected. Turkey goes through the same financial rules, timeline and accountancy as normal EU Member States would operate, which has allowed Turkey to develop new administrative and budgetary skills. Importantly, the funds can be provided through direct or indirect management. Direct management means that the EC manages the funds through the EU Delegation in Turkey. Funds are managed indirectly when the national authorities, Turkish ministries for example, manage EU funds independently of the EU's control. The long-term objective for the EU is always to entrust the accession country with the maximal amount of budgetary and funding responsibility. Before entrusting the accession country with funds, important institutions have to be set up first: a Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU), a National Authorising Office, and operating structures. The Turkish CFCU was created to manage the responsibility of financial programming. It is the contracting authority for such funds and they regularly publish Calls for Proposals (grants) and Procurement notices for tenders. The content of the project is not necessarily decided by CFCU, as it serves more as a technical partner. While the funding is managed by CFCU, there is an aligned ministry (Turkish) responsible for specific sectors but It is also possible that some activities might not fall under a sector or a ministry. On the ground, local authorities see the needs and prepare the Call for Proposals. IPA targets both institutions and individuals with the hope of creating societal and economic improvements. There are substantial funds dedicated to activities that can impact individuals and small companies with the hope of aligning candidate countries like Turkey with the EU's living standards and regulations.

The programming of IPA is based on the Indicative Country Strategy Paper. The choice of topics is based on what is considered relevant at that moment and year. Projects aren't necessarily set in stone, but they become prioritised because of an emergency or specific interests of a ministry. The sectors in the programming are the following: democracy and governance, rule of law, fundamental rights, judiciary, home affairs, environment, climate change, energy, transport, competitiveness, innovation, agriculture, rural development, education, employment, social policies, territorial and regional cooperation. The instrument's broad range of sectors helps accession countries develop the know-how and skills to work on European funds. At the same time, the idea is not just to cover all sectors, but also to use these funds in order to trigger much-needed reforms. In other words, they help to better align the Turkish legal framework to EU laws and support capacity-building in order to meet the benchmark for Turkish accession and improved socio-economic development.

Instrument For Pre-Accession Assistance For Rural Development (IPARD) • IPARD focuses on rural areas and the agri-food sector, while allocating agricultural funds to Turkey, managed by the European Commission's Directorate General

³“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 > [Accessed 5 December 2019]

(DG) for Agriculture. The agency for rural development was set up to manage 95 percent of the funds. It is responsible for calls of proposals and it manages and designs the projects. This unique approach is based on the previous experiences concerning agriculture in EU Member States. DG Agriculture is one of the oldest areas of the EC. It is an important programme because it includes a wide spectre of beneficiaries (farmers and agricultural producers), selected in agreement with the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture.

“ The initiative has the ambition to make the EU a world leader in science performance ”

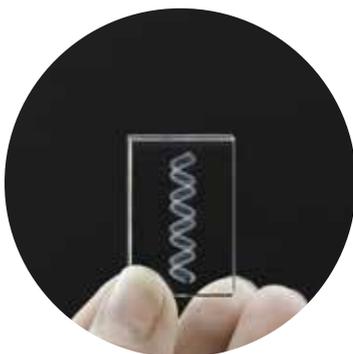
“ This gives funds to entrepreneurs and start-ups to put a product on the market by building the necessary commercial architecture and by finalising the product development ”

Foreign Policy Instrument (FPI) • FPI is an EC service that was created in 2011. The reason why FPI was created is because the EU’s diplomatic service, European External Action Service (EEAS), cannot handle all funding on its own. Instead, they decided to create a small service that manages funding for projects linked to emergency threats. FPI covers different instruments, including the famous Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP). The financial service is also in charge of election observations and European sanctions and regulatory policy. FPI is based in Brussels, but they also work with regional colleagues at the EU Delegation in Ankara and the Middle Eastern regional service in Beirut.

IcSP is considered to be the “speedboat” of EU external funding. Contrary to other instruments, the programming is not done one year in advance. The instrument is developed to respond to crises on a demand-driven basis. The total budget every year is €300 million. The main envelope is allocated to Ukraine, Syria and Afghanistan, due to their crisis-driven nature. Since it only takes three months to find an interesting project proposal, mobilise funds and sign a contract, it is a very flexible and swift instrument. Within this instrument, it is possible for Member States, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, universities and civil society organisations (CSOs) to work together. However, there are some limitations to the IcSP. First, it is impossible to fund an intervention that can be already funded by another instrument, such as IPA or other EU funds. The second limitation is that projects can only be funded for a maximum of 18 months. Also, IcSP doesn’t work through calls for proposals, but direct grants allocations instead.

Currently, the EU Member States and the European Parliament are negotiating the next Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) for 2021-2027. They are planning to create a single rapid response instrument for all the countries entitled Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument (NDICI), which will be divided into 3 pillars: geographical locations (bilateral cooperation), thematic cooperation (climate change), and rapid response to crises (migration, security). More specifically, there are currently around €32 million worth of projects in Turkey, which are related to migration management, counterterrorism cooperation, civil society and dialogue.

Horizon 2020 • This is the biggest Research and Innovation Programme that the EU has ever created for large-scale cooperation projects and individual scientists. Nearly €80 billion are available from 2014 until 2020, including the possibility of receiving funds from external investors like Innovation Union and Europe 2020 Flagship.⁴ The initiative has the ambition to make the EU a world leader in science performance. It aims to transform cooperation between the public and private sectors by promoting Innovative Partnerships that also support new business and start-ups.⁵ 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. For example, Horizon 2020 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.⁶



⁴ “What is Horizon 2020?”, European Commission, <<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-horizon-2020>> [Accessed 4 December 2019].

⁵ “Innovation Union”, European Commission, <https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/strategy/goals-research-and-innovation-policy/innovation-union_en> [accessed 4 December 2019].

⁶ “What is a Work Programme?”, European Commission <<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-work-programme>> [Accessed 4 December 2019]

“ The EU has allocated a budget of €14.7 billion¹³ to support education, training, youth and sport across Europe, including Turkey ”

Horizon 2020 Framework Programme • This program is part of the development of the SME Instrument. It was designed to support SMEs with innovative proposals during 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 approximately €50.000, which may be spent on risk 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 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.⁷ It completes the business cycle for SMEs and start-ups to get their product onto the market with EU support and assistance.

The upcoming Framework Programme Horizon Europe • It will allocate a budget of €100 billion for the period of 2021-2027. It is based on three pillars: open science, global challenges and industrial competitiveness, and open innovation. Ultimately, the EU wants to strengthen the European Research Area by sharing excellence and reforming and enhancing the European Research and Innovation System. By investing in cutting-edge research and highly skilled people, both inside and outside of Europe, the EU is anticipating the scientific and technological needs for the future.

EU's Erasmus+ Programme • The EU has allocated a budget of €14.7 billion⁸ 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 experience by studying and volunteering abroad and 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 sporting 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

7 "SME instrument", European Commission, < <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/h2020-section/sme-instrument> > [Accessed 5 December 2019].

8 https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures_en [Accessed 5 December 2019]

9 "Erasmus+", European Commission, < https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus-plus_en > [Accessed 4 December 2019].

10 "What is Erasmus+", European Commission, < http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about_en > [Accessed 4 December 2019]].

11 European Commission, "Erasmus".

12 European Commission, "How to Apply".

13 https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures_en [Accessed 5 December 2019]

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