

Title: Turkey Joining the European Union

Author: Sigma Colón

Grade Level: 9-12

Subject Area: English, History

Length of Lesson: 2-3 class periods

Introduction/ Rationale:

Geographically and culturally poised between East and West, with strong critics on both sides, Turkey has had a long and multifaceted relationship with the west. With three percent of the country's territory located in southeastern Europe, and long the only NATO member in the Middle East region, Turkey is currently seeking membership of the European Union. As talks on Turkish membership commence, one of the fundamental questions being confronted by many European countries is: how can Middle Eastern culture, specifically Islam, coexist in a predominantly Catholic Western world? As a country adept in dealing with the issue of how Islam functions in a secular society—not only in government but in everyday life— Turkish experience has a lot to offer the world at a time when this question is critical in the interest of preventing violence around the world. By researching Turkish candidacy of the European Union, students will get a chance to examine some aspects of Turkish culture and identity, discuss current issues affecting its candidacy, and articulate an informed position on the issue.

Objectives:

Following the successful completion of this lesson, the student will be able to:

- Identify the main arguments for and against Turkey joining the European Union
- Analyze the evidence and claims concerning each argument
- Understand how aspects of Turkish culture and identity relate to Turkey's current position concerning the EU
- Write a well-researched persuasive paper discussing Turkey's candidacy for the EU

Arizona State Standards:

Reading Strand 3: Comprehending Informational Text (Grades 9-10)

Concept 1: Expository Text, **PO 4:** Organize information from both primary and secondary sources by taking notes, outlining ideas, paraphrasing information; and by making charts, conceptual maps, learning logs and/or timelines for a research document or other assigned tasks.

PO 8: Support conclusions drawn from ideas and concepts in expository text. **(Grades 11-12)**

Concept 1: Expository Text **PO 2:** Determine the accuracy and truthfulness of one source of information by examining evidence offered in the material itself and by referencing and comparing the evidence with information available from multiple sources.

Writing Elements Strand 2: Concept 1: Ideas and Content (High School)

PO 1: Maintain a clear, narrow focus to support the topic. **PO 2:** Write with an identifiable purpose and for a specific audience. **PO 3:** Provide sufficient, relevant and carefully selected details for support. **PO 4:** Demonstrate a thorough, balanced explanation of the topic. **PO 5:** Include ideas and details that show original perspective and insights.

Strand 3: Writing Applications, Concept 4: Persuasive (High School). **PO 1:** Write a persuasive composition.

Strand 3: Writing Application, Concept 6: Research (High School). **PO 1:** Write a research product.

Resources and Materials:

- Historical background
- Articles for assigned reading, which may include, but are not limited to the following:
Daruvalla, Abi. “Turkey in the EU? Never!” Expatica. October 5, 2004.
<http://www.expatica.com>

Kinzer, Stephen. “In Turkey, the Novelist as Lightning Rod.” The New York Times. October 23, 2005. Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk: THE WORLD; Pg. 7

Mangasarian, Leon. “Turkey Splits Germany.” Expatica. December 2004.
<http://www.expatica.com>

“Now Make Turkey’s Case: On Being European and Different.” The Economist. October 8th-14th 2005. Pg. 13.

Smith, Craig S. “Turks, Nervous About European Prospects, Turn to U.S.” The New York Times. June 11, 2005. Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 3

“The Turkish Identity.” The New York Times. September 10, 2005. P. 16

Vick, Karl. “E.U. Bid Keeps Turkey on Path of Reform; Goal is Distant, But Pressure Isn’t.” The Washington Post. October 5, 2005. A19

- Argument worksheets for and against Turkey joining the European Union

History:

The Republic of Turkey or Turkey (Turkish: Türkiye), is a bicontinental country that is located in the heart of civilizations. Its strategic location extends from the Middle East (Southwest Asia) to Southeast Europe. The Anatolian peninsula comprises most (97%) of its territory, and is situated between the Black Sea on the north and the Mediterranean Sea to south and west, with the Aegean Sea (and Marmara Sea) in between. 3% of the country’s territory is situated in southeastern Europe, west of the Bosphorus straits.

Because of its position straddling the continents of Europe and Asia and surrounded by three seas, it has been a historical crossroads, the homeland of and battleground between great

civilizations, and a centre of commerce. Turkey has two European and six Asian countries as neighbors: Bulgaria and Greece on the west; Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan on the northeast; Iran (Persia) on the east; and Iraq and Syria on the south.

The Republic of Turkey is a democratic secular constitutional republic, whose political system was established in 1923 from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire. The origins of modern Turkey can be traced back to the arrival of Turks in Anatolia in the 11th century under the Seljuks. They would be superseded by the Ottoman dynasty in the late 13th and early 14th centuries— this empire would last until 1923. The historical richness of people and the land laid the foundations of the current republic. Even though official history of the state began on May 19, 1919, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's onset of the Independence War, the issues and unique answers of the republic's history can be better understood by looking at the Ottoman Empire, the spirit of people who fought to build the state, and the history of the land (Anatolia) that unites everything on it.

Because of different historical factors playing an important role in defining a Turkish identity, the culture of Turkey is an interesting combination of clear efforts to be "modern" and western European, combined with the necessity felt of maintaining their religious and historical values.

Turkey is a member of the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Turkey became a member of NATO in 1952, making it the first and only Muslim country to be a NATO member. Turkey is a member of the OECD, the Council of Europe, and OSCE.

Turkey is currently seeking membership of the European Union. December 17th 2004 marked the official opening of talks for the accession of Turkey to the European Union. On October 03, 2005, The European Union and Turkey announced in Luxembourg a negotiating framework that will allow formal talks on Turkish membership of the EU to begin. On October 20, the first round of talks began with the Science and Technology sub-heading. It is estimated that Turkey's full membership into the bloc will take 10-15 years. Turkey will be the only predominantly Muslim country to be part of the European Union.

Turkey has been part of the EU-Turkey Customs Union agreement since January 1, 1996 allowing goods to travel between the Turkey and European Union member states without customs restrictions, although it crucially stopped short of lifting restrictions in such areas as agriculture.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey>

Activities and Procedures:

Day One:

- Give students historical background concerning Turkey's unique physical and political place in world affairs, leading into a discussion on Turkey joining the European Union. (See attached history by wikipedia.org as an optional resource.)
- Have students read articles about Turkey joining the European Union and fill out the argument worksheets for and against the topic using the source materials. (See attached articles as optional resources.)

Day Two:

- Begin by addressing any questions, reactions, opinions students have about the reading.
- Facilitate discussion concerning Turkey joining the EU while students take notes. The following questions can be used as a basis for discussion:

Questions for discussion:

- Where is Turkey located?
- How does Turkey's geographical positioning between East and West effect its candidacy for the European Union?
- How do the charges brought against novelist Orhan Pamuk bear on negotiations to admit Turkey into the European Union?
- Explain the concept of "honor" regarding Turkish identity and how has Turkish "honor" been perceived or how does it manifest in the Western world?
- What do critics have to say about Islam coexisting with a historically Christian society?
- What is your opinion on the matter?
- What kinds of reforms have taken place during Turkey's quest for membership in the EU?
- What reforms still need to be employed if Turkey is to be granted full membership?
- What are some arguments for Turkey joining the EU?
- Who are some of the main proponents of these arguments?
- What are some arguments against Turkey joining the EU?
- Who are some of the main opponents?
- If fully admitted to the EU, how might Turkish government, culture and society evolve?
- How do you think Turkey will evolve if not admitted to the EU?
- Will Turks have to sacrifice aspects of their identity in order to join the EU? If so what are some specific characteristics that may need to be transformed? If not, please explain.
- What do Turkish citizens have to gain from admittance to the EU? What do they have to lose?

Evaluation:

Students write a position paper or an editorial in which they take a stand concerning Turkey's membership to the European Union, and persuade their reader to their perspective using a variety of well substantiated arguments and persuasive techniques. Students are required to persuade their audience using focused arguments in support of a clearly articulated position. Students are also required to do added research on the topic and include at least three additional sources in their works cited, to those provided in class by the instructor.

PREPARING YOUR ARGUMENT FOR

Name: _____ Date: _____ Period: _____

Argument For: _____

Directions: Based on your reading of the source materials, list below the most important arguments, or points of view, used to support this position. Also, list the evidence or claims which support each argument.
~ Remember to cite your information ~

Main Arguments For	Specific Supporting Evidence or Claims
Work Cited:	
Work Cited:	
Work Cited:	
Work Cited:	

Of the four main arguments you have presented which do you think is the strongest? Which do you think is the weakest? Please Explain: _____

PREPARING YOUR ARGUMENT AGAINST

Name: _____ Date: _____ Period: _____

Argument against: _____

Directions: Based on your reading of the source materials, list below the most important arguments, or points of view, used to support this position. Also, list the evidence or claims which support each argument.
~ Remember to cite your information ~

Main Arguments Against	Specific Supporting Evidence or Claims
Work Cited:	
Work Cited:	
Work Cited:	
Work Cited:	

Of the four main arguments you have presented which do you think is the strongest? Which do you think is the weakest? Please Explain: _____

Turkey and the European Union

Now make Turkey's case

On being European and different



AFTER two days and a night of unseemly horse-trading between Turks, Austrians and other Europeans, Britain's foreign secretary, Jack Straw, made bold claims for the deal he brokered this week. The start of entry talks between the European Union and Turkey, he said, marked an "historic day for Europe and the whole of the international community".

His bleary-eyed triumphalism may yet prove premature. But the reverse of what he said is certainly true. It would have been an historic disaster if, 42 years after promising the Turks the possibility of entry, and ten months after giving a definite date for talks to begin, the Union had slammed the door in Turkey's face. That outcome would have been dreadful, both in its direct consequences and because of the opportunities lost.

Among the short-term results, Turkey's impressive but still fragile programme of economic and political reform could have slowed or worse. These Turks—starting with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the prime minister—who have reversed in a European future would have been left bitterly exposed. Worse, Muslims in Turkey and elsewhere would have concluded that Europeans bore a grudge against them because of their faith alone. This would have encouraged all forces, from Osama bin Laden. The response of the EU's leaders in these realisations may yet be statesmanlike, unprejudiced. But it is politics, not technocracy, that will finally decide Turkey's fate.

And the politics will be tough. All the arguments against incorporating the Turks seem obvious and, to some politicians, compelling. The case for keeping the doors open has to be measured through more carefully. The onus is on politicians to convince voters that making western Europe a sort of up-market gated community would be worse than unless it would not protect existing job-holders, or keep desperate labour out, or stem Europe's relative decline in the world economy. If politicians are responsible, they will also point out that trying to toughen the rules unreasonably for Turkey will not make that country go away, or reduce its importance, or slow the pace at which it is changing; it will simply increase the chances that Turkey will evolve in an unhappy direction, towards Muslim fundamentalism or militant nationalism.

The right sort of scepticism

At the same time, politicians should accept that one ground for their scepticism is, in its own terms, perfectly sound. To the delight of some and the dismay of others, Turkey's presence will make it harder for any country or bloc to play a dominant role in Europe. With 6% of the total population, the Turks will hardly take over the Union themselves; but their membership

Laden to the western world's religious far-right, who long for a clash between Islam and the historically Christian world.

It is also true that a chance now exists to achieve something vastly desirable. All sides will benefit hugely if what is best in Europe, including its tolerant, liberal-democratic tradition, can finally come together with what is best in Turkey—including the dynamism of a demographically young nation that makes Europe's heartland seem sluggish by comparison.

But reaching that goal will require hard work and political courage. It will also need a prudent openness to the possibility that somewhere in the process, one or other party (and it could well be the Turkish side) will conclude that the price is too high. That would be disappointing but not necessarily terrible—as long as the EU expects of Turkey only the same as it would of any other applicant.

In Turkey, people's enthusiasm for a European future has already waned in the face of the "rudeness" of potential partners such as France and Austria. How can it be, many Turks ask, that people in those countries do not see the obvious benefits of seeing them as members? If the Turks are to find their way to Europe, they will need to grow in their minds.

For European politicians, the question of many citizens about embracing another large, impoverished country is a hard, intractable fact. In several European countries, the right parties are doing well by playing on fears of Muslim immigration, will deep prejudices to others.

So France's ex-president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, is right to say that an EU including Turkey will be a house grouping them some people desire. The Turks may well wreck things for any state or pair of states which still hope the EU as a whole will act as a counterweight to their own political, or geopolitical, ideas; or that the Union will turn into a super-state with one or two of its current members in charge.

But in fact, these fears have been solved already, and it was not the Turks, or even the party-pooping Brits, who destroyed them. Among the many messages delivered by French and British voters when they rejected the Euro constitution, one was certainly this: that there are still some fundamental questions—such as how to mix efficiency with fairness, or tolerance with responsibility—that cannot be solved by pan-European elites alone. And many would rather see a somewhat looser EU than have choices they either imposed on themselves alone.

So as politicians consider the arguments in favour of embracing Turkey, they might try this case: the Turkish application to be "European but different" may yet give heart to people in other parts of the EU who are willing to participate in the Union, and abide by commonly agreed rules, but not to sacrifice their own nations' characteristics. Such people are quite numerous, and Europe is the stronger for it. ■

Turkey splits Germany

Germany is deeply divided on Turkey joining the European Union, with the question already turning into an issue for the next election set down for 2006. Leon Mangasarian reports.

Germany is badly split on whether Turkey should join the European Union and the issue appears set to fuel controversy in the run-up to country's 2006 general election.

Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder backs Turkish EU membership and has evolved into one of Ankara's biggest supporters in the 25-nation bloc.

"A democratic Turkey committed to European values would be clear proof that there is no contradiction between Islamic faith and an enlightened, modern society," said Schroeder last month.

The Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor underlines that making Turkey an EU member will bolster European security and aid the war on terrorism.

Schroeder also points to economic advantages of a more prosperous Turkey, with its population of almost 70 million being a huge market for German exports.

What Schroeder avoids saying - but remains a clear part of his calculation - is the growing clout of naturalised Turks as German voters.

There are about 2.5 million ethnic Turks living in Germany which has a total population of 82 million. Of these up to 700,000 have so far become German nationals, many of them under a liberalised citizenship law passed by the Schroeder government.

With government support for Turkish EU membership and easier citizenship rights, Schroeder is clearly bidding to make his SPD the party of choice for Turkish-Germans.

The contrast between the chancellor and leaders of the opposition Christian Democratic alliance (CDU/CSU) on Turkish EU membership could not be greater.

Angela Merkel, the CDU leader who will likely challenge Schroeder in 2006, is already turning up the heat over Turkey's EU bid, which she flatly rejects.

Merkel demands that Ankara be limited to a status below full membership which she dubs "a privileged partnership".

At a CDU party congress this month, Merkel linked her rejection of Turkey in the EU to what she termed the failure of efforts to build a multi-cultural society with Turks already living in Germany.

Chancellor Schroeder, she alleged, ignores this problem and is "living a lie" with his support for Turkish EU membership.

Turkey may be geopolitically important, but the problem is that it can never be integrated into the EU, she says. Merkel does not say this is because Turkey is mainly Muslim but the implication is clear.

Edmund Stoiber, the arch-conservative Bavarian premier who heads the CSU Bavarian wing of the CDU, is even more outspoken.

"An out-of-Europe nation like Turkey with its other history and other cultural traditions will not fit into Europe," said Stoiber.

Underscoring the CDU's 'Christian' prefix, Merkel insists that Germany is based on Judeo-Christian values and that these values must apply to everybody living in the country.

She calls for an end to tolerance for Islamists "preaching hate tirades" and says laws should be loosened to allow their expulsion.

Such views appear to be gaining strength in Germany, especially since the brutal killing of Dutch film director Theo van Gogh by an Islamist extremist.

An ongoing survey of German views toward Muslims and 'foreigners' - who in Germany are generally taken to be Turks comprising the country's biggest, most visible minority - shows a growing intolerance.

Almost 60 percent say there are too many foreigners in Germany, according to a poll of 3,000 people by the University of Bielefeld's Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence.

In 2002 the number of Germans saying there were too many foreigners was 55 percent, according to the poll.

Some 70 percent of those surveyed say Islamic culture "does not fit into the west" - up from 66 percent in 2003 - and one out of every three agrees with the statement: "Due to the many Muslims living here I sometimes feel like a foreigner in my own country."

Expressing alarm over the study, German parliamentary president Wolfgang Thierse warned the country's democratic system now had to prove its strength.

The academic in charge of the survey was blunter: "A hatred of mankind is becoming normal," warned Wilhelm Heitmeyer, as quoted by Berlin's Tagesspiegel newspaper.

December 2004 [Copyright Expatica 2004] <http://www.expatica.com/source>

HEADLINE: Turks, Nervous About European Prospects, Turn to U.S.

SECTION: Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 1166 words

BYLINE: By **CRAIG S. SMITH**

DATELINE: IZMIT, Turkey, June 10

BODY:

Zeynel Erdem, a leading Turkish businessman, came to Izmit, a seaside industrial town, to give 400 of his prominent peers a message.

"Don't count on the European Union," he told the crowd after a chicken dinner in a hotel ballroom here. "Look to the U.S.; they're our real friends."

That view is spreading in Turkey, a sprawling land of 70 million people who have yearned for decades to become a part of Europe. With the European Union in political disarray after the French and Dutch rejected a European constitution, and with opposition to Turkish membership gaining ground in Europe, many Turks are beginning to wonder whether their European dreams are worth the effort. They are reassessing instead their relationship with the United States, a relationship that has suffered since the start of the Iraq war.

Turkey's stated goal is still to join the European Union, but the shift in sentiment signals a deepening ambivalence toward the vaunted vision of shared sovereignty.

Just as French and Dutch voters expressed dismay at the increasing European-level control over their lives and worried aloud about immigrants diluting their nations, many Turks are now questioning whether their country should see its future as part of Europe.

Of course, few Turks have bought into the American program for reshaping the Middle East, and relations with the United States lost their pre-eminence during the Iraq war, which Turkey opposed. Turkey's focus shifted to Europe.

But that is beginning to change. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's fence-mending trip to Washington this week played well here. He even won some support from Washington in ending the economic and political isolation of Turkish Cypriots.

In an interview at The New York Times on Friday, Mr. Erdogan demurred on the question of a shift away from Europe. "The E.U. and the U.S. are not mutually exclusive for Turkey," he said.

European Union leaders agreed in December to begin membership negotiations with Turkey on Oct. 3, and the country has done a great deal to make that happen. It has put a new penal code into effect and agreed to sign a protocol extending its customs union to all the newest members, including the Greek-dominated Republic of Cyprus, which Turkey does not recognize.

Yet despite all that, the prospects for Turkey's membership look gloomier than ever. Turkey will

have a larger population than any member country by the time it completes its membership process -- a projected 80 million -- and will probably still be far poorer. More troubling to many Europeans is that Turkish membership would create a powerful Muslim presence and push Europe's eastern borders out to Syria, Iraq and Iran.

Some European politicians have started talking openly about offering a "privileged partnership" instead of full membership, something roundly rejected here. The idea, first suggested publicly three years ago by the former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, has most recently been taken up by German's Christian Democrats, whose leader, Angela Merkel, is expected to run against Chancellor Gerhard Schröder in September. Ms. Merkel's party has stated unequivocally that it will try to block Turkey's membership if it comes to power.

Hanging in the background is the pledge last year by President Jacques Chirac of France to submit Turkish membership to a national referendum. After last month's rejection of the constitution, few believe such a referendum would pass.

Many Turks say they are getting fed up with meeting Europe's manifold demands without some guarantee that they will become a part of Europe in the end.

"Europe is playing a dangerous game with Turkey," said Can Paker, chairman of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation. "It's giving a stronger hand and more motivation to people who want the status quo to prevail."

It is also fueling Turkish nationalist sentiment, which was stirred last month when the European Court of Human Rights ruled that Turkey must give the Kurdish separatist Abdullah Öcalan a new trial.

Some Turks are beginning to imagine a day when Turkey does not need Europe at all, particularly because it gets so much support from the United States.

Turkey's economic output surged nearly 10 percent last year and is expected to grow as much as 6 percent this year. The current 10 percent inflation rate is the lowest in more than 30 years. Foreign investment from the West, slow because of Turkey's chronic corruption, has picked up.

Pekin Baran, a Turkish shipping tycoon, believes that negotiations with Europe will start in October, as planned, but that "it will be a very, very nasty ride." Under the negotiating rules laid out in December, all 25 members have to agree on every point. That gives Cyprus or any other country hostile to Turkish membership effective veto power.

"The pity is that we are convinced that Turkey could have contributed to the future of Europe much more than she could reasonably have expected to get in exchange," said Mr. Baran, from his office overlooking the glittering Bosphorus, which separates Europe from Asia, where the bulk of Turkey lies. He nonetheless maintains that Turkey should press ahead for full membership, in part because the negotiation process itself is valuable in driving political and economic changes.

While there is still strong support for membership, polls have recorded a decline in national enthusiasm to 63 percent before the French referendum in May from more than 70 percent a year ago.

Hansjorg Kretschmer, the European Union's point man in Turkey, warns that without better understanding on both sides, Turkish attitudes could turn quickly.

"Strong support based on ignorance is not good because it can collapse very quickly," he said before meeting Tuesday with representatives of nongovernmental organizations in Trabzon, on the Black Sea. "The key element is that Turkey does its homework and completes the necessary political and other reforms. No one will say no to a Turkey which has become a liberal democracy in the European understanding."

Prime Minister Erdogan, in his Times interview on Friday, said he believed Turks' enthusiasm for membership in the European Union would remain high.

"If you look at the polls, support for the E.U. may have gone down just a little bit, but it is still at 60 percent," he said. "In fact, in the last couple of weeks the situation in France and the Netherlands may have had a negative effect that brought down the numbers, but when the time arrives to begin the negotiations in the fall, I think that these numbers will start climbing up again in support of membership."

Saban Disli, deputy chairman for foreign affairs in the ruling Justice and Development Party, said Europe should not try to project a decision of 10 years from now by looking at Turkey today. "Who knows?" he said, "Maybe in 10 years' time, it will be Turkey who holds a referendum to see if Turks still want to become a part of the E.U."

HEADLINE: In Turkey, the Novelist as Lightning Rod

SECTION: Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; THE WORLD; Pg. 7 LENGTH: 1052 wds

BYLINE: By **STEPHEN KINZER** DATELINE: ISTANBUL

AFTER years of waiting, Turkey was invited this month to begin discussions that may lead to membership in a very exclusive club: the European Union.

The stakes are high for Turkey and possibly even for relations between the Western and Islamic worlds. A legal fight between a Turkish prosecutor and the country's leading novelist, Orhan Pamuk, however, has complicated the talks.

Mr. Pamuk, who was scheduled to receive the Frankfurt Book Fair's prestigious peace prize Saturday, has been charged with making a statement that "explicitly insults" the Turkish state, a crime that carries a sentence of up to three years in prison.

The alleged insult was Mr. Pamuk's statement to a Swiss newspaper in February that "30,000 Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in these lands." He was referring to the civil that raged in Kurdish regions of Turkey in the 1980's and 1990's, and to the massacre of Armenians as the Ottoman Empire was collapsing during World War I. Most of the world considers this to have been a case of genocide, but Turkish leaders reject that label.

The prosecution of Mr. Pamuk is intensely embarrassing to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and others who are eager to show Europeans that Turkey, long a conservative society dominated by the military, now embraces human rights and free speech.

"Our E.U. prospects will most likely be adversely affected by this lawsuit," Mehmet Ali Birand, one of Turkey's best-known journalists, warned in a recent column. "Anti-Turkish campaigners won't let it go. They will use it as fodder for one resolution after another. This will tarnish Turkey's already negative image."

Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul, a leader of the ruling Justice and Development Party, suggested in an interview on Thursday that he disapproved of the indictment. "These are not good things," he said. "Free expression is guaranteed in Turkey. If a prosecutor opens a file, it doesn't mean the case is decided. Judges will decide."

Even a decade ago, it was considered taboo, and was often illegal, to express unorthodox views on sensitive matters like religion, ethnic rights and the fate of Ottoman Armenians. But Turkish society is now racing toward European-style democracy, and the new openness here alarms diehard defenders of the old order, known collectively here as "Deep State."

It is these old-line nationalists, said Mr. Pamuk in his sunny, book-cluttered studio overlooking the Bosphorus, who are using his indictment as a desperate attempt to keep Turkey from modernizing.

"It's a scandal, a shame," Mr. Pamuk said of his indictment. He described laws like the one under which he is being prosecuted as "hidden hammers that prosecutors want to keep in the drawer so they can hit whenever they want." Their purpose, he said, is to prevent Turks from speaking out on sensitive subjects.

When such issues are brought up, he said, the debate is "exaggerated, because taboos are still legally protected here." He added: "When people comment about political Islam or the army's role in politics or what happened to Ottoman Armenians or the way Turkey should treat its Kurds, unfortunately the comment does not appear neatly on the letters page of the newspaper."

Mr. Pamuk said he did not believe that the prime minister, who is leading Turkey's campaign to join the European Union, was behind his indictment. But he did suggest that Mr. Erdogan helped create the climate that made it possible.

"I blame him for his weakness and lack of determination," Mr. Pamuk said. "At the beginning of this year we had a wave of nationalist incidents and attacks on the E.U. project, including some by members of his own party. He did not look the problem in the eye and draw a clear line between anti-E.U. nationalism and the attitude of tolerance. He tried to avoid the subject."

Mr. Pamuk, 53, is not fundamentally a political figure, but he is a stubbornly independent one. In 1999 he refused an offer from the government to become a "State Artist," and he has criticized the government's policies on free speech, minority rights and other matters.

After the international success of his recent books, including "Snow" and "Istanbul: Memoir of a City," Mr. Pamuk has become to many here and abroad a symbol of Turkey's Westernizing ambitions. Last year, for example, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a member of the European Parliament and a former French student leader, told The Guardian, the British daily, that Mr. Pamuk "was one of the intellectuals who made me understand the importance of Turkey joining the European Union. It is so important for democrats in that country. Orhan is not only one of the most important modern writers in Europe, he is one of the examples of the possible modernity of Turkey."

While Mr. Pamuk encourages Turkey's democratization and strongly supports its campaign to join the European Union, however, he also reveres its age-old traditions.

"I have always believed Turkey should be proud of its two spirits, and not try to impose one above the other," he said. "My novels are a combination of experimental, modern innovations that come from the West, and the traditionalism of Persian epics, Sufi allegories and 19th-century Ottoman poetry. We should enjoy the fact that we have these two spirits, and combine them to create something new and rich, something that has never been done before."

Mr. Pamuk said that recent turns of opinion in Europe, reflected by votes against the proposed European constitution in France and the Netherlands, complicate Turkey's prospects for union membership but do not necessarily doom them.

"The French and Dutch referendums showed that voters in E.U. nations are more and more nervous about this enlargement process," he said. "It means taking Turkish Muslims and treating them as brothers. They don't want to do that. Unfortunately, there is a lot of anti-Turkish resentment. And in Turkey, which is getting more nationalistic, people see this and react against it. It makes Turkey's prospects of joining seem harder and harder."

"The E.U. with Turkey is a good project, but both sides still need to be convinced. If we reach the criteria for human rights, democracy and business ethics, then we can join the E.U. with our mustaches and water pipes."

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Final Edition

HEADLINE: E.U. Bid Keeps Turkey on Path of Reform; Goal Is Distant, But Pressure Isn't

SECTION: A Section; A19

LENGTH: 754 words

BYLINE: **Karl Vick**, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: ISTANBUL Oct. 4

BODY:

Turks say they know the negotiations that formally opened in Luxembourg a few moments after midnight Tuesday morning may not end with **Turkey actually joining the European Union.**

"The biggest problem, to start with, is that we're Muslims," said Rabia Yasar, 18, to the nods of fellow students on an Istanbul street.

But even as they downgrade their expectations, Turks still very much want to join Europe, polls show. And keeping that possibility alive nourishes a new climate of change that already has brought a flurry of reforms to a country that had long been almost impervious to foreign pressure.

"It's historic," said Cuneyt Ulsever, a columnist for Hurriyet, a mainstream daily newspaper. "We all grew up with our father holding a stick in his hand to make us do our homework. Without any imposition from outside, Turkey would quickly lose contact with reform."

Even with the start of membership negotiations early Tuesday, the process of Turkey joining Europe is expected to take at least 10 years. In the past three years, Turkish lawmakers have voted to ban torture, outlaw the death penalty, dissolve special security courts, revise the criminal code and dilute the power of a military that three times since 1960 has taken power from civilian governments.

All the changes came at the behest of the European Union, which requires member states to conform to so-called European norms.

"E.U. membership is the means of realizing Turkey's claim of being a democratic, liberal, just and prosperous society," Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan on Tuesday told his ruling Justice and Development Party, which calls itself reformist.

In the past month, as the start date for talks loomed, critics scheduled news conferences to show what work still needed to be done, and Turkish officials scrambled to demonstrate that their country really could change.

With the public encouragement of Erdogan, scholars gathered in Istanbul for the first independent public examination here of the deaths of 1 million Armenians in eastern Turkey during the last days

of the Ottoman Empire. Police lines kept back ultranationalists who gathered to protest that shattering of what was termed "Turkey's last taboo."

Less noticed was the launch of a government program that pays households for sending their daughters to school. The move was aimed at undoing traditions that impede women's rights in the Anatolian heartland.

"If there were only the European side of Turkey, it would be easy," said Ifgenia Minaoglu, in the Katia shop that for half a century has made custom hats for the elite of Istanbul society, who have long considered themselves continental.

Others worry that Europe will bring not only rights and prosperity but also homogenization. "We've been living without the E.U. up to now," said Nadira Canan, her hair tucked under the head scarf that many Turkish women believe Islam requires them to wear in public. "If we're going to lose the values of our culture, then we're better off not part of it."

But the headlines of Monday's front pages, just under news of the E.U. cliffhanger in which Austria nearly blocked the start of membership talks, told of changes already underway: life in prison for a man who killed his 16-year-old daughter because she had been raped, an "honor crime" that a year ago would have brought a lighter sentence; the opening by a state official of a home in central Istanbul for battered and homeless women.

"The speed of reform has increased tremendously," said Meltem Muftuler Bac, who studies Turkey and the E.U. at Istanbul's Sabanci University.

On an inside page, Hurriyet on Tuesday discreetly displayed the front page it had prepared in the event that Austria had prevailed in its attempt to deny Turkey full E.U. membership. The mock-up featured a giant photo of Adolf Hitler throwing a straight-arm salute. "The Same Spirit," the headline read.

At the same time, Turkish nationalists have also been energized by the E.U. bid, turning out tens of thousands of protesters for a weekend rally where Erdogan's government was accused of selling out the country's sovereignty. Turks are raised to be deeply invested in their state, and some analysts predict that mind-set is more likely to derail union with Europe than the country's size, poverty, Middle Eastern borders or even religion.

"Whatever the state thinks, that's what I think," said Arsez Degirmencioglu, 70, outside his clock shop in downtown Istanbul. "I don't have any individual thoughts."

LOAD-DATE: October 5, 2005

'Turkey in the EU? Never!'

Many politicians are hedging their bets by insisting that a positive recommendation by the European Commission does not automatically mean Turkey will actually be allowed to join. But procrastination is not everyone's style: "Turkey in the EU - never!" says Dutch MP Geert Wilders, the new right-wing messiah of Dutch politics. Abi Daruvalla reports.

"Turkey is an Islamic country and as such doesn't belong in the EU. I'd sooner let Australia or Canada join," says Wilders who was thrown out of the Liberal VVD party (part of the coalition government) last month because of his vociferous refusal to toe the party line on Turkey's admission to EU.

Undaunted and unrepentant, Wilders immediately formed the one-man faction 'Groep Wilders', but a poll on 14 September indicated he would win 12 seats if an election was held now. According to a recent NIPO poll, 41% of the Dutch population are against Turkey's membership and 21% for (with another 30% are neutral).

Wilders has also received his fair share of negative reactions. The latest is an unconvincing death threat in the form of a poster on an internet site. The text reads "no vote for this racist." and "six bullets will kill him". It was supposedly put on an internet site by the unlikely sounding "International Stalinists".

The Dutch government, currently EU president, has been extremely low profile on the issue of Turkey's admission to the EU. A spokesman said the Netherlands will support negotiations if Turkey has met the so-called Copenhagen Criteria (a set of conditions on issues such as an improvement in human rights, legal and economic reforms).

Wilders' main objection to Turkey's EU membership is a fear that such a move will increase the number of Turkish immigrants into Europe, and especially to the Netherlands where Turks make up the country's biggest immigrant group (352,000 in a total population of 16 million).

Wilders: "The flow [of Turks] is already too big. Some 30,000 non-Western people come into the Netherlands every year on the basis of marriage and family unification alone! I want to forbid this for the coming five years.

"There is a big problem with the integration of immigrants already in Holland. They top the list in terms of criminality, unemployment, welfare payments, domestic violence... these are just objective facts." And the situation will not, said Wilders, be helped if Turkey is allowed to join the EU. "Let us concentrate on solving the problems with the immigrants already here properly."

Geert Wilders (41) was born in Venlo and has been an MP since 1998 (with a short break in 2002).

He left the right-wing Liberal VVD party — he was foreign affairs spokesman — on 2 September and now forms a one-man faction called Groep Wilders.

His second objection is that Turkey's membership would cost the Dutch tax-payer" even more money. Netherlands is already one of the EU's highest contributors and according to Fischer Turkey's membership would cost 11 billion euros in agricultural subsidies alone!"

Wilders' third objection is that allowing Turkey to join would set a precedent for other non-Western countries to become members: "Before we know, we will have an Islamic EU. I don't want that."

He is also concerned that Turkey will be the EU's biggest member in terms of national population in 10-20 years time and as such (under the new EU constitution) it will have a major voice in forming new legislation. "I don't want Turkey to influence legislation in Europe, let alone in the Netherlands".

Wilders dismisses the idea that Turkey could create a bridge between two cultures, saying that it has no influence and "bad relations" with its Islamic neighbors.

Wilders is unashamedly anti-Islam. Murdered populist Like Pim Fortuyn – a man he is often compared with – he describes Muslims as backward in terms of their political culture. Muslims, he says, must adhere to Western norms and values because these come from a "higher, better, nicer and more human civilization."

Although most Dutch politicians have adopted a low-key stance on Turkish membership to the EU, they are not against Turkish membership in principle. There is some discomfort in Wilders' own former VVD party but this has been subdued by the party calling a referendum in 2016 before a final decision is made on allowing Turkey to join the EU.

But Wilders is not, of course, alone in his opposition. Other, far more powerful political figures have spoken out against Turkish membership of the EU including French prime minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin, Jacques Delors and Helmut Schmidt.

The European Commission is tipped to support opening negotiations in a report on Wednesday and EU ministers are expected to make the final decision on whether to start negotiations on Turkish membership at their summit in Brussels on 17 December.

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BODY:

Next week, the Turkish prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, will address the United Nations here on one of the issues threatening to slow down negotiations to admit Turkey into the European Union -- recognizing Cyprus. But he should also address the question of Orhan Pamuk, the pre-eminent Turkish novelist who has been charged with "public denigration" of Turkish identity.

In February, a Swiss newspaper quoted Mr. Pamuk on Turkey's longstanding refusal to discuss the Armenian genocide and the deaths of some 30,000 separatist Kurds more recently. Mr. Pamuk's remarks inflamed Turkish nationalists, and he left the country. He faces the possibility of three years in jail.

The charges against Mr. Pamuk violate the standards of free speech, one of the prerequisites to Turkey's admission to the European Union. The charges also cut to the heart of Mr. Pamuk's writing. The question of Turkish identity informs his work. In "My Name Is Red," Mr. Pamuk never lets the reader forget the ethnic and cultural diversity of Turkey's past. Nor does he flinch, in "Istanbul," from reminding readers of the "deliberately provoked" 1955 riots that destroyed several non-Muslim neighborhoods in that city. Beneath the notion of a Turkish identity lies a tension, still noticeable today, that has nourished Mr. Pamuk's writing.

It has been about six months since Mr. Pamuk's comments were published, so it is unclear why the charges are being brought just now. Whatever the motive, they are a reminder that one of Turkey's biggest obstacles in dealing with the West is the way it chooses to patrol its own history.