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Druhá kapitola sa venuje nemenej závažnému problému a to je obmedzenie slobody prejavu a cenzúra médií. Nie je tajomstvom, že politický aktivisti, opoziční politici a v neposlednom rade bežní občania kritizujúci vládu alebo jej inštitúcie zažívajú šikanu a rôzne perzekúcie zo strany polície, súdnictva a armády. Tieto posledne menované inštitúcie sú nástrojom na umlčanie opozície a nespokojnosti v Turecku. Takéto nekalé praktiky neunikli pozornosti pozorovateľským centrám pre ľudské práva a iným humanitárnym inštitúciám. Dokonca samotná Európska komisia žiada Turecko o urýchlenú nápravu a nastolenie demokratických princípov a hlavne ich dodržiavanie. Napriek početným prehláseniam tureckých politikov nedošlo k úplnej náprave, čo je škoda a vo veľkej miere aj prekážka v ďalšom zblížovaní sa s EÚ. Skvelým príkladom je Gullen, ktorý bol dôverným Erdoganovým spolupracovníkom a radcom. Jeho učenie oslovilo tisíce nasledovníkov všelikde po svete. Jeho kritika súčasného režimu v krajine polmesiaca spravila z neho vyhnanca žijúceho v americkom exile. Je temer na dennom poriadku, že jeho prívrženci sú zatýkaní a zbavovaní funkcií.

Tretia a zároveň posledná kapitola porovnáva súčasný stav Turecka s kritériami stanovenými v Kodaňskej zmluve, ktorá je základným dokumentom v prístupových rokovaniach. V prvej časti autor analyzoval ekonomické parametre ako napríklad hrubý domáci produkt na obyvateľa, mieru nezamestnanosti, výšku verejného dlhu. Údaje získane z výskumu boli porovnávané z hodnotami nových členských krajín ako sú Rumunsko, Bulharsko a Chorvátsko. Záverečné zistenie bolo šokujúce. Turecko skoro vo všetkých smeroch prekonalo Bulharsko, Rumunsko a občas aj Chorvátskom, čo svedčí o jeho relatívnej pripravenosti na vstup. Na druhú stranu vykázalo značné nedostatky ako korupcia, rodinkárstvo a pretrvávajúci vplyv armády. Bez odstránenia týchto neduhov Turecko nikdy nenadobudne štatút plnohodnotného člena Európskej únie.

Po zhodnotení faktov sa potvrdila hypotéza, že skutočným dôvodom neprijatia Turecka nie sú ani tak ekonomické, ale skôr politické kritéria no najmä strach z islamizácie Európy, ktorý pramení v nedávnych teroristických útokoch v Paríži a iných metropolách.

Neskoršia bezproblémová spolupráca s NATO vzbudila v Turecku silnejší pocit po medzinárodnej spolupráci a možnej integrácii s viacerými vyspelými štátmi Európskeho hospodárskeho spoločenstva (EHS), dnešným predchodcom Európskej únie. Koncom 50tych rokov vyvrcholila integračná snaha a konkrétne v 1959tom požiadali EHS o pridruženie. Štyri roky nato bola podpísaná asociačná dohoda, ktorá dostala výstižné pomenovanie po hlavnom meste Turecka Ankare (Ankarská dohoda). Spolupráca s EHS sa po roku 1974 ocitla na mŕtvom bode. Hlavnou príčinou bola Turecká invázia Cypru a logicky z toho vplynúce ochladenie vzťahov so susedným Gréckom, neskorším členom EÚ. K uvoľneniu prišlo až o pár rokov neskôr, kedy krajina polmesiaca nabrala opäť správny kurz vo svojom geopolitickom smerovaní a docielila zníženie cla na poľnohospodárske produkty na temer nulu. Táto dohoda platila do roku 1987, kedy Turecko oficiálne požiadalo o členstvo v Európskom spoločenstve (následník EHS, a predchodca dnešného EÚ). Prihláška bola odmietnutá zo strany ES kvôli nestabilnej politickej situácii a dlho pretrvávajúcemu násiliu v uliciach veľkých miest. Výrazný posun nastal až v novom miléniu keď Turecko bolo prizvané ku kandidátskym rokovaniam. Zlepšenie politickej spolupráce vyústilo k prijatiu novej ústavy, balíku reforiem a snahe o harmonizáciu s európskymi štandardami platnými v krajinách EÚ. Medzi tie najvýraznejšie patrí zrušenie trestu smrti a väčšie práva pre menšiny. Spolupráca s EÚ pokračuje až do dnešných dní, no po voľbách v roku 2002, kedy sa dostáva do popredia nová islamská strana AKP, na čele so súčasným lídrom Erdoganom, nastáva akýsi ideologický odklon od prozápadných demokratických hodnôt a Turecko opäť zaznamenáva návrat k tradičným moslimským hodnotám, čo je veľkým trňom v oku Európanoch.

Druhá kapitola sa venuje prevažne Kurdom, teda najpočetnejšiemu etniku žijúcemu na území Turecka. Kurdska populácia dosahuje ohromného čísla okolo 40miliónov, z ktorého zhruba 15 miliónov žije na území krajiny polmesiaca. Kurdi sa už dlhodobo snažia o nezávislosť a vlastný štát zvaný Kurdistan. Snahy o nezávislosť boli často potláčané zo strany Turecka a to najmä nedovolenými spôsobmi, ktoré boli trňom v oku zahraničných inštitúcií a zbudili nedôveru aj u samotných Kurdov. Neoprávnené zadržavanie osôb, mučenie a dokonca aj popravy boli na dennom poriadku. Pohár trpezlivosti pretiekol a po rokoch trápenia aj Kurdi začali mobilizovať sily a volali na obranu svojho územia, najmä na juhovýchode krajiny. Situácia eskalovala do vyše dekády trvajúceho ozbrojeného konfliktu medzi Kurdskou stranou pracujúcich (PKK) a tureckou armádou. Konflikt zanechal za sebou vyše 50 000 vyhasnutých duší. Zlomový bol rok 1999 kedy bolo oficiálne vyhlásené prímerie, ktoré s malými incidentmi pretrváva do dnes. Medzi posledné závažnejšie incidenty patria novoročné demonštrácie (turecká vláda ich krvavo potlačila) za podporu Kurskej menšiny, žijúcej v prihraničnom meste Kobané, ktoré bezprostredne susedí s Tureckom. Kobané bolo z troch štvrtín obliehané islamskými fanatikmi z ISISu a bezpodmienečne hrozila genocída niekoľko tisícok občanov, ktorí sa ocitli v pasci. Situácia sa upokojila až po medzinárodných náletoch vedených Spojenými štátmi na pozície bojovníkov Islamského štátu. Táto vojenská intervencia zabránila hromadnému vyvražďovaniu Kurdskej menšiny, no Turecko sa stalo terčom kritiky pre svoju nečinnosť a taktiež otázka tureckého členstva v NATO zostala otvorená.

Resumé:

Bakalárska práca sa zaoberá problematikou vstupu Turecka do Európskej únie. Počiatky integračného procesu Turecka sa datujú od 60tych rokoch 20teho storočia. Navzdory členstvu v NATO a intenzívnej spolupráci s USA a demokratickými európskymi krajinami, Turecko ani po vyše 50tich rokoch nie je členom EÚ. Čo je skutočným dôvodom odmietavého postoja európskych politikou?

Hlavným cieľom bakalárskej práce bolo porovnať súčasný stav Turecka s novými členskými štátmi EÚ, ako sú Rumunsko, Bulharsko a Chorvátsko. Dôkladný výskum ukázal obrovský pokrok Turecka dosiahnutého v priebehu niekoľkých dekád, ale aj odkryl rôzne nedostatky a prekážky, ktoré bránia Turecku stať sa plnohodnotným členom európskeho priestoru.

Bakalárska práca je rozdelená do troch kapitol. Prvá kapitola opisuje vývoj moderného Turecka, ktorý začína zánikom Osmanskej ríše. Rozpadom Osmanskej ríše stráca vtedajšie Turecko značne veľké územia, ktoré siahali od Balkánu cez Konštantínopol (dnešným Istanbul) až po Blízky východ. Ďalšia významná etapa vo vývoji Turecka predstavovala účasť krajiny v prvej svetovej vojne. Turecko sa pridalo na stranu Trojspolku (spolu s Nemeckom a Rakúskom- Uhorskom), ktorý čelil vojenskej aliancii pod názvom Dohoda združujúca Francúzsko, Anglicko, Rusko a neskôr aj Spojené štáty americké. Po skončení vojny v Turecku vládne politický chaos. Početná skupina Tureckej inteligencie a mladých študentov bola nútená opustiť svoju krajinu a žiť v zahraničí. No niektorí odvážlivci sa ani napriek tomu nezľakli a aj naďalej zasahujú do politického vývoja krajiny z exilu. Jedným z nich bol aj Atatürk, neskorší prezident a líder Turecka, ktorý koncom 20tych rokoch naberal na popularite. V roku 1923 sa po parlamentných voľbách formuje nová progresívna vláda na čele s už spomínaným Atatürk. Nastáva nová éra a veľký zlom vo vývoji Turecka. Bývala Osmanská ríša sa začína uberať prozápadnou demokratickou cestou a nastáva zblížovanie s Európou a jej ideály. Atatürk striktné bojuje proti islamu ako náboženstvu a zavádza koncept sekularizmu. V praxi to znamená uvoľnenie prísnych moslimských tradícií, ba čo viac ženy po prvýkrát v histórii upustili od tradičného moslimského šatstva a orientujú sa viac na západnú módu a západný životný štýl. Tento krok neostal bez povšimnutia u európskych lídrov. Postupne začínajú vnímať Turecko ako spoľahlivého obchodného partnera a do budúcnosti potenciálny subjekt obchodno-politickej integrácie. Myšlienky o užšej spolupráci nabrali konkrétnejšiu podobu po druhej svetovej vojne, kedy Turecko zachovalo neutralitu, no ako potenciálna veľmoc na spoluprácu neunikla pozornosti USA a Veľkej Británie. Tlak, a do určitej miery aj strach, sa vystupňoval so Stalinom na čele ZSSR. Turecko vnímalo tento východný segment ako hrozbu pre národnú bezpečnosť a preto neváhalo požiadať Západ o pomoc. Táto vojensko-politická pomoc vybudovala pevnú pôdu pod nohami pre následné členstvo vo vojenskom Severoatlantickom spolku zvaným NATO.

he showed less sympathy towards the European standards and democratic values. He rather made ally with the Russia and its president Vladimir Putin, who is often criticized for the extensive use of force. In addition to this the Turkish society are showing less support toward the accession process, because they do not believe in EU anymore. They feel tired after so many years of hard effort to join the Union. In contrary the EU suggested further democratization as well as the return to the basic Ataturk 's ideology and vision of modern Turkey. Secondly, army must accept the control by the people and the Ministry of Defense. In the domestic policy, Turks has to accept the Kurdish minority and their autonomy and follow the basic principles of secularism in order to get closer to the European Union.

The writer tried to prove that the economic situation of Turkey is not the main reason why Turkey has not became a full EU member yet. As it was mentioned the real problems lie behind the cultural diversity and the recent fear from the Islamization of Europe. What is more, Europeans consider Turks as the inferior human being, due to the cultural and individual differences. Unless these prejudices and barriers have not been removed Turkey will not be accepted as the full-integrated EU member state.

Conclusion:

It has been shown that Turkey has tried to join the European Union many times. The turbulent history, slow development and unstable political situation made the integration process very complicated and unclear. There are many different attitudes and opinions towards European Union. What is more, still today is the Turkey's society divided whereas enter the EU or not. The reasons for the accession of the EU are following: improvement of the economic situation, new working possibilities in member states, decrease of the unemployment rate and free movement of the capital, labor and people. All these positives are very lucrative for every human being. On the other hand the Turkish citizens are feared of losing their Muslim identity and often dislike some Western democratic principles.

Moreover, Turkey as a country is often targeted by the European politicians who are very critical and skeptical about the future of this secular Muslim country. Current public opinion in Europe is against all Muslims and Islam in general. The reasons for that are the recent terrorist attack in Paris (attacks on the Charlie Hebdo's redaction) and the negative image of Islam, presented by the Western Medias. Main contributors to this negative image of Islam are various terrorist groups, like ISIS, Boko Haram or Al-Queada, which are responsible for thousands of deaths all around the world. These terrorists share strict Islamic ideology and are willing to sacrifice their lives in the name of God. Europeans are scared of their power and for their activities blame all Arabs and Muslims. Nevertheless, if Turkey wants to join the European Union has to meet the Copenhagen criteria. It means a positive shift towards the European standards like: improvement of the human right conditions, rule of law and the level of democracy, as well as the improvement of its economy. The European Commission advises to improve and achieve the following aspects (mostly in order to fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria, which are a necessity for the accession to the EU: freedom of thought and expression, freedom of association and peaceful assembly, independence of the judiciary, limited pre-trial detention and improving condition in prisons, the fight against torture and human rights violations...

Unfortunately, the progress is slowing down, due to the Turkish Islamist leader – Erdogan, who is not keen on the idea of the secularism and Westernization. What is more,

private enterprises depend on the state permissions and licenses, which are of course not for free. The link between the banks, private businesses and the state in Turkey has been at the centre of allegations. In addition to this the high level of the corruption has radicalized a lot of the voters, who strongly criticize the current situation. The political parties did not stay behind. They took advantage of the situation and based their own agendas on the fight against corruption. Moreover, Turkey is facing the expansion of the illegal sector, which includes drug trafficking, smuggling of people and money laundering. The main source of the rising of these illegal activities is the unstable situation in the south- east (the region which share the borders with Syria, where is the Civil war in progress).

In 2014 Progress Report, completed by the European Commission, experts claim that Turkey achieved a small progress on the fight against corruption. Moreover, Turkey adopted several laws, which are focused on the elimination of corruption. The same year Turkey set an emergency anti-corruption plan. Despite it there is no general strategy of fighting corruption on the large scale expect from the several progressive laws. The anti-corruption laws are usually used against the politicians and various state servants as the part of the competitive fight.(EC,2014) According to the political activist and economic expert Tom Bryane (Bryane, 2012) Turkey has no independent institutions to fight corruption at the local level. He claims that not only Turkey, but also the international institutions take the responsibility for the current situation, because they do not put enough effort to tackle the corruption. He suggested to send more independent experts, who will monitor the situation and advise Turkish authorities how, when and where to fight the corruption. What is more, he calculated that the GDP of Turkey would increase by 5.6 per cent and its consumption by 8.9 per cent without the corruption.

- The Armed Forces have continue to exercise serious political influence
- No measures have been taken to establish civil control over the gendarmerie
- A protocol allows for military operation to be carried out for internal security reasons without any civil control whatsoever.
- No internal audit of military property has taken place

Also the Turkish military forces are divided about the idea of joining the EU. The army is in favor of EU membership thanks to the economic benefits. On the other hand, the vision of EU membership offers and is often used as a welcome excuse used by radicals and those who oppose the EU or are afraid of losing their power and influence.

3.2.2 Corruption

The next part is going to analyze the level of the corruption in Turkey. Corruption is one of the most sensitive topics not only in Turkey, but also in many member states of the EU. First report on corruption was published in 1995 by the Transparency International an organization, which tries to calculate the level of the corruption in 158 countries all over the world. Since 1995 the reports have been released annually and the main criterion is the Corruption Perceptions Index, shortly CPI. The CPI ranks calculate the levels of corruption, as determined by expert assessments and opinion surveys. It is vital important to highlight that the CPI perceives the degree of corruption from the point of view by the business people and country analysts as well as by some political activists. It is considered that the CPI is quite an accurate parameter. The scores range from 10 (highly clean) to zero (highly corrupt). The Corruption Perceptions Index from 2014 showed that Turkey ranked on the position 64 among 163 countries. In comparison with other new EU member states it is a similar achievement. For instance Slovakia has placed itself on the place 54, Romania on the place 75 and Bulgaria on the place 67 (Transparency,2014).

Surprisingly, Turkey overshadowed Romania, which belonged and unfortunately still belongs to the most corrupt countries in the world. If we compare the actual situation in Turkey, we will be surprised how much worked they did, but still it is not enough to fulfill the strict Copenhagen criteria. There is no secret that the many Turkey's economic problems are caused due to the corruption in the state sphere. What is more, the many

the most problematic and sensitive issue in Turkey. There is a paradox, whereas the army supported the Turkish westernization, the role of this organization is recently under the pressure from the EU.

Since the establishment of modern Turkish state, the army become the major force in state and was (probably still is) an executive organ of many prime ministers and other politicians. Army has remained one of the most trusted state institutions. There are several reasons why it is so. For instance: due to the high level of corruption among politicians, due to the infighting and endless disputes among the political parties and the ideological polarization of Turkish politics. Moreover, the people know, that every time the Turkish army has been involved in the political life, they peacefully returned the power to the politicians. On the other hand army still keeps a significant influence on politicians. Moreover, the political environment in Turkey is very volatile. There is no wonder that the Turkish army took advantage over it. They do not hesitate to use any kind of instrument to keep their power. As it was mentioned, Turkish army is often a target for criticism because of the misuse of the power, violation of human rights. Also the AKP party covers up illegal operation undertaken by the armed forces. According to the US department of State, Turkish army is responsible for the neglecting of human rights in Turkey (Alexander, Brenner, Krause, 2008, p.54):

“Torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment: the Constitution prohibits such practices? However, members of the security forces continued to torture, beat, and otherwise abuse persons regularly, particularly in the southeast. Security forces most commonly tortured leftists and Kurdish right activists. “

The European Union wants Turkey to redefine the constitutional role of the military forces. The legislation should strictly define the rules and duties of all armed forces and coordinate it with those in all EU-member states. For example the military courts can no longer prosecute civilians in peacetime (especially not for the disobedience or discouraging the public from military duty). Another proposal, which later came into effect, was the parliamentary supervision over military. One question still remains. How far have these reforms been achieved in practice? It is clear that the Turkish armed forces are not become a modern military yet. Only a small progress was made during the last decade. According to the Progress Report written by the European Commission (EC,2014):

3.2 Political criteria

The second part of the third chapter will compare the political situation in Turkey with the rest of the EU member states. There is no secret that EU requires to democratize the political system and adopt new laws on human rights in order to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria, which are the basic pillars in the accession process. In fact, there is a strong desire (from the EU) to return Turkey to a West European model of democracy. Turkey had become a functioning democracy with multi-party system, free elections and separation of powers. These facts were confirmed by the Council of Europe in 2004. However, for the European Union, Turkish democracy does not mean the same like in Europe. For instance, the international observers claim that the Turkish democracy does not fulfill all Western criteria and practices and also the human rights are not respected in the way that is common in the West. Turkey is trying to get a full-time membership by the EU, therefore its political leaders promised observance of rules and laws embedded in Copenhagen criteria. According to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, what is a basic European treaty, Turkey committed to respect the principles of the EU:

“The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles that are common to the member states. The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the member states, as general principles of Community law. “

3.2.1 Civil-military relations

Turkey is expected to sustain its process of reform and make the significant improvement in the respect of the principles of democracy, liberty, human rights, rule of law and fundamental freedoms. Firstly, we are going to focus on democracy and the civil-military relations. Turkey has for more than 5 decades a parliamentary democracy with a competitive multi-party system. The character and the number of parties vary from the right-wing DP, the centre-left-wing RPP, various Islamist and nationalist parties to the current Erdogan's AKP party. However, the civil-military relations are still representing

On the contrary disinflation policies succeeded in decreasing the inflation rate. The progress was made thanks to the tight fiscal policy, major improvement in productivity and surely thanks to the strength of the lira. In contrast with the inflation rate the government policy has caused the rise of the energy prices and increased costs for every household. The gap in average living standards between Turkey and the EU-15 has recently increased.(tradingeconomics.com,2014. Ahmet Insel (a Turkish economist) see the situation rather negative than positive. His statement:

“Turkish inflation was produced by socio-political instability and has in turn produced instability. Inflation has performed a regulatory role in the short run, but it has undermined the confidence of economic actors. Social conflicts were avoided but the instability remains.” (Faucompret, Konings, 2008, p. 90)

The last macroeconomic parameter is represented by the balance of payments. According to the Commission the current account deficit has increased during recent years. As the Commission mentioned, the Turkish deficit was driven by strong demand, lower tourism earnings and higher oil prices. On the other hand, the statement made by European economics claims, that Turkey still can easily finance the deficit thanks to its foreign currency reserves (most of them come from the privatization of the national property). Consequently, the current account deficit was driven by higher investment. It should result in enhancement of the export capacity. (Faucompret, Konings, 2008, p. 65)

The following conclusion can be made from the preceding:

- Since 1970 the economy is in bad shape (unstable economic growth, high unemployment, inflation....)
- The main reasons for the bad shape of Turkish economy are: the huge government deficit and lobbying of special interest groups.
- Since 2002 Turkey has experienced a significant improvement of its economy
- The most important tasks for Turkey remain: creation of the new jobs (is estimated that Turkey will need an increase of more than a million jobs annually) and servicing the debt

chronic macroeconomic imbalances. On the other hand, last two decades have shown positive outlook for Turkey.

What is more Turkey has recently set up a new plan to support and stimulate the economic growth. Politicians and economists suggested the further liberalization of the economy. They were mostly concerned with the restructuring of the agricultural and banking sector. In the second step they implemented several institutional reforms to support the independence of the central bank from the government and to create the regular boards in banking, telecommunication and energy sector. The main goal is that these institutions should operate independently, with no government interventions. Turkey, apart from the most of the EU-member states, keeps a low public deficit. For example deficit in 2014 was 33 per cent of the national GDP. For example the Government debt to GDP in Greece is 174.9 and in Spain 97.7 (tradingeconomics,2014)

On the whole the Rate of unemployment represents a more serious problem for Turkey than the economic stability. To be more precise it ranges between 10 and 11 per cent (the wished unemployment rate is 5 per cent according to the Copenhagen criteria). The skill mismatch between labor demand and supply hampers job creation. Unemployment is extremely high among the young people (19.2) (tradingeconomics, 2014). In particular half of the job-seekers are long-term without job, what indicates that they are less willing or less able to find a job. Probably the biggest problem is employment of women (which is often not considered in the statistics). There is no secret that women prefer to stay home and take care about their children or about the household rather than to find a regular job. This trend is linked to the Muslim nature of Turkey (despite the consideration that Turkey is a secular state).

The serious problem is the participation rate and the rate of total employment in Turkey. The total numbers are below those, which were achieved in the EU-25. This is mostly due to the low participation and employment rates of women in Turkey. In addition to this is has to be mentioned that Turkey considers unpaid family work as employment. Economists estimate that only 20-25 per cent of working-age population are full-timed employed and get a normal salary for their job. Due to the increase in the population in working age (one million persons per year), the growing participation rate of female workers and the decline of farming, Turkey will have to create at least a million jobs every year. (Cargoglu, Rubin, 2005)

compared GDP per capita, income inequality, global competitiveness and human development.

2. On the other hand there is a big difference between the new member states like Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Turkey
3. According to the adequate sources, EU membership could strongly help Turkey to develop its economy. What is more, GDP per capita, human development and global competitiveness are bound to increase while income inequality will probably decrease.

3.1.2 Macroeconomic stability

The next part is going to describe the macroeconomic stability of the Turkish economy. The main indicators of the macroeconomic stability are: economic growth, rate of employment, rate of inflation and balance payment.

First of all, we would like to start with the economic growth, one of the most common economic indicators. There are some facts which should be mentioned on the beginning (Faucompret, Konings, 2008, p.82):

- Real annual GDP growth slowed down compared to 2012 and 2011. It is due to the crisis in the estate sector (more houses were built as the demand was).
- The amount of the private consumption and investment have increased in 2013
- The external sector contributed negatively to GDP
- The Turkish authorities reacted very promptly by fiscal and monetary tightening. They were able to drive Turkey out of the financial crisis, which hit the Europe (effected also the entire world) during the years 2010-2012.
- Economic growth has remained quite strong and is becoming more and more balanced

According to the European Commission (an institution responsible for the negotiations with non-member state (also possible to say, with the 3.part)), the prospect for the economic growth of Turkey does not look bad. Nevertheless, the situation in the past was not so bright. The economic history of modern Turkey (since 1971) has been a story of

Another important factor is the UN Human Development Index (HDI), which shows the citizens quality of life. In addition to this the HDI is more accurate than the real GDP made up of the traditional economic figures and factors. The criteria for calculating include: educational attainment, life expectancy and adjusted real income. According to the UN statistics, all EU-member states, except from Romania, were ranked from the 4th to the 58th place out of 177 countries, which were compared according the HDI. Only Romania fell into the category of highly developed countries, due to its position 63th on the scale. What is more Turkey ended up on the 69th place, what creates a question, if Turkey is really prepared for the accession to the European Union. (UN, 2014)

Income inequality represents a serious problem in Turkey. Turkey belongs to the group of countries with extreme inequality of income distribution. People living in the cities earn much more than people in villages or rural areas. These people are living in constant fear of poverty and unemployment. The reasons are following: economic crises, constant migration flow from rural to urban areas and a large number of Syrian refugees fleeing the Civil war. Meanwhile the tax system has proved to be ineffective and outdated. For instance the high- and middle-income groups remain significantly exempt from income taxation. What is more, wealth taxes are insufficient, because the rich people could easily avoid them (Faucompret, Konings, 2008).

Global competitiveness (GC) is an economic factor which depicts the productivity and competitiveness of the country in comparison with other countries. GC includes nine categories, which measure the condition of the economy. Those factors are: market efficiency, technological readiness, innovation, higher education and training, institutions, infrastructure, macro economy, health and primary education. The majority EU members (except from the new members accepted after 2003) are ranked in the top 50 out of 144 countries. Turkey ranks 49, what is a good result. For instance Slovenia achieved 79th position, the Slovak Republic 75th and Croatia 77th. To make the economic comparison more transparent, we have prepared a short summary. During the comparison of the key indicators of Turkey and the European Union we can draw the following conclusion (Weforum, 2014):

1. Compared to EU-15 (former 15 EU member states, before the enlargement in 2004), Turkey still is significantly behind the EU states. We have

3.1.1 Economic policy essentials

Primary, this chapter deals with economic policy essentials and macroeconomic stability of Turkey. Economic policy essentials include several economic factors, which can be compared to the rest of the EU member states, as well as with the EU average. We decided to use following indicators to verify the Turkish economy and social situation: income inequality, global competitiveness, human development and probably the most important GDP per capita. GDP per capita belongs to the most common economic indicators used for comparison of the wealth. GDP per capita is measured in US dollars at Constant Prices

Table, below this part, reveals GDP per capita. According to the tradingeconomics.com, Turkey's GDP per Capita in 2014 was 8716.68. This is a significant increase in comparison with the year 2005, when the economists measured only 6665.31 US dollars per capita. Turkish inhabitation made up of 18 per cent of EU-15 population. Unfortunately, the Turkey's long term increase of real GDP is still lower than the average of the EU member states. On the other hand the average GDP per capita is much better than in the latest EU members, Bulgaria and Romania. (tradingeconomics.com, 2014)

Table1- GDP per capita in 2014

Country	Year	GDP per Capita
Turkey	2014	8716,68
Bulgaria	2014	4692,43
Romania	2014	6072,84
Croatia	2014	10454,48

3. Turkey and the Copenhagen criteria

The Copenhagen criteria are the rules which define whether a country is eligible to join the European Union or not. The criteria require that a state has the institutions to preserve democratic governance and human rights, has a functioning market economy, and accepts the obligations and intent of the EU. The membership criteria were created at the June 1993 in Copenhagen, the capital city of Denmark, from which they take the name. The entire concept consists of the several parts. The most significant are membership criteria, geographic criteria, political criteria (includes democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities), economic criteria and finally the legislative alignment (Faucompret, Konings, 2008).

In spite of the Copenhagen criteria is a written concept, there are still some variances. Most of these parts have been clarified by legislation of the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission, as well as by the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. Nevertheless, some various interpretation or some misinterpretations occur from time to time in current member states.

3.1 Economic criteria

This chapter thesis is going to deal with the economic and political criteria and will describe the current situation in Turkey. In order to meet the Copenhagen economic objects, the European Commission draws out the economic concept, which has to be fulfilled in order to join the EU. First of all, the experts and European economists suggested creation of a functioning market economy. This goal was further divided into following sections (Faucompret, Konings 2008, p 76):

- Economic policy essentials
- Macroeconomic stability
- Free interplay of market forces
- Free market entry and exit
- Adequate legal system
- Sufficiently developed financial sector

Despite claims that the organization has non-political character, analysts are convinced that a number of corruption-related arrests made against the allies of Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan showed an increased political struggle between Güllen and the prime minister. The latest arrest in 2013 revealed the big corruption scandal of current ruling party Justice and Development (AKP) with his leader- Erdogan. It is believed that it was a revenge for shutting down some Güllen's private pre-university schools in Turkey. Erdogan mentioned that Güllen tries to infiltrate the state security, intelligence, justice institutions and overthrow the current government.

According to the statement of Güllen's followers, people of Turkey should vote for those who are respectful to democracy, rule of law, who get on well with people. On the other hand encouraging people to vote for a party would be an insult to people's intellect. (zdroj). Also in an e-mail, which was sent to Wall Street Journal in January 2014, the opposition leader said: "Turkish people... are upset that in the last two years democratic progress is now being reversed. " (Güllen, 2014)

are expensively modern facilitated and English is taught from the first grade. On the other hand his schools were criticized for the unequal treatment of women and girls, for exclusion from administrative responsibilities.

Gülen participated in creation of many institutions across the worlds, which claim to promote interfaith and intercultural dialogue activities. The entire hizmet philosophy has positive attitude towards Jews, Christians and other religion groups. He was probably the first person in Turkey, who started to advocate and defend interreligious tolerance and dialogue. He personally met leaders of other religions, including Pope John Paul 2, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomeos and Israeli Sephardic Head Rabbi Eliyahu Bakshi-Doron. What his more, during his stay in Turkey he openly supported Alavi minority (White, 2010).

On the other hand he does not belong to the progressive and modern leaders. He is famous for criticism of secularism in Turkey. He seems secularism as reductionist materialism. He even believes that the secularism suppress the true principles of Islam. Nevertheless, he is proponent of Turkish integration toward the EU. Güllen strongly belies that both sides (Turkey and EU) have much to offer and gain from the mutual cooperation. According to his statement, “women are absolutely not confined to their home... .” (Güllen, 1998). This statement clearly expressed the support for the Muslim women all around the world. What is more he strongly denied any terrorist activities against the humanity as well as he warned against the recent phenomenon of violence and aggression against civilians. Islam has a no place for terrorism. After the September 11 2001 (that day was conducted a big terrorist attack on World Trade center and over 2000 people were killed) he wrote a condemnation for the *Washington Post* where he stated: “A Muslim cannot be a terrorist, nor can a terrorist be a true Muslim. “ (Güllen, 2001)

The Güllen movement is very powerful organization in Turkey, which has millions of followers in Turkey, as well as abroad. His “pupils” called themselves Güllen’s followers and many of them hold positions in police forces and judiciary. Some foreign analysts even believe that Güllen has many followers in Turkish parliament, in private Bank Asya, the Samanyolu TV and many other media and business organizations. Muhammed Fethullah has become such a powerful person that many politicians and authorities became to feel threatened by his fame and followers.

understood as a dangerous precedence for other minorities or religious groups. This means that Turks will suppress Kurds whatever it cost, because otherwise they will lose its face, identity and the concept of unified Turkey will be harmed.

2.4 Fethullah Güllen-the biggest Erdogan´s oponent

Muhammed Fethullah Güllen is a Turkish preacher, former imam (imam= an Islamic leadership position within the Muslim community) writer and Islamic opposition leader. He is well respected man in Turkey, founder of the Güllen movement (sometimes it is marked as a political movement) and former Erdogan´s associate. He taught an Anatolian version of Islam, deriving from Sunni Muslim teaching. He started dialogue with the opposition multi-party democracy as well as initiated dialogue with the Vatican and some Jewish organizations. Güllen was involved (probably he still is) in the debate concerning the future of the modern Turkish state and the role of Islamic religion in Turkey and the modern world. Some western media described him as a man “who promotes a tolerant Islam, emphasizes hard work and education.” He is doubles one of the most important Muslim figures in the world. In the Turkish point of view, he seems be more religious conservative (White, 2010).

Güllén did not introduce a new theology he only advocates the classic form of Islam with the modern and more tolerant form. His understanding of Islam tends to be moderate. Despite teaching the traditional mainstream form of Sunni Islam, his teaching differs from the traditional in some points. For instance he highlighted a duty of service to the “common good” of the community and nation. It means that the Muslim community is obliged to conduct dialogue with not just the “People of the Book” (Jews and Christians) and people of other religions, but also with agnostics and atheists. His movement (Güllén movement) is an international Islamic civic society movement. The main point is the teaching about *hizmet* (service to the “common good”). This religion movement has attracted a big number of supporters not only in Turkey, but all over the world. What is more he understands the need of education and is a big supporter of the science and development. He stated: “studying physics, mathematics and chemistry is worshipping God. “ (Güllén, 2004) Together with his supporters he has financed the building of over 1000 schools around the world. In general his schools are considered among the best. They

verdict was “for supporting the terrorism and sympathizing with the prohibited PKK, which is enlisted on the international list of terrorist organization). The European Court of Human Rights condemned that the trial against the leaders was unfair and fabricated against the Kurdish citizens.

2.3 Mass media in Turkey

The next point of this thesis is the freedom of the mass media. It is often considered as a sensitive topic for the politicians as well as for the citizens living in Turkey. Restrictions on publishing have a long tradition in the Turkish history. Even today, there are some barriers for the private media, which have to be avoided. Accordingly, television, radio, newspaper, journals, books and other media become a target for the government censoring. They are restricted on their content, which serves to criticize the government policy, glorify the alternative ethnic identities or discuss some taboo subjects. In addition to this, is the role of the military in government, the role of Islam in Turkish politics and society, the issues surrounding the alleged Armenian genocide and of course the Kurdish question as well as the current Turkey’s involvement in Syrian Civil war considered as prohibited topics.(Carkoglu, Rubin, 2005)

Moreover, the strict prosecutions have been and still continue to be brought against journalists, publications or broadcasts. The question sounds, for what? These sensitive topics are seemed as the challenge for the integrity of the state, which might be understood as the form of non-violent expression. Due to the fact that the government criticism is a normal issue in an every modern pluralist, democratic society the situation in Turkey is far more dangerous. The critics are punished, sentenced or even murdered.

The “routine” repression of non-violent expression in Turkey is usually linked to the secular identity and her elevation of the idea of the state. What is more, the high number of the Turkish people shares the concept of an ethnically based nationalism, which denies the existence of minorities. The Kurdish minority is especially endangered. What is the main problem? As it was mentioned above, the Kurds are struggling for its own state or at least for the autonomy from the Turkey. The Kurdish issue is seemed as a treat to the unity of the Turkish state. Also the guarantee of the independence for the Kurds could be

What is more, Turkey's undertaking to pursue "zero tolerance" towards torture was warmly welcomed by the EU. Unfortunately, the policy of "zero tolerance" has meant in practice a different matter. Turkey, as a modern state, is only at the beginning of a long difficult path towards meeting European standards. As the author mentioned, torture was for many years an aspect of Turkish interrogation and detention practices. These cruel techniques were, and maybe, still are, deeply embedded throughout the police forces and other law enforcement bodies. Minorities, journalists and political opponents (mostly in the south-eastern region) were exposed to torture, particularly under Martial Law and the subsequent State of Emergency in the 1980's and 1990's. (Yilzid, 2005)

The democratic values of tolerance and the acceptance of alternative identities and viewpoints are also important elements in the evolution of civil society. Civil society is relatively elastic concept but broadly refers to the "third sector", beyond the spheres of government or business. (Carkoglu, Rubin, 2005) In general, the developed civil society is an element of democratic pluralism and indicates the democratic maturity. Turkey, due to its turbulent development, traditionally mistrust non-government organizations, particularly those which are striving for better protection of human rights or discuss the Kurdish questions. Unlike the minorities questions there is still a high level of bureaucracy in public sphere. Other big problem is the political participation. Although the country tries to run along democratic lines, the country has shown (more than once) to be reluctant to those individuals or groups representing the interest which potentially threatened the national integrity of the Turkish state.

Thanks to the EU integration process some improvements have been done recently. For example, three-fifths majority is required in the eleven-member Constitutional Court to order the dissolution of a party (Kanra, 2009). This means that the political party count not longer be closed for day to day, but only for some reasons stated in the Turkish constitution. However, in spite of all these improvements the fact remains that political parties (non-Turkish parties, which promote other cultural identities) continue to be a target for severe judicial harassment. In addition to this the peaceful, democratic and pro-Kurdish forum has been marked as "separatist" and was forced to close down. A good example is the People's Labour Party (HEP) which was dissolved in 1991. The former Turkish government had feared the party's success, so they decided to shut down the whole political party. The leaders of HEP were sentenced to 15 years in jail. The official

finally a new penal code was agreed in the Parliament and in April 2005 came into effect.(Ahmad, 2002)

It should be emphasized the Turkey's effort to join the EU. Also the EU's politicians evaluated it as a remarkably positive development and agreed that considerable amount has been achieved over past few years. Doubtless, Turkey deserves credit for the steps that has been taken towards a new, more constructive approach to human rights. To be more accurate, Turkish authorities abolished the death penalty, limited easing of restriction on broadcasting and education in minority languages, shorter police detention periods, and the lifting of the State of Emergency in the Southeast. (Alexander, Brenner, Krause, 2008) The eradication of torture was identified as a vital step in the improvement of human rights in Turkey. On the other hand the EU is focused on torture in Turkey and the institution's evident discomfort over the scale of the practice.

“Torture is an act by which severe pain or suffering , whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on person to obtain information or a confession, punish him, intimidate or coerce him, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind.” (Yilzid, 2005, p.50)

In Turkey, torture is particularly used to extract confessions, punish human rights defenders and journalists and publishers who disagree with official state positions, and to generate fear and intimidation among certain communities. Torture is considered by the international community (especially the EU) as one of the most severe violations of human rights. Torture and ill-treatment as well, are prohibited and proscribed by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the UN Convention Against Torture (CAT). (Yilzid, 2005)

“International law imposes specific and onerous obligations on states to take effective legislative, administrative and judicial measures to prevent torture, to enforce appropriate sanctions to punish torture, to instigate a prompt and impartial investigation wherever there is reasonable ground to believe that an act of torture has been committed, and to ensure that victims of torture have an enforceable right to fair and adequate compensation. The prohibition on torture is non-derogable and there is never any exceptional justification for commissioning torture. This includes the citing of political instability or public emergencies as extenuating circumstances.” (Yilzid, 2005, p.52)

to stop the advance of the Islamists. Other voices claim that Kurds are fighting for their own state and represent only their own interests. What is more Turkey fears that Kurds may turn the guns against them one day. Most of these guns and weapons are donated by USA and Iran, with the intension of fighting the Islamists.

2.2 Civil, political and Cultural Rights in Turkey

It has been observed in the first chapter that Turkey was founded upon a militarized, secular, mono-ethnic conception of national identity, which has led into a relatively repressive state with a poor human rights record and considerable hostility towards the minorities, especially the Kurds. Nevertheless, Turkey's accession has been considered as a dynamic catalyst for change. According to the book, the accession was an inspiration for some new political reforms which further democracy, human rights, the rule of law and the protection of minorities (Özbudun, Genckaya, 2009). It is estimated that the Turkey's reform agenda is advancing within a framework of political dynamics which is generally favorable of EU's membership.

What is the real impact of the reform progress? How far has Turkey come in improving respect for human rights? A key question to be asked is, whether Turkey is really changing. The evidence has shown that some progress was made in some areas. The pro- EU reforms started a new era of openness and respect for human rights. It was quite common that those who were regarded as disloyal to the state had to suffer ill-treatment and oppression. What is more, they were excluded from the social and political participation. The main goal of these restrictions was to silence dissent, repress non-Turkish identities and to intimidate those expressing views different from official state lines. This situation generated an important question about the Turkey's future and ability to complete the transformation of the human rights in the country. Only the future will reveal whether is a good idea to begin the negotiations with Turkey and if Turkey is able to fulfill its duties.

The year 2002 was a milestone for the modern Turkish country. Many progressive reforms came into effect and it is a big change after the centuries of hard, ruthless dictators who ruled the country. The reform process consisted of a series of legislative and administrative reform packages aimed at harmonizing the Turkish law with the EU norms and laws. The entire process was completed by two sets of constitutional amendments and

more than 30,000 Turks, among them were many innocent civilians, teachers and public servants.

In its history, PKK did not hesitate to employ suicide-bombing methods. In order to harm the Turkey's economy, the organization focused on the Turkey's tourist resort and started kidnapping foreign tourist in southeastern Anatolia, what is the well-known Turkish region for the tourists. Following the arrest of its leader, Abdullah Ocalan, in 1999, the organization started claiming that it had switched its strategy to peaceful methods. In 2001(after the terrorist attacks on the WTC) the USA enlisted PKK on the list of the terrorist organizations. It means that the economical cooperation and the trade with this organization is strictly prohibited and those who dare to do it can face the serious troubles.

Originally the Turkey's authorities planed to execute the PKK's leader, but it has never happened. The judges chained the verdict and reduced the punishment from the death penalty to the life imprisonment. Turkey was forced to do it, because of the wide international criticism. Another reason was the Turkey's application to the European Union, which do not tolerate such as behavior. According to the Copenhagen criteria for human rights, death penalty is strictly prohibited. Turkish leaders considered it as a step towards the modernization and the accession of the EU. Reducing the sentence significantly helped during the negotiation between Turkey and PKK. Apart from several minor incidents, the peace treaty is valid until now and both sides respect it. Nowadays is estimated that the PKK disposes of 6,000 fighters located mostly in the Northern Iraq, where is the headquarters of the organization (Alexander, Brenner, Krause, 2008).

The cease-fire was broken the last summer, when several PKK's members and Kurds clashed with the Turkey's army and police. The incidents left over 100 deaths, included the Turkish police forces. The Kurds protested against the Turkey's support of the Islamic organization in Syria and against the Turkish hesitation if help or not the Kurdish minorities living in the Northern Syria, essentially the Kurds living in the city of Kobane, which is surrounded by the Islamist fighters from the Islamic state .The aim of the recent Kurdish riots was to give a notice what is happening in the Northern Syria now, prevent from the genocide and ask the Western countries for the military help. PKK (together with other Kurdish militias like YPG and Peshmerga) are training soldiers for the fight against the Islamists in Iraq and Syria. The high representatives of the Kurdish authorities argued that it is only for the self- defense of the Kurdish population living in the "Kurdistan" and

Picture 2- Kurdistan- one of the many proposals as the Kurdish state should look like



2.1.2 Kurdish struggle for the independence

The Kurdish uprising is dated from 1984 to 1999. Turkey launched a huge military operation, which aim was to suppress any attempt for the independence. This bloody operation lasted 15 years and cost many thousands lives, included innocent people too. Kurds saw the action as a retaliation and claimed that many Kurdish communities were dispersed and plenty of the villages destroyed by Turkish army. Some experts estimate that even millions of Kurdish civilians were displaced and tortured. Other side of the conflict said, that Kurds has been seen as a possible threat for the national security and the unity of the Turkish state. The military action was a necessity and protected the Turks living in the border areas. In the late 1970's the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) was established. PKK is widely considered as a Kurdish radical response to the Turkish suppression. Kurdistan Workers' Party was and still is active in the Southern part of Turkey. In 1984 PKK started its armed struggle after a preparatory period of numerous murders and attacks, which the objective of the establishment, through armed struggle, of an independent Kurdistan within Turkey's borders. Since 1984 PKK's violent and terrorist activities resulted in the death of

shepherds who lived nomadic lifestyle. Another feature is their common language, Kurmanji, which is used in form of many dialects. The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European language family. On the other hand, the Kurds do not share a common religion. Most of them are Sunni or Shiite Muslims. Some Kurds living in the Northern part of Syria follow Alevism, an unorthodox form of Shiite Islam (Alexander, Brenner, Krause, 2008). There are still some minor communities of Kurdish Jews, Christians and Yezidis. Many Kurds have fled the brutality of the regimes governing the Kurdish regions. Those who remain on the affected areas try to establish their own state Kurdistan.

Picture 1- Areas occupied by Kurds



2.1.1 Kurdistan

The term Kurdistan essentially refers to the geographical area, though, and also denotes the culture of the people who inhabit the lands. The regimes in Turkey, Iran and Iraq have been extremely against the establishment of the independent state- Kurdistan. At least, they were succeeded in gaining the greater autonomy. It is estimated that 15million lives in Turkey and it makes up around 23 per cent of Turkey's population of 69 million.

2. Negative aspects, limitation and unpreparedness of Turkey

The decision by the European Union of 17 December 2004 that Turkey is to become a candidate for accession means a new era not for the modern Turkish state. It is considered as the great news for the minorities, especially Kurds. The ethnic nationalism in Turkey has a long history and showed many times, that it was only the attempt to repress minorities and create a pure ethnic country with the predominantly Sunni Muslim population. There is no other minority living on the Turkish territory which has been more suppressed and persecuted than Kurds. This part provides a clear explanation of the entire Kurdish issue and demonstrates a Turkish attitude towards the problem.

2.1 The Kurds- the biggest Turkish minority

The Kurds, a tribal people with distinct identity who originate from the Zagros Mountains in northwest Iran, have a history of oppression and abuse. After the denial for the independence in 1920, they were divided between the border areas of Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria. Unfortunately, they had never been accepted as the citizens of these states and never gained the same rights as their compatriots. What is more they experienced the decades of repression, violence and forced assimilation. Turkey as a country was no exception.

The tension between Turks and Kurds is linked to the birth of the new Republic under the reign of Kemal Atatürk in 1923. Turkish leaders were not keen on the idea of a mono-ethnic state, in which everybody has the same rights. There is no secret that Turks were a preferred nation. The increasing tension led to the beginning of the armed conflict and Kurdish ambition for the independence. Situation rapidly escalated in the year 1984, when the government declared the State of Emergency in the Southeast (regions occupied by the Kurds). This new doctrine provided a framework for torture, killings, forced displacement and severe restrictions on Kurdish cultural and political expression, against a backdrop of the ongoing armed conflict. (Alexander, Brenner, Krause, 2008)

The Kurds, who are believed to number around 30 million, are widely considered to be the biggest group of stateless people in the world. In spite of all negatives, they maintained to keep a strong ethnic identity for the centuries. The Kurds have a clan history, they have been organized into tribes, inhabited rural areas and predominantly they were

amendments. Maastricht treaty reorganized the entire EU (former EC). The European Parliament was granted more competencies, Committee of Regions was set up and the Cohesion Fund replaced the existing Structural Funds. In contrast with earlier treaties, Maastricht was considered as the very controversial change, which moved public opinion. In the late 90s EU has realized the Turkish potential and its perspective. Finally it called on to complete the customs union with Turkey.

Turkey decided to focus its European policy on the short-term goal, because they believed this could lead to the full membership. Politicians tried to step up the establishment of the custom union between Turkey and EU. Over again the Turkish society was not unified for this goal and the EU hesitate if they should accept Turkey or not. However, in view of the

tense political situation in Turkey and due to the regional problems, the Commission concluded that Turkey did not qualify for EU membership. Following problems were mentioned: macroeconomic instability, poor taxation system, necessary restructuring of social security, necessary privatization of state-owned enterprises and the need to restructure farming. Moreover, some experts claimed that the real problems were: the lack of freedom, the Kurdish problem and the ongoing conflict with Greece and Cyprus.

Meanwhile, the Turkish society is persuaded that the real reasons for not accepting Turkey as a full member of EU lay elsewhere: Turkey was poor, large and, most important of all, Muslim. According to Prime Minister Yilmaz: "Opposition to the membership did not stem from humanistic, democratic concerns, but only from cultural and religious biases. Apparently the EU only wanted to bring in poor, unstable, former hostile but Christian countries of Eastern Europe" (Andrew, 1998, p.28).

Due to the unstable political situation, Turkey was not able to meet the deadlines and made only a small step towards the integration. When the EEC refused to approve the new Turkish requests, Turkey put off tariff reductions as a part the political pressure. The EEC did not retaliate, but it decided to freeze relations. What is more, Turkey temporarily lost the EEC's trust, especially after its army invaded Northern Cyprus in 1974. This invasion was condemned by most of the Western countries as well as by European Community (EC, former EEC). Secondly Turkey felt disfavored when the EU signed agreements with other Mediterranean countries, mostly with its greatest rival, Greece. During the late 1970s democracy was restored in Greece, Spain and Portugal. In contrast with Turkey these countries made a big improvement in the human rights section, what we cannot say about Turkey.

During the 1980 has changed the political climate in EC. The Single Act was adopted. Nevertheless, it has brought only a few changes, European parliament gained more rights and bigger power. MPs cared mostly for human rights, and human rights are until now one of the biggest challenge for Turkey. Turkish democracy, the role of the military, its secular nature and its ethnic problems were questioned for the many times by the Europeans. In 1985 released EC the resolution for Turkey to restore the relations with EC. It contained 5 main points (Cargoglu, Rubin, 2005, p.65):

- Abolishing the death penalty
- Putting an end to torture and prosecution of tortures
- Ending the mass trials
- Granting Turkish citizens the right to petition on the European Court of Human Rights
- Removing all restrictions on the freedom of opinion

What is more Turkey was strongly criticized for its economic and political situation and the Cyprus problem. Moreover, EC was scared to give Turkey a free access to the European labor market, particularly during the 80s when the unemployment rate remained on the high level.

The year 1989 was a mile stone for the Central and Eastern Europe. The communist dictatorship felt apart, The Berlin Wall was destroyed and people hoped for the better future. In 1992 the EC announced the assignment of the Maastricht treaty and some other

emphasized the need for the further integration. In 1957 established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EUROATOM). EEC provided the unification of trade, agriculture and transport policies and created a common custom union. EUROATOM's treaty was about a common research, development policy and about common investment in the nuclear sector. The EEC gave non-member states the opportunity of "association" and soon countries like Spain, Greece and Turkey were registered on the waiting list (Faucompret, Konings, 2008).

Turkey has seen the many economic and political opportunities association of the EEC would bring. Turkey's politicians thought that EEC would be a strong partner, which helps Turkey to overcome its economic problems. Everyone knew that negotiations would be very tough. In March 1960 Turkey requested the following: (Carkoglu, Rubin, 2005, p.61)

- Investment aid from the EEC
- Harmonization of its economic policy with that of the EEC
- Unlimited market access for its farming exports
- Tariff reductions without reciprocity
- Conclusion of supply contracts in the farming sector
- EEC commitment not to import from third countries if Turkey could supply the product
- Increase of the common external tariff on tobacco for third countries
- Free emigration of Turkish workers to the EEC
- Annual development aid of 100 million (dollars)

From these requests is obvious that Turkish expectations were too high. They wanted maximum assistance from the EEC. Unfortunately, the EEC was willing to negotiate only on trade, financial aid and establishment of an association council. EEC's attitude towards Turkey was uncertain due to the unstable political situation and possible negative reactions from European farmers. Nevertheless, Turkey and the EEC signed the Ankara Agreement, which provided the establishment of a customs union in three stages.

universities without an entry exam and last but not least teacher had to be very familiar with the Islam and its values and ideology. The consequences of AKP's leadership: the creation of the religious middle class in the west of the country, further income inequality, corruption, high unemployment rate, as well as the criticism for the lack of the initiative toward the EU (Karna, 2009). Still today, the domestic political situation in Turkey is very tense and there is no sign that the change comes soon.

1.3 Turkey's accession to the EU and membership in NATO

In the second half of the first chapter, we will deal both the history of the EU and relations towards Turkey. Western countries became for the first interested in Turkey after the Second World War. They felt threatened by the Soviet Union and communist party. Eastern Europe disappeared behind the iron curtain. Moreover, there were a lot of crises all over the world and especially there, where the spheres of influence between West and East were not yet fixed. Countries like Iran, Greece and Turkey. Turkey was afraid of the loss of territory, due to the Russian expansion led by J. Stalin. The Turkish government asked UK and USA for the help. Former US president Henry Truman renounced the Monroe doctrine from 1923, which said, that USA will provide help to every single state, which is threatened by Soviet Union (Özbun, Genckaya, 2009).

Due to the unique geopolitical position and proximity to the USSR, Turkey played a prominent role on the US policy. The American plan was to encircle the USSR with the regional alliances in which Turkey played a major part. Moreover, Turkey significantly benefited from the Marshall aid. Firstly, Turkey joined the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and several months later it was followed by the accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Secondly, many US military bases were established all over the Turkish territory and Turkish army was equipped with US material and officers were trained in the States.

The European states have always liked the idea of the big unified Europe. Politicians believed that only a strong integration or union is able to resist and defend its territories from the Soviet Union and can gain the huge politician power. Again, the cold war affected progress in Europe and both Suez crisis and the Hungarian uprising

the country and every modernization should bring the wealth. Voters liked his thoughts, ideas and supported him in the 1987's election where the Motherland Party reached an overwhelming victory. The goal of the revolution was to shift from the import substitution to export promotion. Ozal was in favor of EU membership and believed in the benefits of the free market and capitalism. This action brought prosperity, created the new class of businesspersons, boosted the third sector. New Turkish policy attracted many thousands of foreign investors and entrepreneurs. Turkey developed the new concept how to attract tourists and how to effectively invest into tourism. Ozal's policy was something between the Kemalism and Islam.

According to Yildiz, the 1990s is called a lost decade for the Turkey. That is why the economic growth stagnated, the parliament was dissolved and Turkey was strongly hit by financial crises in 1994 and 2001. The old political parties came back under different names. Weak government could not solve the problems and created enough place for extremists like PKK and Islamists. The coalition came under fire due to huge unemployment rate and restrictive labor legislation. Many politicians attacked the Turkish secularity, let anti-Israel demonstrations, warned against Turkey joining the EU and paid attention to the Kurdish issue (Yildiz, 2005).

1.2. 1 The AKP party and the rise of Erdogan

The result of the 2002 elections shocked the entire Turkish population. The traditional centrist parties were replaced by the new one, the Justice and Development Party (AKP). This brand new party, which established in 2001, was a mixture of the Islamists, nationals, and loose liberals (Kanra, 2009). The party's leader is a very controversial person- Recep Tayyip Erdogan. He was jailed several times for the public spread of Islam and its ideology. The AKP current government adopted so many reforms like no other Turkish government before. This step impressed public opinion in Turkey as well as in the EU. AKP was mostly supported by city dwellers and the religious countryside. On the other hand the urban middle class, trade unions and religious minorities represented its enemies and party's biggest threat.

Most of the time the president, in close collaboration with the army, stepped in and abolished many laws and brought plenty of "unpleasant" changes. For instance, Islamist gained many high ranged state posts, graduates from the Koran schools attended

to tackle the alcohol consumption. Their influence was growing very rapidly, thanks to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, too.

The year 1980 belongs to the bloody period in the Turkish history. There were several factors explaining the new coup, which was carried out by the army supported by business organizations, on the 12 September 1980.(Carkoglu, Rubin, 2005, p. 60)

- The economic crisis worsened by the second oil crisis
- The lack of discipline in the labor market and the demands of trade unions
- The political violence
- The PKK separatism and the inability of politicians to do something about it
- The threat of Islamic fundamentalism

Right from the start the generals made it clear that they intended to give back the power to the politicians. What was the major challenge? The first Turkey's house (parliament) had to be put in order. This resulted into dissolution of all political parties, many journalists and politicians were imprisoned. The high ranked army figures, especially generals, wanted to draw a new constitution. They tried to aim at a restructuring of Turkish democracy. First time in the history, the bicameral political structure was set up. The new democratic constitution, paradoxically less democratic than the previous one, gave important powers to the president. For instance, the right to appoint judges and rectors. Like every other revolution this one had brought many changes, too. (Carkoglu, Rubin, 2005, p. 62).

For example:

- Religious education was reintroduced into schools
- The constitution adopted the extensive judicial system
- State Security Courts settled on the offences against the integrity of the state

The election held in 1983 won the Motherland Party (MP) with his leader named Turgut Ozal. His party was made up of technocrats, religious conservatives and supporters of the centre right. Ozal believed in people's participation in the modernization process of

right. Workers got the right to strike and trade unions were officially recognized by state authorities. The brand new constitution brought modern Turkish state in line with progressive Western countries (Özbudun, Genckaya, 2009). Moreover, the new laws guaranteed the voting rights for workers and peasants. New institutions like State Planning Organization were established and their aim was to advise the government how to use resources effectively.

The late 1960's are considered as the golden age for Turkish economy, marked with the huge economic boom. Entrepreneurs could benefit from low interest rates and cheap loans and cheap inputs. This economic expansion enabled the development of the social policy. But not everybody was satisfied with the current policy. Poor workers were often active in the streets and demanded the bigger rights and political power. After the general elections of 1969, Turkey was in the grip of violence. Martial law was adopted mostly in big cities to prevent other riots and new clashes between factions and various representations of political parties. The prime minister was forced to step down. It should have meant the new era for the Turkey.

Following the coup, Labor Party and many leftist organizations were outlawed. Simply said, militants were arrested and leftist officers in the army were fired. In spite of revolution no government was able to deal with major problems. Firstly, the economic crisis. Secondly, the political violence. What is more Turkey was determined to continue its import substitution policy (Alexander, Brenner, Krause, 2008). It protected its industry by imposing high tariffs on imports, by keeping the exchange rate of Turkish lira very high, by supporting inefficient state-owned industries and by helping domestic firms in subsidizing imports. In 1973 inflation ran out of hand and it led to establishment of the black market. During the turbulent time, the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) was established and its aims were to protect the Kurdish interests and to fight for the independent state named Kurdistan.

In confusing economic and political climate, religion manifested itself for an independent ideological factor. This situation happened first time in the modern Turkish history. A big number of Turkish citizens saw only one possible solution: a return to Islam. Soon the Islamic party has become the member of the coalition and the new agenda came into existence. Islamists emphasized the Islamic virtues, the criminalization of offences against Islam and achieved the larger budget for Islamic affairs. The biggest challenge was

„The statism that we are implementing is a system peculiar to Turkey, engendered by its own needs. It means that while recognizing private entrepreneurship as the main basis, but realizing that many activities are not undertaken, the state must be given the control of the economy to face all the needs of a large country and of a great nation... “ (Attaturk,1933)

In reality, the Kemalism represented a policy of protectionism and import substitution. The state began a new program called Industrialization, according to the Soviet’s example. The state bought out railroad companies, created state monopolies and took interest in banks. Soon Statism was followed by state capitalism, and state economic enterprises became an economic asset in the hands of private interest groups that controlled by government. Consequently, the living standards of workers have improved and industry profits boomed. Doubles, the entire industrialization process has brought wealth for new classes. Unfortunately, the life of villagers remained unchanged. The villagers, small farmers made up the bulk of Turkey’s population.

In 1940 the liberal successor introduced a multi-party democratic system. Turkey has learnt from its history and during the Second World War remained neutral. In the 1950s farmers and industrial workers suffered severe income losses(Ahmad, 2002). The need for reforms was extremely strong. In late 1950’s the foreign policy has completely changed. Turkey, for the first time, identified itself with the Americans ideals and liberal capitalism. Nevertheless, Turkey hesitated for a while, if the multi-party system should be implemented or not. Later that year, the government party decided to support this idea.

In 1959 the liberal policy cost too much and put Turkey in the red numbers. Living standards started to deteriorate. Civil servants were fired due to the lack of money. Journalists were taken to court, for their expression against government party (democratic wing of the RPP). Government ran out of the money and to prevent from the chaos and economic collapse the controls on prices and supplies were reintroduced. These unpopular regulations led to the devaluation of the lira (Turkish currency).

In 1960’s Turkey came through the big changes. For instance, new constitution adapted a bicameral system and president has to be elected by both houses for a term of seven years. The president had limited veto power and could dissolve the Parliament. The constitution contained an extensive chapter on political, individual, economical and social

- Religion had to be removed from public life and controlled by the government
- Modern Turkey had to be a homogeneous state
- The interest of the people had to be the main concern of ruling party
- The state had to be distinct from the person of the leader, and there had to be cooperation between the private and the public sector
- The state had to be pre-eminent in economic field and it had to be continuously adapted to the requests of modernization
- There had to be national solidarity, and the interest of the whole nation had to be put before those of any group or class

1.2 Atatürk's era and Kemalism

According to many European statesmen, this proclamation had been seen as the last hope. What is more, nations living in Turkey felt unified in the first time in the history and it is due to the common race, religion, language, culture, geography and economic interests. Not everyone was happy about it. Minorities like Kurds and Armenians rejected Turkish nationalism and they tried to establish independent states. It did not last long and the first Grand National Assembly was elected and, one year later, the republican constitution was passed. Experts claim that the elections were controlled by Atatürk's Republican People's Party (RPP). Under the Atatürk's reign, Turkey was a strong one-party state. Atatürk took the advantage of it and made the end to the political opposition, especially, Kurds. The governmental party was made up of the middle-class bourgeoisie. Workers and peasants were excluded.

Kemalism (second Atatürk's name) was a top down modernization project. The state took over the Western socio-economic concept and tried to implement it. Turkey adopted the Swiss civil code, Mussolini's Italy penal code and the Latin alphabet (Yildiz, 2005). The Islamic dressing style and courtesy titles were abolished. Sharia rules, which led to the discrimination of women, were no longer valid. Kemilism opposed the Islamic past and defended national identity. First of all, Turkey as a modern state should have boosted the economy and stimulated the industrial production. In Atatürk's view, Turkey was neither collectivism nor economic liberalism.

The former leaders of the secret organizations won the election. One of them was Mustaf Kemal (Atatürk).

1.1 The fall of the Ottoman Empire

Following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia in the Balkan Wars and the loss of some territories (Macedonia ...) esprit de corps was very low. These losses and frustration, barely a year after the end of the second Balkan war, made Ottoman Empire to join Germany and Austria-Hungary in the First World War. Turkish involvement into the First World War was vital important for Germany, because they blocked Russia's access to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. After 4 desperate years, Turkish army and The Empire (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Empire) were defeated. The sultan had to sign the humiliating Peace Treaty. The consequences were disastrous for Turkey (the loss of its Arab territories, Anatolia should have become the part of Kurdistan and Armenia became a separate republic under international guarantees) (Ahmad, 2002).

The World War 1 brought the end of some monarchies like: Habsburg in Austria-Hungary, Hohenzollerns in Prussia, the Romanovs in Russia and the Ottomans in Turkey. Unlike many other states, Turkey (Ottoman Empire included) has never been a colony. Now was a time for someone from the new generation. This man was called Mustafa Kemal (Yildiz, 2005) and he was a product of the Ottoman intelligentsia. In the aftermath of the World War 1, he saw a chance to unite the people and people should be the new basis for a modern country.

The unpopular Sevres Treaty was replaced by the new one, very favourable for Turkey, the Lausanne Treaty (1923). Armenian and Kurdish independence were no longer mentioned. A new republican regime established in 1923, led by Atatürk, replaced the monarchy. The major change was that the minorities were put under one centralized Turkish government what was a big change in comparison with the former Ottoman Empire. This was a clear break with the past.

In Atatürk's view, Turkey had to be ruled in accordance with the following principles (Carkoglu, Rubin, 2005 p. 7):

1. Development of Turkey

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 we have seen many countries waiting to join the European Union. The most controversial of these candidates is Turkey. Many interesting books have been published on this topic. Unfortunately, most of them miss a global unbiased approach to this country. My thesis tries to fill this gap. This chapter offers and provides further information of Turkish development (political, cultural and economic) and focuses on the relation between Turkey and the EU.

This chapter starts with the short survey of the history of Turkey. Diplomatically, Turkey as a country has been a part of European state system since the end of the 19. century. The Ottoman Empire was considered as a part of Europe. What is more, they enjoyed the English political support. On the other hand, The Ottoman Empire had to defend its territory from Russia. Due to the war, some satellite states established on the Balkan (Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Albania). As Russia steps up fighting, sultan feared more for the survival of the Empire. As the Ottoman Empire lost its military superiority, the Ottoman elite began to look to Europe as a model and to important European ideas. According to Ahmad, the modernization should be the big challenge, but elderly citizens were not directly involved. Reforms covered the army, the central bureaucracy and judiciary (Ahmad, 2002). The biggest change was definitely the abolition of the Sharia law.

Despite the growing effort, the Turks were not willing to give up their traditions and were not very acquainted with new ideas of liberalism. Instead, the Young Ottomans wanted to introduce Western concepts, such as a constitution, a parliament, freedom and equality, without giving up traditional Islamic values. Young Turks, who were forced to flee the Ottoman Empire due to their political believes and attitudes, created in Paris secret societies to support the Turkish modernization process. These emigrants attacked the sultan in pamphlets and periodicals. The dissatisfaction and activities against Sultan led to the uprising in 1908. The sultan was replaced by the new one, more progressive statesman.

becoming a strong Muslim state again in its history, especially within the last decade under the Prime Minister Erdogan, what might be seemed as an obstacle in the integration towards the West. What is more Turkey struggles with the high corruption, high unemployment rate, criminality and low gross domestic product. These factors are detailed and fully explained in this chapter.

Turkey, due to its unique geo-strategic position, is a bridge between Europe and Asia and without doubt represents the mix of everything what is modern and historical. From the "Agreement Creating An Association Between The Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community", also known as the Ankara Agreement, Turkey does not seem itself in Europe anymore. The explanation behind that paradox is once again the problem of the relationship between Turkey and European Union and it is mentioned in the last part of the thesis. Not only the tense relations among EU member states, but an absence of unified attitude towards Turkey's accession is a big problem. What is the real source of the resentment for Turkey and its accession to the EU? Is it the economic unpreparedness, the disfavour of the EU- politicians or the fear from the Muslim culture? The last part compares the current economic and political situation in Turkey with the standards defined in the Copenhagen Agreement. If the EU allows or denies Turkish accession to the Union, it is beyond question a decision of the century and this decision is going to affect the entire Europe as well as the modern Turkish state.

Introduction

This bachelor thesis deals with Turkey and its attempt to join the European Union. The main goal is to focus on the problem why Turkey is not an official member state of the EU, despite it is more than 50 years on the waiting list. Why so many attempts to join the European community since 1950's and later the European Union were unsuccessful? This thesis provides various points of view on this specific problem. What is more, readers might confront different attitudes and opinions on this secular-Muslim country, which came a long way in its turbulent history. The thesis examines the preparedness and the current situation in Turkey. According to many experts Turkey is a modern state, which is ready to become a full member. In spite of this interesting proclamation it seems that only a slow progress was made and that is not in favour of Turkey, its authorities and its people. It is becoming more and more obvious that the Turkish membership in the EU has become a bit controversial issue and a sensitive topic. So what is the real problem?

The first chapter focuses on the development of Turkey in its modern history (from the collapse of Ottoman Empire in World War 1, through Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's victory in the Turkish War of Independence, to the focus on joining European Community and later European Union). What is more the author emphasizes the membership of Turkey in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its services to the USA and Western Europe during the cold war. This cooperation with NATO and other democratic countries could be understood as a positive signal towards western countries and made Turkey an object for the following political negotiations, as well as economic cooperation. The purpose of the second half of the first chapter is to depict the current situation of Kurds, Armenians and other minorities living in Turkey. They play an inseparable part in the history of Turkey and also remain a controversial and argumentative topic for the further EU negotiations.

On the other hand, the second chapter explains the negatives, limitations and unpreparedness of Turkey for the accession to the European Union. Some negatives, like the treatment of minorities (Kurds, Armenians), are mentioned. Especially, Kurds led the long struggle for an independent state called Kurdistan. Unfortunately, the Kurdish nation is marked by repression and bad treatment and violation of human rights for almost a century. Moreover the freedom of expression is not always a matter of course, especially for journalists, opposition activists and mass media. In addition to this, Turkey is slowly

Content	Page
Introduction	9
1. Development of Modern Turkey.....	11
1.1. The fall of the Ottoman Empire.....	12
1.2. Attaturk´s era and Kemalism.....	13
1.2.1. The AKP party and the rise of Erdogan.....	17
1.3. Turkey´s accession to the EU and membership in NATO.....	18
2. Negative aspects, limitation and unpreparedness of Turkey....	22
2.1. The Kurds- the biggest Turkish minority.....	22
2.1.1. Kurdistan.....	23
2.1.2. Kurdish struggle for the independence.....	24
2.2. Civil political and cultural rights in Turkey.....	26
2.3. Mass media in Turkey.....	29
2.4. Fethullah Güllen- the biggest Erdogan´s opponent.....	30
3. Turkey and Copenhagen criteria.....	33
3.1. Economic criteria.....	33
3.1.1. Economic policy essentials.....	34
3.1.2. Macroeconomic stability.....	36
3.2. Political criteria.....	39
3.2.1. Civil-military relations.....	39
3.2.2. The level of corruption.....	41
Resume.....	43
Conclusion.....	45
List of references.....	48

ABSTRACT

DINAJ, Martin, *Turkey's integration process in the European Union*. – University of Economics in Bratislava. Faculty of Applied Languages, the Department of Linguistics and Translation Studies.– Tutor: PhDr.Radoslav Štefančík, MPol.,Ph.d- Bratislava: FAJ EU, 50 p.

The main goal of the bachelor thesis was to compare the situation in Turkey to the situation in some new EU member states and compare the current state of Turkey with the Copenhagen criteria.

The bachelor thesis is divided into 3 chapters. The first chapter describes the development of modern Turkey, from the fall of the Ottoman Empire, through the World War 1, after the reformation led by Atatürk, the father of modern Turkish state, to the ideological approximation to the West and the beginning of the current president Erdogan. Much like the explanation of the reasons for the accession to NATO and ambitions for the accession to the EU. The second chapter analyzes the unpreparedness and limitation of Turkey for the accession to the EU, as well as describes the most criticized topics like the treatment of minorities (especially Kurds), limited freedom of expression and censorship of mass media. The end depicts the legacy of the biggest Erdogan's critic, Güllén. The bachelor thesis ends with the comparison of the economic and political situation in Turkey to the Copenhagen criteria, which serves as the background for the countries, which want to access the European association/community.

Key words:

Turkey, Atatürk, Erdogan, Kurds, GDP, European Union, NATO

ABSTRAKT

DINAJ, Martin: Turkey's integration process in the European Union. – Ekonomická univerzita v Bratislave. Fakulta aplikovaných jazykov, Katedra jazykovedy a translológie– Vedúci záverečnej práce: PhDr. Radoslav Štefančík, MPol., Ph.d- Bratislava: FAJ EU, 50 str.

Hlavným cieľom bakalárskej práce bolo situáciu Turecka s novými členskými štátmi EÚ a následne porovnať súčasný stav krajiny s Kodanskými kritériami.

Bakalárska práca je rozdelená do troch kapitol. Prvá kapitola opisuje vývoj moderného Turecka po páde Osmanskej ríše, cez povojnové udalosti prvej svetovej vojny, reformáciu Turecka vedenú otcom národa Atatürk, až po ideologické priblíženie sa Západu a nástup súčasného prezidenta Erdogana. Takisto sú vysvetlené dôvody vstupu Turecka do NATO a snahy a plnohodnotné členstvo v EÚ. Druhá kapitola analyzuje nedostatky a nepripravenosť Turecka pre vstup do EÚ. Tak isto vykresľuje najviac kritizované oblasti ako sú vzťah k menšinám (najmä ku Kurdom), obmedzenú slobodu prejavu a cenzúru médií a približuje odkaz najväčšieho Erdoganového kritika Güllena. Bakalárska práca končí treťou kapitolou, v ktorej autor porovnáva ekonomickú a politickú situáciu v Turecku s Kodanskými kritériami, ktoré súžia ako podklad pre vstup krajiny do európskeho spoločenstva štátov.

Kľúčové slová: Turecko, Atatürk, Erdogan, Kurdi, HDP, Európska únia, NATO

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Bratislava 2015

Affirmation

**I hereby affirm, that I have elaborated the final thesis
independently and that I have listed all the used literature**

Date:

.....

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FACULTY OF APPLIED LANGUAGES

**TURKEY'S INTEGRATION PROCESS TO THE
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Bachelor's thesis

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