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REPORT

on the 2000 Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's progress
towards accession
(COM(2000) 713 – C5-0613/2000 – 2000/2014(COS))

Part 1: Motion for a resolution and explanatory statement

Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence
Policy

Rapporteur: Alain Lamassoure

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PROCEDURAL PAGE

By letter of 13 November 2000, the Commission forwarded to Parliament its 2000 Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession (COM(2000) 713 – 2000/2014(COS)).

At the sitting of 15 March 2001 the President of Parliament announced that she had referred the Regular Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy as the committee responsible and to all committees concerned for their opinions. She confirmed this referral at the sitting of 14 June 2001 (C5-0613/2000).

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy had appointed Alain Lamassoure rapporteur at its meeting of 20 March 2001.

It considered the Regular Report from the Commission and the draft report at its meetings of 18 June, 11 September and 9-10 October 2001.

At the last meeting it adopted the motion for a resolution by 42 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

The following were present for the vote: Elmar Brok (chairman), Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne (1st vice-chairman), Alain Lamassoure (rapporteur), Alexandros Alavanos (for Pedro Marset Campos), Danielle Auroi (for Per Gahrton), Alexandros Baltas, Bastiaan Belder, André Brie, Gunilla Carlsson, Carlos Carnero González (for Rosa M. Díez González), Maria Carrilho (for Mário Soares), Daniel Marc Cohn-Bendit, John Walls Cushnahan, Joseph Daul (for Hugues Martin), Véronique De Keyser, Karel C.C. Dillen, Andrew Nicholas Duff (for Paavo Väyrynen), Olivier Dupuis (for Emma Bonino), Pere Esteve, Pernille Frahm (for Luigi Vinci), Monica Frassoni (for Elisabeth Schroedter), Michael Gahler, Alfred Gomolka, Bertel Haarder, Giorgos Katiforis (for Raimon Obiols i Germà), Efstratios Korakas, Rodi Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou (for Philippe Morillon pursuant to Rule 153(2)), Joost Lagendijk, Hanja Maij-Weggen (for Jacques Santer), Minerva Melpomeni Malliori (for Pasqualina Napolitano pursuant to Rule 153(2)), Cecilia Malmström (for Francesco Rutelli), Mario Mantovani (for Jas Gawronski pursuant to Rule 153(2)), Ioannis Marinos (for Franco Marini pursuant to Rule 153(2)), Linda McAvan, José María Mendiluce Pereiro (for Sami Naïr), Emilio Menéndez del Valle, Arie M. Oostlander, Hans-Gert Poettering, Jacques F. Poos, Luís Queiró, Jannis Sakellariou, Amalia Sartori, Jürgen Schröder, Ioannis Soulidakis, Maj Britt Theorin (for Gary Titley), Johan Van Hecke, Jan Marinus Wiersma and Christos Zacharakis.

The opinions on Turkey by the Committee on Budgetary Control, the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs and the Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities are published separately (Part 2 – A5-0343/2001).

The general opinions by the Committee on Citizens' Freedoms and Rights, Justice and Home Affairs, the Committee on Industry, External Trade, Research and Energy, the Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development and the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport will be published separately (Part 3 – A5-0343/2001).

The report was tabled on 11 October 2001.

The deadline for tabling amendments will be indicated in the draft agenda for the relevant part-session.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

European Parliament resolution on the 2000 Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession (COM(2000) 713 – C5-0613/2000 – 2000/2014(COS))

The European Parliament,

- having regard to Turkey's application for membership of the European Union, submitted on 12 April 1987 pursuant to Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union,
- having regard to the 'Enlargement strategy paper - Report on progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries' (COM(2000) 700¹), submitted by the Commission on 9 November 2000,
- having regard to the decisions taken by the European Council at Copenhagen (21-22 June 1993), Florence (21-22 June 1996), Luxembourg (12-13 December 1997), Helsinki (10-11 December 1999), Nice (7-9 December 2000) and Göteborg (15-16 June 2001),
- having regard to its previous resolutions on Turkey,
- having regard to the 2000 Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession (COM(2000) 713), published on 13 November 2000,
- having regard to Council Decision of 8 March 2001 on the principles, priorities, intermediate objectives and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership,
- having regard to Turkey's National Programme for the Adoption of the *Acquis*, forwarded to the Commission on 26 March 2001,
- having regard to the conclusions of the EU-Turkey Association Council meeting of 26 June 2001,
- having regard to the recommendations of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee, adopted on 5-6 June 2000,
- having regard to its resolution of 5 September 2001 on Cyprus²,
- having regard to its resolution of 5 July 2001 on human rights in the world in 2000 and the European Union Human Rights Policy³,
- having regard to the report of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly of 13 June 2001 on the honouring of obligations and commitments by Turkey,

¹ Not yet published in OJ.

² Texts adopted, Item 18.

³ Texts adopted, Item 14.

- having regard to the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights concerning Turkey,
 - having regard to Rule 47(1) of its Rules of Procedure,
 - having regard to the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy and the opinions of the other committees concerned (A5-0343/2001),
- A. whereas the decisions taken in Helsinki, which offered Turkey candidate country status and the opportunity to benefit from the pre-accession strategy, have helped give renewed impetus to the reform process and have facilitated political dialogue at both intergovernmental and parliamentary level,
 - B. whereas the deep recession in the Turkish economy over the past several months has been induced by structural weaknesses in the country and exacerbated by an unfavourable financial climate for the emerging countries,
 - C. whereas, despite internal splits and tensions, the coalition government in Turkey is politically united in its support for its proposed reform programme aimed at overcoming the financial crisis and modernising the Turkish economy with assistance from the international community,
 - D. whereas the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis adopted by Turkey on 19 March 2001 takes up the main thrust of the priorities set out in the Accession Partnership and for the first time makes a comprehensive assessment of the potential effect of European integration on Turkey and puts forwards a wide-ranging political and economic reform programme; useful as a beginning of the vast transformation needed for the modernisation of Turkey, but unfortunately without a clear enough “road map” and timetable,
 - E. in view of the proposal for a Council decision presented by the Commission on 23 August 2001 concerning the conclusion of a Framework Agreement leading to the opening of Community programmes to Turkey,
 - F. drawing attention to the many recent and less recent criticisms levelled against Turkey by the Council of Europe and by the judgements of the European Court of Human Rights, and to the reports of the Turkish Human Rights Association and Human Rights Foundation on the current human rights situation in Turkey,
 - G. whereas Turkey has largely overcome the difficulties posed by various forms of terrorism in the past, and thus there is now nothing to prevent it from building the political and administrative institutions of a democracy at peace,
 - H. whereas the Turkish Constitution, approved under military rule in 1982, fails to provide an adequate legal framework to guarantee the rule of law and fundamental freedoms; whereas thorough constitutional reform alone will enable Turkey to embrace

democracy wholeheartedly and irrevocably,

- I. whereas the security forces have carried out numerous attacks on participants in demonstrations against the consequences of the continuing economic crisis and on participants in the HADEP party's peace demonstrations, and have frequently resorted, without any legal basis, to the practice of intercepting communications,
- J. whereas the reforms under way are still encumbered by too many political or legal decisions, which are holding back necessary progress on fundamental rights and the establishment of a healthier relationship between politics and the economy,
- K. having regard to the continuing hunger strike in Turkish prisons and the growing number of prisoners who have died as a result,
- L. whereas the continuing deadlock in the search for a comprehensive and satisfactory solution to the Cyprus problem is such as to seriously disrupt the enlargement process by undermining the efforts already under way and compromising the region's future,
- M. strongly rejecting the criticism by the Turkish Foreign Ministry of its rapporteur for Cyprus, Mr Jacques Poos,

On political developments, constitutional reform and human rights

- 1. Notes the legislative efforts made by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the current constitutional reform process and encourages it to pursue its indispensable work with determination in order to provide Turkey with a modern constitution guaranteeing a fully functioning democratic state, transparent governance on the basis of the rule of law and specifically with respect for individual and collective rights and freedoms;
- 2. Takes note of the constitutional amendments already adopted, including those which remove military judges from the State Security Courts, extend the scope of the amnesty law and reduce police custody periods; urges the Turkish authorities to see to it that these amendments are swiftly, fully and properly enforced, but expects the abolition of the State security courts in the coming years and the broadest possible extension of amnesty;
- 3. Calls on Turkey to ratify and implement the UN conventions on political, civil, social and cultural rights which it signed recently and particularly stresses the importance of ratifying the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, its optional protocol and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
- 4. Notes, however, that sweeping reform is still required in the field of human rights in order to abolish once and for all the practices and structures that have sullied Turkey's image within the international community; welcomes the setting-up of a human rights watchdog committee reporting to the prime minister; regrets however that the document of that committee, despite having been sanctioned as a working and reference document by the Turkish Council of Ministers on 21 September 2000, was not more thoroughly incorporated in the constitutional amendments proposals;

5. Calls on the Turkish authorities, in their efforts to improve the human rights situation in Turkey, to respect the principles of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights;
6. Urges the Commission and the Turkish authorities to make the best possible use of financial cooperation for the implementation of projects to promote Turkey's enforcement of the Copenhagen criteria; supports the Commission initiative to launch, in conjunction with the Turkish authorities, a framework programme to promote human rights in the administration, the police and the armed forces, and calls on the Commission to put the said programme into operation and actively pursue the adherence of the Turkish political leadership to the said programme;
7. Deplores the fact that, in spite of the adoption of a considerable number of legislative, administrative and training measures seeking to eradicate torture, the toll of victims remains high;
8. Notes that one of the key objectives of the pre-accession strategy is to promote and reinforce a community of values between the two parties in civil society;
9. Welcomes Turkey's adoption of the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis setting out a programme of the reforms required to meet the Copenhagen criteria as a first significant step in the right direction; regards it as vital, however, that this programme be backed up with details of the actual substance of the undertakings concerned and a timetable for their implementation; expects that the Programme will be adapted to embrace further reform as the first phase of the constitutional amendments takes effect;
10. Urges Turkey to propose a precise timetable for fulfilling the political criteria of Copenhagen as soon as possible;
11. Points out that moves by Turkey towards a system of multiparty democracy require that full control over political decision-making lie with the democratically elected civil authorities and that, in the current transition period, the parliament be able to monitor the activities of the National Security Council; recalls, in this connection, the Commission's worrying observation in its regular report on Turkey for 2000 that 'There has been no change in the role played by the National Security Council in Turkish political life';
12. Urges the Turkish authorities to undertake to enforce immediately the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, beginning with the judgment in the Loizidou case, as a sign of the country's desire to establish a fully fledged constitutional state; stresses the need to create the legal channels through which a review can take place of the prosecution procedures applied to former parliamentarians from the Party for Democracy (DEP) and the sentences handed down to them;
13. Urges the Turkish authorities to take all the necessary measures for the full restoration of civil and political rights as a matter of course in cases in which a judgment has been handed down against Turkey by the European Court of Human Rights;
14. Takes note of the Court judgment of 31 July last, which held that Turkey had not violated Article 11 of the European Convention of Human Rights (on freedom of assembly and association) in dissolving the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) in 1998; however, impresses

upon the Turkish authorities the need to see to it that the principles of multiparty democracy, nurtured by freedom of expression, are upheld, and to ensure that the provisions of the constitution do not obstruct the activities of political parties or their elected representatives; in this regard, voices its concern at the ban imposed on the Virtue Party last June; calls on the relevant Turkish authorities to deal with the matter of the banning and disbanding of political parties in line with the criteria drawn up by the Venice Commission;

15. Calls on Turkey to lower the electoral threshold set % by electoral law, and to carry out a thorough review of its law on political parties;
16. Takes note of the plan for a constitutional amendment aimed at partially lifting the restrictions on the use of the Kurdish language; hopes that this gesture will be followed by others leading to a comprehensive solution of the Kurdish problem and to constitutional provisions on cultural rights that will entitle the different cultural communities on Turkish soil to affirm their identity freely without jeopardising the unity of the country, in accordance with the spirit of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; therefore urges the Turkish authorities to speed up the implementation of the global strategy for economic, social and cultural development planned for the south-east region of the country, in a spirit of dialogue and openness, and to take all necessary measures to establish a lasting social peace in the area, in particular by lifting the state of emergency in the four provinces concerned;
17. Calls on the Turkish authorities to employ in an active and vigorous way all legal, administrative and educational means available to combat the alarming scale of corruption, which, as the President of the Republic has repeatedly pointed out, is a real scourge of social and political life in Turkey and could impede further reforms;
18. Welcomes the adoption of the laws amending the Penal Code, the law on the prosecution of civil servants and the law on combating organised crime; emphasises, however, that administrative and legal hurdles must be removed in order to enforce these laws; calls on the Turkish authorities to pursue their work to draw up a new Code of Criminal Procedure conforming with the standards of the European Union, and to revise as a matter of urgency paragraphs 312 and 159 of the Penal Code and Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Act in order to prevent people being prosecuted for their opinions; demands the release of Leyla Zana, winner of the European Parliament Sakharov Prize, and of the former MPs of Kurdish origin imprisoned because of the views they hold;
19. Takes note of the reform of the prison system as a necessary means of remedying the system's shortcomings; deplores, however, the number of hunger-strike victims and the scale of human tragedy provoked by that decision; asks the government to engage itself in the reforms proposed by the European Parliament mission visiting the prisons, as a step towards putting an end to this still ongoing tragedy;
20. Stresses the need for more strenuous efforts to raise awareness of the European Union amongst civil society and thus win its backing for the reforms from which it will benefit, irrespective of possible EU membership in the future; urges all reformist forces in Turkey to unite in a political campaign aimed at boosting support for and understanding of

membership of the European Union, and in particular at disseminating information about the Charter of Fundamental Rights;

21. Urges Turkey and the EU Member States to work together to combat drug trafficking operations, the scale of which is huge and constantly increasing, in particular by means of close cooperation between the judicial and police authorities and Europol; welcomes Turkey's accession to the Council of Europe Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime;

On the economic climate and economic and trade relations between the EU and Turkey

22. Welcomes the efforts made by the Turkish Government in implementing the economic reforms required to bring the country out of its financial crisis; believes that this attempt to stabilise the economy has begun to bear fruit; insists that the efforts to combat corruption in the state sector must be enhanced; urges the Turkish authorities to pursue their efforts at macroeconomic adjustment with a view to curbing inflation and reversing the spiral of domestic indebtedness as key steps towards restoring confidence amongst economic operators and resuming sustained growth;
23. Is deeply concerned about the social impact of the prolonged economic and financial crisis; favours moving swiftly to provide the EU financial assistance to back up the reform process, especially in the social sphere, and in particular as regards the establishment of the rule of law and the promotion of civil society; believes that, although the volume of assistance granted has been increased, it is not yet commensurate with the scale of trade relations between Turkey and the EU;
24. Calls on the Turkish authorities to see to it that the acts of legislation adopted as a matter of urgency are in line with the Community *acquis*; believes that it would be beneficial for such acts to be subject to routine and thorough scrutiny by the subcommittees set up by the Association Council to prepare the procedure for the analytical examination of Turkey's legislation; calls on the Commission to provide all relevant technical assistance in this respect;
25. Stresses the importance of the EU-Turkey customs union and the benefit thereof for both parties; points out, however, that if its impact is to be fully harnessed, Turkey must pursue its efforts on the legislative front in the fields of competition, customs, state monopolies and the organisation of administrative structures at management level, and must lift remaining barriers to trade;
26. Stresses the need for Turkey to be equipped with modern legislation on the right to strike and collective bargaining;

On Turkey's external relations

27. Calls on the Turkish authorities to adopt a constructive approach and use their decisive

influence to provide effective support to the efforts of the UN Secretary-General by inviting the Turkish Cypriot side to resume proximity talks so that a comprehensive solution can be reached before accession, according to the conclusions of the EU Helsinki summit;

28. Welcomes the commencement of dialogue between the Turkish and Greek authorities aimed at creating a climate of confidence in respect of security and developing specific cooperation measures; hopes that this dialogue will in the near future result in the settlement of outstanding disputes between the two sides, this being laid down in the Accession Partnership document as part of "political criteria and the reinforced political dialogue";
29. Welcomes the contribution made by Turkey to the international community's efforts to create peace in the Balkans and to combat international terrorism and strongly urges the Turkish authorities to make a constructive contribution towards implementing the agreement between the EU and NATO;
30. Calls for Turkey to be included in the debate on the future of Europe, in the same way as the other candidate countries; on this point, believes that the Euro-Turkish forum proposed last year could provide a suitable setting for this debate, to which political figures, intellectuals and representatives of civil society from both sides would be invited;
31. Supports the civil initiative launched by a group of former diplomats and academics from Turkey and Armenia, the aim of which is to arrive at a common understanding of the past; believes that this initiative, together with others, should lead to the normalisation of relations between the communities and states concerned;
32. Urges, in this regard, Turkey to take all the necessary measures to establish a favourable climate to the stability of the whole Caucasus region; asks Turkey, in this regard, to play an active part in restoring the dialogue between Azerbaijan and Armenia and considers that lifting the blockade on Armenia could be a first concrete step towards a pacification of the region;
33. Encourages the Turkish authorities to carry out greater mutual cooperation in the field of education and training policy with the other candidate countries and to promote professional training for women and gender equality;
34. Urges the Turkish Government to engage with its European partners to stop the trafficking of migrants from and across its territory;
35. Notes that the coming months will prove crucial as a means of judging the true scope and impact of economic and political reform; hopes to be in a position to give its view on subsequent progress in relations between Turkey and the Union in autumn 2002;
36. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments of the Member States, the parliaments of the Member States and the government and parliament of Turkey.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Following Parliament's adoption, in November 2000, of its resolution on Turkey's progress towards accession, there have been several important events which have transformed Turkey's political and economic climate and our mutual relations.

First, the serious financial crisis which struck Turkey twice (in November 2000 and in February 2001) caused the Turkish pound to lose almost half its exchange value. At the instigation of Mr K. Dervis, former vice-president of the World Bank, the Turkish Government had to act quickly to prepare and introduce a radical stabilisation and recovery plan with the support of the international community – the International Monetary Fund, which granted about \$19 billion in loans, the World Bank and the European Union.

The plan was signed by the three coalition government partners, and has been in operation since spring, with relatively satisfying results. It has made it possible to undertake basic reforms, which had been put off for too long, such as privatisation of the banks and, in general, the establishment of a healthier relationship between politics and the economy. In the short term, however, one of its unavoidable effects has been a severe drop in GDP – 7 to 8% lower for 2001 – which may have serious social consequences. The worsening of world economic conditions, both before and after 11 September, can, unfortunately, only make efforts to recover more difficult.

In the political sphere, the year was marked by dramatic developments in Turkish prisons. Acceding to urgent requests from the international community, deploring the disastrous state of prisons, the Turkish authorities introduced fundamentally different prisons, which meet the highest European standards but in which the prisoners can be more easily isolated. Some extremist groups seized the opportunity to initiate a trial of strength, using large groups of hunger strikers. In the spring, a parliamentary committee led by our colleague Daniel Cohn-Bendit visited the prisons close to Istanbul and Ankara and submitted a number of proposals to the Minister of Justice. Unfortunately, in October the hunger strike continues, with a sombre total of about 40 deaths to date, and the Turkish authorities have not been able to find a solution.

The third notable fact is that Turkey has made a genuine start in moving closer to European standards, in accordance with the European Union's recommendations. In March 2001 the government presented its national programme for the adoption of the *acquis*. It is true that this first list of reforms is still vague as to the timetable for implementation and the exact scope of the proposed measures. However, as soon as it resumed sitting in the autumn, the Grand National Assembly got down to considering several dozen constitutional amendments, the first half of which were adopted at the beginning of October. The results still lag behind current democratic standards: the death penalty has not been totally abolished, the non-Turkish languages are no longer banned, but are not fully recognised, the National Security Council remains, but civilians play a more significant part within it. Above all, the principle of the supremacy of international law – and thus, possibly, in the near future, of European law – over national law has been expressly ruled out. Undeniable progress has nonetheless been made, which the European Commission and the Council of Europe have welcomed as such. On 8 October, the government tabled a second legislative package of rights and freedoms, which relate to the penal code and penal procedure and the laws on anti-terrorism, the press,

political parties, associations and demonstrations.

Finally, the introduction of the anti-terrorist coalition, after 11 September, has provided Turkey with an opportunity to make use of its strategic location and its military and political strengths in a middle East which is once again engaged in world conflict.

At the end of a year which has on occasion been turbulent, the situation remains very mixed. On the one hand, some genuine advances should be welcomed. At a particularly difficult economic time, a large part of government and parliamentary activity has been devoted to basic reforms linked to moving closer to Europe. Outside parliament, this summer saw the beginnings of a public debate on the 'taboo' subject of the role of the military in political life. President Sezer's courage in denouncing corruption, an endemic disease of Turkish society, and in using his legislative veto against texts which represented a step backwards for democracy, should also be noted.

There are also delays and even retreats. The draft reform of the audiovisual legislation was rightly criticised by the president of the republic, since it did not comply with the principle of the independence of the audiovisual sector in relation to the political powers. The dissolution of the main opposition party (the Virtue Party) demonstrated that the political system has not stabilised and that changes in the law regarding the status of political parties are required as a matter of urgency. The same is true of the astonishing proceedings instituted against Mrs Piskinsüt, president of the parliamentary committee investigating torture.

In general, a gulf persists between good intentions and reality in the human rights field, where progress is too slow: the torture and degrading treatment of detainees continues to be widespread, freedom of expression is still unusually restricted and several thousand people currently in prison for offences would under our laws be considered prisoners of conscience. The main groups working to defend human rights remain subject to what amounts to legal harassment. Peaceful demonstrations are often suppressed with unnecessary brutality. In the midst of a parliamentary debate on freedom of expression, on 24 September, a quarterly review whose editors include the president of the Court of Cassation was seized for publishing an article critical of the military.

The end of armed terrorism by the PKK has not yet been turned to account in embarking on an overall policy towards the south-east provinces and Kurdish identity, and likewise the unambiguous European Court of Human Rights judgment has not been used as an opportunity to set free Leyla Zana and the other former parliamentarians from the Democratic People's Party (HADEP), still in prison.

Finally, since the consideration of the Poos report by Parliament, we have seen Mr Denktash's surprising refusal to restart the negotiations proposed by Commissioner Verheugen and the UN Secretary-General on the status of Cyprus.

In this area as in others, the impression remains that the signs of openness which are on occasion expressed by governmental authorities may be challenged by military powers, which still have an unusual influence on Turkish politics.

CONCLUSION

The coming year will be crucial in testing the true wish of Turkish political leaders and Turkish society to move closer to the European Union. Over the coming weeks it will be possible to gauge the exact scope of the constitutional and legislative reforms regarding the rule of law and human rights. Coming months will be vital in judging efforts to modernise the economy. Finally, on the crucial issue of the status of Cyprus, after 27 years of political deadlock, the moment of truth extends from now until autumn 2002: the end of negotiations on Cyprus's accession to the EU are set for that date, and this will make it necessary, finally, for both parties to adopt a clear position. Our judgement will be based on the facts.

Turkey wishes to have its own models for society and democracy. This is a perfectly legitimate objective. The European Union does not impose one single model. On the contrary, its special achievement lies in bringing about the coexistence and collaboration of peoples who have had very different histories – for a long time mutually hostile – and who on occasion have very different ideas on fundamental subjects such as the organisation of society, changing moral values, relations between religion and politics, the introduction of new technologies, the status of minority communities or races, and territorial administration and the application of the subsidiarity principle. But there are two needs which we all acknowledge. First of all, that there are universal values which make it necessary that fundamental human and democratic rights are guaranteed in the same way everywhere; secondly, that the models conceived last century must be adjusted to the needs of this one. Working towards Europe is a way of helping one another to comply with these requirements and to preserve our special qualities in an exciting and dangerous world.