

From Candidate Status 1999 to Opening of Accession Talks 2005

Session 5: How can the opening of
accession talks be explained?

Repetition: How to explain the result of negotiations?

- **Liberal Intergovernmentalism (interests)**
 - Convergence of interests
 - Structural negotiation power
- **Constructivist Supranationalism (identities)**
 - Socialisation processes
- **Historical Institutionalism**
 - Path dependency
- **Normative Institutionalism**
 - Norm as negotiation resource **(ideas)**

Interest constellation cannot explain the decision

- Divergence of member state preferences in the late 1990s
- Candidate Status does not reflect consensus on the desirability of Turkish membership in the EU
- Sceptical public opinion as regards Eastern Enlargement – rejected constitutional referendum in France/Netherland
- Conservative government in Germany in 2005

Member state preferences

Member state	1997	1999	2004/05	2006
Austria	–	–	–	–
Cyprus	n.a.	n.a.	–	–
Denmark	–	–	+	+ (?)
France	+	+	+/-	–
Germany	–	+	+/-	+/-
Greece	–	+	–	–
Netherlands	–	–	+/-	–
Poland	n.a.	n.a.	+	+
Italy	+	+	+	?
UK	+	+	+	+

Thesis: Impact of norms explains the decision

- Interaction among gvts was constrained by the EU's community norms rather than by the member states' relative bargaining power
- Arguments based on community norms mobilized normative pressure – leading to the acceptance of accession negotiations with Turkey

Arguments based on community norms

- **Promises of the past:** Association agreement 1963, final goal of custom union
- **Candidate status as new norm:** Strong commitment that only the fulfilment of Copenhagen Criteria decide about opening of accession negotiations
 - supporters of Turkey could now depoliticise the debate
 - thus Turkey's application cannot be dismissed by reference to socio-economic or cultural incompatibility
- **Credibility:** Non-respect of agreements harmful for the image of the EU as reliable partner

The context of the Brussel summit 2004

- Copenhagen 2002: decision about opening of negotiations will be taken in 2004 based on Commission report about the fulfilment of the Copenhagen political criteria
- Positive Commission Report 2004 due to Turkey's domestic reforms
 - Abolition of death penalty
 - Allowing the teaching of Kurdish and its use in radio and TV broadcasts
 - Judicial Reform: abolition of state security courts
 - Role of Military: National Security Council was transformed from a military dominated political body to a civilian-led consultative body/defence budget monitored by parliament
- Cyprus referendum failed because of Greek NO

Positions and arguments

- **Opponents:**
 - Absorption capacity of the EU, recognition of Cyprus as a precondition
- **Supporters:**
 - refer to agreement of 2002 (De-politicisation, hide behind the Commission)
- **Turkey:**
 - agreed to sign a document before the opening of accession talks, extending the Custom Union to Cyprus
- **Result:**
 - Opening scheduled for 3 October 2005 (precondition: Turkey extends Custom Union to Cyprus)

The context of the Brussel summit 2005

- Negative referendum about European Constitution in France and NL
 - interpreted as a vote against Turkey's membership
 - Made it more difficult for Chirac to stay pro-Turkey
- New conservative government in Germany, favoring a privileged partnership instead of full membership

Positions and Arguments

- Turkey:
 - signed Protocol extending the CU on 29 July 2005
- Opponents
 - inclusion of privileged partnership in negotiation framework (Austria)
 - recognition of Cyprus (French PM Villepin, Cyprus)
- Result
 - Negotiation framework: full membership as goal
 - Recognition of Cyprus not part of the negotiation, but implementation of CU with Cyprus has to be fulfilled until end of 2006

Conclusion: Explanation for Opening of accession negotiations

- No convergence of preferences or socialization process among member states
- Promises and Agreements of the EU raises the negotiation power of the supporters of Turkey's accession to the EU
- **Outlook:** As long as Turkey continue to comply with EU norms and keep its own promises the EU will not discard the membership perspective