

ASSESSMENT THROUGH THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION-TURKEY DURING 12TH SEPTEMBER AND 15TH JULY COUP ATTEMPT

Ekrem Yaşar AKÇAY

Assist. Prof. Dr. Hakkari University, FEAS, Department of Political Science and International Relations,
ekremyasarakcay@hakkari.edu.tr

Abstract

Although Turkey tries to progress towards becoming a democratic and Western state, it has been seized by some coup attempts and democratic structure for a period of time. At the same time, relations between Turkey's foreign policy and the actors of the international system have become stagnant and damaged. The army, which seized power after the military coup on 12 September 1980, declared that the status quo will continue in foreign policy and stressed that relations should be further developed. Despite this, relations with the EU have not been at the desired level and have worsened. For example, on April 10, 1981, the European Parliament adopted a decision to apply the attitude applied to Greece to Turkey in the junta period if the democratic structure before the coup was not returned in Turkey within two months. According to this decision, in March 1982, the Partnership was suspended indefinitely. After the unsuccessful coup attempt on July 15, 2016, the EU denounced this coup attempt in Turkey and said that Turkey should enter the current democratic process as soon as possible. On July 24, 2016, the European Parliament recommended Turkey to suspend the negotiation process until the current constitutional order date, due to Turkey did not consider this warning. However, this recommendation was rejected by the Council of Ministers of the EU and emphasized that negotiations with Turkey should continue. Similarly, on 13 December 2016 at the EU Foreign Ministers' meeting, the European Parliament and Austria's decisions to stop negotiations with Turkey were rejected. At the meeting, stating that close relations with Turkey should be established, it was decided not to open a new negotiation heading with Turkey while rejecting the decision to freeze membership negotiations. In this context, this study will discuss the relationship between Turkey and the EU after the September 12 coup d'etat and the July 15 coup attempt. The main problem of the work is the suspension of the relations between the EU and Turkey after the September 12 coup, d'etat but the reasons for the withdrawal of relations after the coup attempt on 15 July will be the reasons. When this situation is analyzed, an analysis will be made by evaluating the economic and political structure of the EU, the economic and political structure of Turkey and the international conjuncture. In this study, the decisions taken by the EU institutions and the institutions in Turkey, the survey on the subject clearer assessment will be done by induction through basic texts such results, the objective will be reached and the original information.

Keywords: Turkey, European Union, Coups, September, 12th, July, 15th.

12 EYLÜL DARBESİ VE 15 TEMMUZ DARBE GİRİŞİMİ SIRASINDA AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ-TÜRKİYE İLE İLİŞKİLERİ ÜZERİNDEN BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Özet

Türkiye demokratik ve Batılı bir devlet olma yolunda ilerlemeye çalışsa da dönem dönem bazı girişimlerle yönetime el konulmuş ve demokratik yapı bir süreliğine durmuştur. Aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin dış politikasında ve uluslararası sistemin aktörleri arasındaki ilişkileri de durağanlaşmış ve zarar görmüştür. 12 Eylül 1980'de gerçekleşen askeri darbe sonrasında yönetime el koyan ordu dış politikada statükonun devam edeceğini bildirmiş ve ilişkilerin daha da gelişmesi gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Buna rağmen AB ile ilişkiler istenilen düzeyde olmamış ve git gide kötüleşmiştir. Örneğin 10 Nisan 1981'de Avrupa Parlamentosu'nun toplantısında iki ay içinde Türkiye'de darbe öncesi demokratik yapıya dönülmemesi halinde Türkiye'ye Yunanistan'a cunta döneminde uygulanan tavrın uygulanması kararı alınmıştır. Bu karar uyarınca Mart 1982'de ise Ortaklık süresiz olarak askıya alınmıştır. 15 Temmuz 2016'da gerçekleşen başarısız darbe girişimi sonrasında da AB, Türkiye'de gerçekleşen bu girişimi kınamış ve Türkiye'nin en kısa sürede mevcut demokratik sürece girmesi gerektiğini söylemiştir. Türkiye'nin bu uyarıyı dikkate almaması nedeniyle 24 Temmuz 2016'da Avrupa Parlamentosu Türkiye mevcut anayasal düzen dönene kadar müzakere sürecinin askıya alınmasını tavsiye etmiştir. Ancak bu tavsiye kararı AB Bakanlar Konseyi tarafından reddedilmiş ve Türkiye ile müzakerelerin devam etmesi gerektiği vurgulanmıştır. Benzer şekilde 13 Aralık 2016'da AB Dışişleri Bakanları toplantısında, Avrupa Parlamentosu ve Avusturya'nın Türkiye ile müzakereleri durdurma kararları reddedilmiştir. Türkiye ile yakın ilişkilerin kurulması gerektiğini belirten toplantıda, üyelik müzakerelerini dondurma kararı reddedilirken, Türkiye ile yeni bir müzakere başlığı açılmaması kararı verilmiştir. Bu kapsamda söz konusu bu çalışma 12 Eylül darbesi sonrası ve 15 Temmuz darbe girişimi sonrasında Türkiye ile AB arasındaki ilişkileri ele alacaktır. Çalışmanın temel sorunsalı 12 Eylül darbesi sonrasında AB ile Türkiye arasındaki ilişkiler askıya alınırken 15 Temmuzda gerçekleşen darbe girişimi sonrasında ilişkilerin askıya alınmamasının sebepleri olacaktır. Bu durum analiz edilirken AB'nin ekonomik ve siyasi yapısı, Türkiye'nin ekonomik ve siyasi yapısı ve uluslararası konjonktür değerlendirilerek bir analiz yapılacaktır. Bu çalışmada AB kurumlarının ve Türkiye'deki kurumların almış olduğu kararlar, anket sonuçları gibi temel metinler üzerinden tümevarım yöntemi ile değerlendirme yapılacağı için konuya ilişkin daha net, objektif ve orijinal bilgilere ulaşılabilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Avrupa Birliği, Darbeler, 12 Eylül, 15 Temmuz.

Introduction

The coup that can be defined as the confiscation of a group of people living in a country by the force of arms, is made because the government that governs the country, in general, can not solve political, economic and social problems. The group that confiscates the country's government is primarily trying to establish authority over the country by taking control of basic infrastructure facilities such as communication means and power plants that seize power (Akıncı, 2013).

Turkey has faced a military coup in some periods and is seriously affected by this situation. One of these military coups is the military colony that took place on 12

September 1980. The army confiscated the country's government in a period when both the left and right conflicts were experiencing economic and political problems and tried to maintain the current international relations of the country while trying to remove the conflicts and the anarchic atmosphere in the country (Akıncı, 2014).

The people who are fed up with the environment of unrest and chaos in the country also supported the takeover of the army. Because important events occurred in the country before the military coup. Since 1977 there have been conflicts between the right and left groups, and this period has been the period when security and defense have completely disappeared. These events have legitimized the military coup (Akgün, 2010). Nevertheless, there was no initial reaction to the new international environment. Because it is accepted that in the international environment, the army was made for the termination and correction of the anarchic environment in the country before the military coup (Oran, 2002). For example, the relations between Turkey and the European Union have continued for some time after the military coup, but the next period, especially the relationship began to deteriorate due to the restrictions on democracy and human rights in Turkey and has been suspended. On 6 November 1983, elections were held in the country and the Motherland Party under Turgut Ozal's leadership was in power. After being in power, although Ozal wanted to develop relations with the EU, the desired result could not be achieved.

395

However, Turkey has faced in the July 15, 2016, by a military coup attempt, but thanks to the support of the people and fight against this failed coup attempt and remained at the beginning of the civil administration tasks. In this process, he has said that the European Union has condemned the events in Turkey and all of the institutions that supported the democratically elected. Besides, the European Union has invited to Turkey to return to democratic order as soon as available. In this issue, saying that Turkey has stressed the need to interfere in its internal affairs and the EU. However, the European Parliament in November 2016 has recommended the suspension of negotiations with Turkey. However, institutions such as the European Commission and the EU Council of Ministers that should continue saying that relations with Turkey and maintaining a stable process in Turkey have rejected this decision (Idiz, 2016).

In this context, this study will examine the relationships between the EU and Turkey in the periods of September 12 and July 15 and in these two periods why EU showed a different approach to Turkey, the internal and external factors underlying this case will search for answers to the questions of what is happening. In our study, books, articles, surveys, such as the decision taken by the EU institutions will benefit from secondary sources such as the internet and text, it will be utilized as the primary source of the decisions taken by the institutions of Turkey. However, the study also will benefit from the words of Turkey and the EU authorities and an analysis will be carried out within the framework of the inductive method.

Turkey-EU Relations after the military coup of September 12, 1980

On 12 September 1980 military coup was occurred in Turkey and army seized to management. After the army took over the administration, it said that the current situation in foreign policy will continue exactly the same (Erdem, 2015). Because those who realized the coup that the military coup should be politically and economically supported by the West in order to be recognized internationally (Erhan and Arat, 2006). The new government of Turkey said it was faithful to all the international treaties it has signed and stressed that Turkey will continue its relationship with other international actors. (Erhan and Arat, 2005). Thereupon, the West reported they would continue their relations with Turkey.

The two different perspectives of the European Union against Turkey was formed. Netherlands, France, and Denmark pioneered by a group saying it should suspend the relations with Turkey. Another group led by Germany said that fully functioning army to put democracy to the country and he put his hand to management to improve in Turkey. Therefore, he has said that relations with Turkey must continue (Calis, 2006). However, the military government and the National Security Council (NSC), said that Turkey should not join the EU as soon as possible. For this, on 25 March 1981, despite the objections of the State Planning Organization (SPO) and Turgut Ozal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered the NSC meeting to take necessary steps for full membership (Commission of the European Communities, 1982).

As regards the September 12 military coup undisclosed experienced one voice in the EU and the states are divided into groups in Turkey. A group led by France, the

Netherlands and Denmark wants to be suspended relations with Turkey, while the other group, led by Germany and the UK that the operation of the democratic system in Turkey, the military said it seized power to provide it and stressed that it was necessary for the functioning of the democratic system of relations. The vast majority of public opinion in EU member states have condemned this process in Turkey because of some practices that hinder the implementation of human rights and fundamental rights and freedoms (Erhan and Arat, 2005)

The relations between the two parties were in good condition in the early stages of the military coup, and since 1981 relations have begun to deteriorate (Aksu, 2012). One of the reasons of this negative situation was to be accepted as a full member of Greece to the EU on 1 January 1981, the PASOK government begin to move to the EU to bilateral problems with Turkey. The second reason for the negative situation was that the army has put restrictions on human rights, democracy, and fundamental rights and freedoms. In particular, this situation has been a reaction within the EU. The closure of political parties in the EU, which was founded on the basis of these values, has put the European Commission and the European Parliament into action. After two months from the military coup in Turkey at a meeting in the European Parliament on April 10, 1981, if turkey does not return to democratic order, it is proposed to make a decision about it. Said period with Turkey for not experienced any positive development in March 1982. Relations between the EU were suspended indefinitely (Bac, 2001). At the same time in 1982, some countries such as Germany, France, Luxembourg has been launched to visa application to people coming to this country from Turkey (Erdenir, 2013).

397

November 7, 1982, a new constitution approved in Turkey, but in a time when the constitution of the state of emergency was seen as an important step for the EU as it is made. Moreover, the European Parliament has condemned Turkey for October 13, 1983, due to the anti-democratic practices because it involves the closure of some political parties in the newly adopted Constitution unacceptably anti-democratic provisions during 1983 (Tekeli and İlkin, 2000).

On 6 November 1983 general elections were held and an important step was taken again in the transition to a democratic structure. The Motherland Party won a great success in the general elections and Turgut Ozal, the Motherland Party's leader, became

Prime Minister. On December 13, 1983, Ozal stated that the main objective of the government program in relation to the EU is full membership and stated that they will continue to work in balancing relations and interests at all stages (TGNA, 2017).

After Turgut Ozal came to power, Turkey's EU strives to improve its relations with the EU has not provided the desired level of transition now, has prepared the report recommended against Turkey. Because the EU, including the general elections held in Turkey, has found many applications in anti-democratic. So he did not apply for full membership immediately after he came to power. Because human rights, the violations of democracy and elections as a showpiece of democracy still continued negative attitude towards Turkey in the EU because of the idea that settlement. So Ozal, there were thought to be the site of the application for full membership of the Union recovery from the negative attitude towards Turkey (Karabulut, 2007). Meanwhile, Ozal began negotiations with the EU authorities to improve relations with the Union. For example, on January 23, 1984, a delegation headed by Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu met with European Commission President Gaston Thorn and Vice President for Foreign Relations William Hafferkamp in Brussels. In the talks, the Turkish delegation said that they wanted to re-develop and strengthen relations with the EU (Milliyet, 1984).

398

Talks as a positive step made by the Delegation of the EU in September 1984, in Dublin, made with European Political Cooperation Meeting for the first time in Turkey were discussed issues of strengthening relations between the EU partnership. However, there is no common attitude in the EU at this meeting. Who want to revive relations with Turkey, Germany, England and Belgium, and France oppose and prevent the development of relations between some members debate (Uğur, 2007). However, towards the end of 1984, Özal began to increase his discourse on making an application for full membership to the EU. Turgut Ozal, a congressman who was congratulated on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Ankara Agreement, signed in 1963 and entered into force in 1964, has sent a message saying that the application for full membership has arrived on time (Karabulut, 2007).

On September 16, 1986, the Association Council meeting was held. This meeting was the first meeting of partnership councils gathered at ministerial level after the 1980 coup d'état. At this meeting, the issues and issues to be addressed for the release of the

fourth fiscal protocol have been addressed and relations have begun to normalize. In November 1986, State Minister Ali Bozer, who was in charge of relations with the Union, was invited to the Union for the free movement of workers, but the 24 November 1986 response of the Union said that the necessary legal action had not yet taken place for the free movement and that the work had to take place. However, 14 April 1987, made independently of Turkey has started a new partnership with the EU, unless the application for full membership (Baykal and Arat, 2006).

Turkey-EU Relations After Failed Coup Attempts on July 15, 2016

Turkey has been exposed to a coup attempt by a group of Feto (Fethullah Gulen Terrorist Organization) members on July 15, 2016 and the coup attempt in the face of calls for the direction it has made the President Recep Tayyip Erdogan social media and phone calls going to the streets against many human impacts have taken a stance against the coup (Aslan, 2016). In the coup attempt on July 15, the coup plotters, as in the 1980 coup, were again endangered by the regime established by Atatürk, that democracy was intervened in order to save the country; and announced that a curfew has been announced throughout the country (Alkan, 2016). About 250 people lost their lives and more than 2,000 people were injured in the outbreaks and conflicts (Dalay, 2016). After the coup attempt, Turkish government has declared a state of emergency and began to take tough measures (Kalkışım ve Erdoğan, 2018). Within the scope of these measures, many people have been taken into custody, arrested and expelled from the profession. The first outside support for Turkey against the coup have come from Russia and Turkey wants the EU continues to support the negotiations and see wait. According to Turkey made a statement after the EU failed coup attempt. This has opened the door of the problems that arise between the EU and Turkey (Alemdar, 2016). For example, EU Ministers Council President Donald Tusk said in a statement after the coup attempt, mentioned that support all the democratic institutions in Turkey, but Turkey has been invited to return as soon as possible to the existing constitutional order (European Council On Foreign Relations, 2016). Also, Tusk's the measures taken after the coup attempt, saying the military cannot solve Turkey's current problems. However, EU stated that Turkey should not violate the rule of law and democracy (European Commission, 2016a). In a similar manner also said that the European Commission has condemned the coup attempt occurred in Turkey and support all democratic institutions in Turkey (European Commission, 2016b).

After the coup, the death penalty in Turkey was again on the agenda. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has made statements that he will approve the death penalty if he is parliamentary. (Cagaptay and Jeffrey, 2016). The EU authorities have stated that if the death penalty comes to revive in Turkey, the process of accession negotiations would suffer serious harm. For example, the EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, in the case of re-entry into force of the death penalty in Turkey has announced that it would stop accession talks with Turkey. On top of that, Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu emphasized that the words of the EU regarding the death penalty are unnecessary. Cavusoglu stated that despite Turkey's EU to become full members that have worked for many years great effort and all these efforts have highlighted the desired result cannot be achieved However he said that two-thirds of the Turkish public sector considered to terminate Turkey's relationships with EU (Euractiv, 2016).

On 16 July 2016, Federica Mogherini, EU Foreign Policy, and Security Secretary and Vice-President of the European Commission, and Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Negotiations, Johannes Hahn, made a statement after the coup attempt. The statement condemned the coup attempt occurred on July 15, 2016, stated that Turkey supports the EU's democratic institutions in the country (Lecha, 2016). Mogherini stressed that the social tension in the country, which would have solved the democratic process and stated that Turkey's constitutional order and to respect the EU's values (Kirisci and Laub, 2016).

A presidential spokesman on this discourse from the EU Ibrahim, the thick stated that they do nothing but warned that Turkey's coup attempt later to condemn the coup that it expects significant support from Western countries and returning to Turkey's constitutional order. However, on July 18, 2016, EU External Relations Council on developments in Turkey were discussed. The coup attempt on July 15 was condemned and the legal institutions of the state were supported. The EU also appreciated the attitudes of the political parties on the coup attempt. It was also stated that police and security forces in the country should use disproportionate force in the events and that everything should be done in a way to strengthen democracy and rule of law. On the other hand, this meeting in which Turkey is a key country for the EU, stated that abolition of the death penalty is a prerequisite to be full members to EU and it was stressed that Turkey's membership negotiations, countries should work for the development of democracy and

stability (Foreign Affairs Council, 2016). The EU considers the Turkish government to declare a state of emergency and to take some measures and measures after the coup attempt contradicts democracy, rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms. For this purpose, the European Union have been invited to return to constitutional order as soon as possible to Turkey. Emphasizing that democracy is respected and that the rule of law is to be guaranteed, EU officials have said that these values are crucial for the EU. For example, European Parliament Rapporteur for Turkey Piri Katie was deemed necessary to take measures after the coup attempt. But Piri has warned Turkey about the absence of these measures contrary to democracy (European Paliament, 2016). Similarly, Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, similarly said that democracy is not just a voting activity, democracy has pluralism, active media, power separation requires an independent and authoritative parliament. Schulz, therefore, stressed that Turkey experienced a moment ago that to get rid of multiple crises and the need to strengthen Turkey-EU relations. Because according to Turkey away from the EU will lead to its entry into an unstable way.

Against all this, the Ankara government has continued to sharpen its rhetoric and announced that it will suspend the Readmission Agreement if visa liberalization is not implemented until the end of October according to the principle of "pacta sunt servande". President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu have announced that the readmission agreement will not continue if visa liberalization is not provided on many platforms (Vincenti, 2016).

Meanwhile, Thorbjorn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, stated that the operations in Cumhuriyet newspaper and 15 Kurdish newspapers in October 2016 were against the freedom of expression. Jagland stated that applies to the state of emergency period, Turkey has warned that democracy and fundamental rights and freedoms (International Federation of Journalists, 2016). Moreover, Mogherini and Hahn, have found the judiciary the education system in Turkey and unacceptable restrictions to the media (Buttler and Pamuk, 2016). However Mogherini and Hahn Diyarbakir coming through democratic elections metropolitan They worried Mayor of Diyarbakir Gülten Kışanak and co-chair Fırat Anlı arrested and Turkey democracy, have warned the rule and fundamental rights law and violations made to freedom (BBC, 2016).

However, on 9 November 2016, the European Commission published its Turkey Progress Report. According to report, Turkey has an important country for EU and EU member states. It condemned the coup attempt, which took place on July 15 in Turkey, and was told that the report supported the democratic institutions in the country. However, because of measures were taken following the coup attempt, the EU's rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms, Turkey has warned of maximizing level. Because the measures were taken after the coup attempt were found to be contrary to law and constitutional order. On the other hand, the report between Turkey and the EU, which opened 16 titles and 1 indicating where grain is temporarily closed 15 (Energy), 26 (Education and Culture), 31 (Foreign, Security and Defense Policy) and 23 (Judiciary and Fundamental Rights) it is said that the studies on the headlines are continuing. In addition, it was emphasized that the acceleration of the negotiation process depends on fulfilling the obligations of Turkey's negotiating framework (European Commission, 2016b). However, in Turkey after the July 15 coup attempt, which was declared a state of emergency and noted that significant changes are made within the scope of a state of emergency (Penev, 2016). Thereupon, the EU, Turkey is the rule of law, democracy and human rights issues has been invited to comply with and examined by the EU Council of Ministers stated that these measures.

402

On November 24, 2016, a meeting was held at the General Assembly of the European Parliament on the grounds that Turkey comply with EU and predicted values expressed in the Progress Report of the EU authorities, According to the European Parliament (EP), condemning the failed coup attempt, the Turkish government has been found to have received disproportionate measures under emergency situations. In the framework of the measures taken by Parliament, a large number of arrests, detentions, and dismissals made in Turkey and the death penalty was resumed debate on the introduction of force. All of these recommendations relating to the temporary suspension of membership talks with Turkey, saying that Parliament was contrary to European values has decided. President Erdogan, the face of this decision after the end of Turkey's relations with the EU and whether the suspension of the negotiations had said he was looking for an alternative to Turkey (EUObserver, 2016a).

However, after the recommendation given by the European Parliament on November 24, 2016, December 1 2016't Germany, the European Commission and many

other countries said it should continue accession talks with Turkey and therefore the EU to stop accession talks between Turkey and EU he did not intensify his efforts. However, EU countries with migration and negative thoughts and Dutch diplomats who are concerned about the radical Islamic group in the EU argued it would be better to stop negotiations with the EU in fear of Turkey (Euractiv, 2016b).

Turkey-EU Relations in the Context of Understanding Comparison of Two Military Coup

There are differences between the military coup that September 12, 1980, and the coup attempt on 15 July 2016. The military coup on September 12, when there was a political and economically unstable period in which first and foremost right and left conflicts were experienced, was successful and the July 15 coup attempt ended in failure (Cagaptay and Jeffrey, 2016). However, When the 12 September coup was carried out by members of the Turkish armed forces, it could not be claimed that the July 15 coup attempt was linked to the state ideology and that it had identified its institutional position with that ideology and maintained its relatively autonomous structure, not by the army hierarchy or by a group within the army. On the contrary, the dynamics of this coup formed from the outside of the army hierarchy, driven by the interests of an organization (Alkan, 2016).

403

During the September 12 military coup, there was no harsh rhetoric about coup d'état from EU. At the same time, there was not a single voice from the EU. The coup was welcomed and supported positively by a group of states on the grounds that democracy and order were brought to the country. Then there was a military coup in Spain. The EU is satisfied with the military coup in Turkey, it has a negative attitude towards Insert two strokes to avoid double standards (Çakır, 2016). However, some applications against the EU because of Turkey's democratic values, which had suspended its relations with Turkey and this decision was approved by the EU institutions. While Turkey was facing a coup attempt July 15, EU contented to wait and condemned the coup attempt. Later, in a statement, the EU said it supports the elected government came to Turkey was invited to return as soon as possible in the present democratic order (Akdoğan, 2017). Turkey's responding negatively to this invitation, this issue of Turkey's European Parliament because of its internal affairs to say that and does not comply with

democratic values, measures and practices with Turkey on November 24, 2016, has recommended the suspension of the negotiation process between the EU (European Parliament, 2016).

After the military coup on September 12, 1982, there was no long-term development between the two sides after the relations were suspended. November 1983 general elections were held in Turkey, and even though a civilian government came to power, said the EU did not see this process as democratic. Between the two sides, but since 1986 the development has not reached the desired size (Altun, 2016). In the aftermath of the July 15 coup attempt, relations between the two sides continued, although there were mutual criticism and restructuring between the two sides. For example, it published in November 2016 Progress Report on Turkey and the visa liberalization process despite the difficulties it is stated that in a good way ahead. According to the report it stated that a reduction in illegal immigration between Turkey and Greece, but Turkey's criteria for visa liberalization is still focused on completion. Some lawmakers in the European Parliament also stated that 72 should be completed by the specified criteria to ensure that visa liberalization with Turkey (The Parliament, 2016). The report also stated that with Turkey Customs Union between the EU continued to be updated. On October 28, 2016, the AP International Trade Committee held a meeting to update and expand the Customs Union (European Commission, 2016c).

404

MEPs and the EU-Turkey Customs Union Rapporteur David Borelli, the European Commission updated draft of the Customs Union until the end of December, the EU Council of Ministers stated that they would be fulfilled by the Board. Borelli with Turkey the provision of such developments and important steps in the process of trade integration between the EU has said it will lead to expulsion. There are several reasons for such differences between the two military coups and the failure of the July 15 coup attempt. The first of these is that the government is strong and that the people give serious support to the government. In the survey conducted by the Mak Consultancy Company, if the support of the Turkish people to the President is 71%, it is seen that 53.55% of the people will vote the same if there is a new general election (Mak Danışmanlık, 2018).

On the other hand, Ipsos Company's survey showed that Turkish people's trust and confidence in the army decreased. According to the survey, the people's confidence in the

army fell to 73% (Ipsos Kmg, 2018). Similarly, Kadir Has University of Turkey in the Socio-Political Trends Survey trust and faith in the military declined 57.7% (Khas, 2015). In a sense, the government is strong and its backing of the people has caused the EU's stick to not work. On the other hand, the planners of the September 12, 1980 coup succeeded, and even the power to resist the coup against the coup on the coup day remained. For this reason, society can be easily taken over (Dayioğlu, 2018). Moreover, this period has also come a stable government in Turkey and increased polarization in the country. So much so that from 1977 until the 1980 military coup, five governments were established in the country and these governments became coalition governments. However, these governments have not achieved the desired success and stability. (TNGA, 2012).

Second, as claimed in Turkey, it is observed the democratic development in the EU accession process. In Turkey, even today positive steps towards the development of democracy in the country, even though you still experiencing a number of problems in human rights issues has been laid, while after the 1980 military coup, the 1982 Constitution was regarded as a product of military coups and institutions such as the National Security Council, the State Security Court and the Higher Education Council had democracy contradictions (San, 2010). For example, the eight reform packages made in 2001 are among the most important indicators of this situation. Democracy has already begun to settle in the country, where people have been in the side of the government during the coup attempt, even though there have been a number of disruptions and misapplications in the development of democracy in recent times.

The third reason is related to the economic crisis in the EU. The crisis, which started in the US in 2008 and infected many countries, has adversely affected many countries since its emergence. EU countries are also affected by this crisis. As the euro depreciated against the dollar, the EU's exports have fallen by 16% (Ertugrul, Ipek and Colak, 2010). Negotiations between the borrowers and lenders in the EU also resulted in serious disagreements and disagreements. For example, on 25 March 2010, an EU Summit took place and a decision was made to assist Greece, which suffered from the economic crisis. Germany, on the other hand, has been cautious about the EU's concern about the rising budget deficit, and this has led to confidence in the Euro as well as negative debate about the future of the EU (Ozturk and Govdere, 2010).

However, when viewed economically Customs Union which has existed since 1996 between the EU and Turkey is an important share of the economy's problem areas even if Turkey itself. In the updated report on the Customs Union, the World Bank published in 2012 on the Customs Union with Turkey, it is possible to see that their country's economy a huge contribution so far. According to Turkey, the EU's fifth largest trading partner of Turkey with the EU is the biggest trading partner (European Commission, 2016d). When the 2015 data 44.5% of Turkey's exports while imports of 40.3%; The data in 2016 50.2% of imports made 46.2% of Turkey's exports to the EU. To enter an alternative pursuit terminate their relationship with such an environment will harm Turkey's EU significantly to the national economy.

The fourth reason is related to the refugee crisis experienced during the Arab Spring. Despite negative developments between the two sides after the coup attempt, the work towards the refugees fleeing the EU in the context of the Roadmap signed on December 16, 2013, continued and significant steps were taken. For example, on 8 December 2016, the European Commission published its Fourth Declaration of the EU-Turkey Progress Report. Despite the difficulties in implementing in the report, the European Commission has been told that the process has progressed considerably and that the number of those who cross the Aegean Sea illegally has experienced a significant decline. For example, in October 2015 an average of 10,000 people a day tried to cross the Aegean Sea illegally and this number has dropped to 90 since March 2016. However, it is emphasized that 7 out of 72 road maps are not completed yet and these criteria should be completed as soon as possible. It is stated that visa liberalization will be provided on this page (European Commission, 2016d) This situation is indicative want to continue accession negotiations with Turkey, despite the EU's decision in the European Parliament. However, despite the EU within the EU institutions and many of the state's objections Austria, Turkey and supported the decision to freeze accession talks with Austrian Foreign Minister Sebastian Kurz, has said he would veto decisions in the EU, this decision does not apply. In contrast, states such as Germany and France have stressed the strategic importance of Turkey and stated that negotiations with Turkey should continue. In a similar way, the European Commission President Juncker emphasized that Turkey should get rid of the harsh conditions and the EU's relations with the ice cream should establish closer relations with the European Union (Vytiska, 2016).

Conclusion

Whether a military coup or a coup attempt in one country fails or reaches success, it affects the democratic development of the country negatively. If the military coup succeeds, the new administration, which seizes power, will be constrained to establish its own order, and if the coup fails, the existing administration will be constrained to penalize and strengthen its power. The military coup attempt occurred on July 15, 2016 coup, and on 12 September 1980 Turkey experienced in the development of democracy in Turkey has affected seriously.

After the September 12 military coup and the July 15 military coup attempt, the EU did not make a single sound at the beginning. Moreover, within the EU after the event, it has emerged as the different opinions against Turkey. For example, after September 12 military coup, the EU thought that the coup took place on the grounds that Turkey has made support for the re-establishment of democracy. However, Turkey did not immediately terminate their relationship in Turkey in the face of restrictions and violations Afterwards, the EU has suspended its relations with Turkey. And after the July 15 coup attempt after the failure of expect that support found failed coup attempt from Turkey in the EU, the EU condemned the interference experienced in Turkey and stated that they supported the government came to work through democratic means. Then the EU, Turkey in the shortest possible time and invited to return to the existing order. The Turkish authorities stated that the problem was its own internal issue and that the EU should not be involved in this situation. As a result, in November 2016 the European Parliament has recommended the suspension of negotiations with Turkey. However, this decision was rejected by EU institutions. There are reasons for this decision to come out.

Firstly, due to the Arab Spring process, there is instability in the Middle East. Turkey is a neighbor of the countries in the region. In case of breaking of ties between Turkey and the EU, EU officials fear that Turkey's destabilization. Second, the government is stronger than the period of September 12 that the government in Turkey. So much so that during the July 15 coup attempt after calling the people to the streets against those who carried out the coup in the speech made by the President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has emerged in public administration in Turkey and those who were against the

coup. The government, which is in an economically and politically strong position, has increased its power by taking the support of the people.

Thirdly, the EU has noticed that its institutional structure has not been working properly and has become non-functional, especially due to the negativities caused by the global economic crisis. Because, for this reason, the EU did not follow an active foreign policy as desired and the EU's prestige in the international conjuncture was shaken. On the other hand, the EU, in turn, has reduced its power to do what it wants against candidate countries and third countries. Fourth, until today, the Customs Union which has existed since 1996 between the EU and Turkey has provided significant economic benefits to both sides at the time. The two sides have begun negotiations on the updating of the Customs Union in order to integrate the areas not envisaged in the Association Council Decision 1/95 to increase their profits. Both of them realized that they achieved significant economic benefits from this cooperation. Therefore, the EU did not want to win out in Turkey.

References

- Akdoğan, M. (2017). Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye'deki Askeri Müdahalelerin Avrupa Birliği İlişkilerine Etkisi. *Journal of Awareness*. Cilt 2, No. 3, pp.221-228.
- Akgün, B. (2010). 12 Eylül döneminde İç ve Dış Politika. Adem Çaylak, Mehmet Dikkaya, Cihat Göktepe ve Hüsnü Kapu (eds.). *Osmanlı'dan İki binli Yıllara Türkiye'nin Politik Tarihi*, Ankara: Savaş Yayınevi.
- Akıncı, A. (2013). Türk siyasal hayatında 1980 sonrası darbeler ve e-muhtıra. *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Cilt 15, Sayı 2, pp. 39-58.
- _____. (2014). Türkiye'nin darbe geleneği: 1960 ve 1971 müdahaleleri. *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi*, Cilt 9, No. 1, pp. 55-72.
- Aksu, K. (2012). A historical background to Turkey-Europe Relations. Kenan Aksu (ed.). *Turkey-EU Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Alemdar, Z. (2016). Three scenarios for Turkey-EU relations after July 15th. <http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/three-scenarios-for-turkey-eu-relations-after-july-15th-4144.html>.
- Alkan, H. (2016). 15 Temmuz Anlamak: Parametreler ve Sonuçlar. *Bilig*. 79, pp. 253-272.
- Altun, A. (2016). Askeri Darbelerin Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Üzerindeki Etkileri: 1960, 1971 ve 1982 Askeri Darbelerinin Bir İncelemesi. *Tarih Okulu Dergisi*. Cilt 9, Sayı 26, pp. 417-458.
- Aslan, O. (2016). The July 15th failed coup attempt in Turkey: Causes, consequences, and implications in comparative perspective. <http://sharqforum.org/2016/07/31/the-july-15th-failed-coup-attempt-in-turkey/>.
- Bac, M. M. (2001). *Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliği: Soğuk savaş sonrası ilişkiler*, İstanbul: Alfa Yayıncılık.
- Baykal, S. and Arat, T. (2006). AB ile ilişkiler 1990-2002. Baskın Oran (ed.). *Türk Dış Politikası Olgular, Belgeler ve Yorumlar*, Cilt 2, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- BBC. (2016). Turkey attempted coup: EU says measures unacceptable. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36861154>.

- Butler, D. and Pamuk, H. (2016). Turkey rejects Europe's 'red line' on press freedom after detentions. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-security-idUSKBN12W3NK>.
- Cagaaptay, S. and Jeffrey, J. F. (2016). Inside Turkey's failed coup: What happened?, Why?, What Next?. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/inside-turkeys-failed-coup-what-happened-why-what-next>.
- Commission of the European Communities (1982). *Fifteenth general report on the activities of the European Communities in 1981*, Brussels: ECSC.
- Çakır, A. E. (2016). Her Zaman Kaybedenler Listesinde: AB-Türkiye İlişkilerinde Türkiye'nin Rakipleri. *AB-Türkiye İlişkilerinin 50 Yılı: Bir Sisifos Hikayesi*. Armağan Emre Çakır (ed.), İstanbul, BB101 Yayınları.
- Çalış, S. (2006). Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği ilişkileri kimlik arayışı, politik aktörler ve değişim, Ankara, Nobel Yayınları.
- Dalay, G. (2016). The 15th failed coup attempt in Turkey: Structural roots. <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/08/15th-failed-coup-attempt-turkey-structural-roots-160830082818169.html>.
- Dayıoğlu, I. (2018). Devrimci hareketlerin 12 Eylül 1980 askeri darbesi öncesi ve sonrası tutumu üzerine. <https://www.alevinet.com/2014/09/12/devrimci-hareketlerin-12-eylul-1980-askeri-darbesi-oncesi-ve-sonrasi-tutumu-uzerine/>.
- Erdem, G. (2015). 12 Eylül darbesi'nin Türkiye'nin Avrupa ile ilişkilerine etkileri: Avrupa Topluluğu ve Avrupa Konseyi'yle ilişkiler. Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi, Cilt 14, No.1, pp. 29-64.
- Erdenir, B. (2013). Türkiye-Avrupa Bütünleşmesi: Kimlik ve kültür unsurları. Belgin Akçay ve Sinem Akgül Açıkşese (ed.). *Yarım Asrın Ardından Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi.
- Erhan, C. and Arat, T. (2005). AET ile ilişkiler. *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Cilt 1, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- _____ (2006). AT ile ilişkiler (1980-1990). Baskın Oran (ed.). *Türk Dış Politikası Olgular, Belgeler ve Olaylar*, Cilt 2, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Ertugrul, C., Ipek, E. and Colak, O. (2010). Küresel mali krizin Türkiye ekonomisine etkileri. *Akademik Fener*, Cilt 8, No. 13, pp. 59-72.

EUObserver. (2016a). Turkey still open to EU despite differences. <https://euobserver.com/tickers/136089>.

_____. (2016b). EU in damage control on festering Turkey relations. <https://euobserver.com/enlargement/136045>.

Euractiv. (2016a). Turkish FM: EU failed the test after the coup attempt. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/turkish-fm-eu-failed-the-test-after-the-coup-attempt/>.

_____. (2016b). Dutch join push for EU-Turkey accession talks freeze. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/news/dutch-join-push-for-eu-turkey-accession-talks-freeze/>.

European Commission. (2016a). Joint statement by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini and Commissioner for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations Johannes Hahn on the situation in Turkey. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-16-2555_en.htm.

_____. (2016b). Turkey 2016 report, Brussels.

_____. (2016c). *Third Report on the Progress made in the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement*, Brussels.

_____. (2016d). Statement by the President of the European Commission, the President of the European Council, and the EU High Representative on behalf of the EU Member States present at the ASEM Summit on the situation in Turkey. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-16-2554_en.htm.

European Council On Foreign Relations. (2016). “EU-Turkey relations after July 15: Turning the page. http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_eu_turkey_relations_after_july_15_turning_the_page7124.

European Parliament. (2016). Turkey: handling of the aftermath of the coup attempt is a crucial test, say MEPs. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20160830IPR40513/turkey-handling-of-aftermath-of-coup-attempt-is-a-crucial-test-say-meps>.

European Parliament. (2016). European Parliament resolution of 24 November 2016 on EU-Turkey relations (2016/2993(RSP)). <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2016-0450+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>

Foreign Affairs Council. (2016). Council conclusions on Turkey. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/07/18-fac-turkey-conclusions/>.

Idiz, S. (2016). EU tries to mend fences with Turkey following an attempted coup. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/09/turkey-european-union-tries-mend-fences.html>.

International Federation Of Journalists. (2016). A new wave of repression targeting daily Cumhuriyet in Turkey”, <http://www.ifj.org/nc/news-single-view/backpid/1/article/new-wave-of-repression-targeting-daily-cumhuriyet-in-turkey/>

412

Ipsos Kmg. (2018). A Guide to understand to Turkey”, <https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/459578336949989507/>.

Kalkışım, C. ve Erdoğan, S. (2018). Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri ve 15 Temmuz Darbe Girişiminin Ardından Yaşanan Gelişmeler. *KSBD*. Cilt 10, Sayı 18, pp. 399-420.

Karabulut, U. (2007). Anavatan Partisi iktidarının ilk yıllarında Türkiye-Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu (AET) ilişkileri ve Türkiye'nin AET'ye tam üyelik başvurusu. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Cilt 6, Sayı 14, pp. 137-159.

Khas. (2015). Kadir Has üniversitesi Türkiye sosyal-siyasal eğilimler araştırması. *Kantitatif Araştırma Özet*, İstanbul.

- Kirisci, K. and Laub, Z. (2016). Turkey's prospects after the coup attempt. <https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/turkeys-prospects-after-the-coup-attempt/>.
- Lecha, E. S. (2016). The international impact of the failed coup in Turkey. *Opinion*, No. 425, p. 1-3.
- Mak Danışmanlık. (2018). 25 – 30 Temmuz 2016 toplumunun 15 temmuz 2016 demokrasiye darbe teşebbüsüne bakış açısı araştırması. <http://www.makdanismanlik.org/25-30-temmuz-2016-toplumunun-15-temmuz-2016-demokrasiye-darbe-tesebbusune-bakis-acisi-arastirmasi/>.
- Milliyet. (1984). Halefoğlu bugün AET Komisyon Başkanı Thorn ile görüşecek. *Milliyet*, İstanbul, 1984.
- Oran, B. (2002). Batı bloku ekseninde Türkiye-2 1980-1990. Baskın Oran (ed.). *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Cilt 2, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Ozturk, S. and Govdere, B. (2010). Küresel finansal kriz ve Türkiye ekonomisine etkileri. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt 15, No. 1, pp. 377-397.
- Penev, D. (2016). Does Turkey really want visa liberalization?. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/opinion/does-turkey-really-want-visa-liberalization/>.
- San C. (2010). Türkiye'de demokrasi ve insan hakları sorunları: Avrupa Birliği İle bütünleşme önündeki tek engel mi?. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, Cilt 58, Sayı 1, pp. 261-277.
- TNGA. (2012). *Ülkemizde demokrasiye müdahale eden tüm darbe ve muhtıralar ile demokrasiyi işlevsiz kılan diğer bütün girişim ve süreçlerin tüm boyutlarıyla araştırılarak alınması gereken önlemlerin belirlenmesi amacıyla kurulan meclis araştırması komisyon raporu*, Ankara.
- TNGA. (2016). Turgut Özal hükümeti programı. <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP45.htm>.

- Tekeli, I. and Ilkin, S. (2000). Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliđi III: Ulus-Devleti'ni asma çabasındaki Avrupa'ya Türkiye'nin yaklaşımı, Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık.
- The Parliament. (2016). EU Parliament chief to visit Turkey amid ongoing tension. <https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/articles/news/eu-parliament-chief-visit-turkey-amid-ongoing-tension>.
- Ugur, M. (2007). Türkiye'nin üyeliđi yerine Gümrük Birliđi Mi?: AB-Türkiye ilişkileri üzerine bir başka yorum. Bülent Gökay (ed.). *Türkiye Avrupa'nın Neresinde? Gümrük Birliđi Anlaşması'nın Düşündürdükleri*, Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi.
- Vincenti, D. (2016). Turkey to back out of EU migrant deal if no visa-free travel. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/turkey-to-back-out-of-eu-migrant-deal-if-no-visa-free-travel/>.
- Vytiska, H. (2016). Austrian foreign minister moves away from Ankara towards Moscow. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/news/austrian-foreign-minister-moves-away-from-erdogan-towards-putin/>.