

ESI's Who's Who in the Turkey visa debate

Information and contacts

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Introduction

Since 2011, the European Stability Initiative has worked on generating understanding and support for a visa roadmap process for Turkey in both Turkey and the EU. Such a process would require Turkey to implement a series of reforms in the areas of illegal migration control, passport and document security, border management, asylum, the fight against organised crime and corruption, and human rights. In return, the Schengen visa requirement for short-stay visits for Turkish nationals would be lifted.

We believe that this process would be beneficial for both sides. It has the potential to improve relations between the two sides, which have been going through a rough period due to Turkey's stalling EU accession negotiations. Turkey and the EU would work together more closely again and regain trust in each other. Many of the required reforms would help turn Turkey into a modern state aware of its international and human rights obligations. At the same time they would help the EU deal resolve the problem of irregular transit migration through Turkey and increase its security.

The purpose of this manual is to give an overview of the main stakeholders in this process. It explains the roles of decision-makers, the media and the civil society and provides their contact details.

ESI is grateful to the Stiftung Mercator for supporting the Turkey Visa Project.

ESI,
Brussels, September 2013

EU DECISION-MAKERS

Powers and procedures

The EU law that determines whether travellers can enter the Schengen zone without a visa is [Council Regulation 539/2001](#). In Annex I, the “black list”, the Regulation lists the countries whose nationals must be in possession of a visa when crossing the EU’s external borders. In Annex II, the “white list”, it lists those countries whose nationals are exempt from that requirement. Currently there are 125 countries including Turkey listed in Annex I, and 42 countries in Annex II.¹ For a country on the black list to be granted visa-free travel, the Regulation needs to be amended so that the country is moved from Annex I to Annex II.

The Schengen zone is made up of 26 countries: 22 EU member states and 4 non-EU countries. The EU member states that are *not* Schengen countries are Ireland and the UK (they have decided to maintain their own border control and visa policies); Bulgaria and Romania (which will accede as soon as the other EU member states agree that they are ready) and Cyprus (which will accede if the division of the island is overcome). The 4 non-EU Schengen countries are Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland.

Decisions about the visa policies relevant to the entry of the Schengen zone are made by EU member countries alone (without Ireland and the UK) together with the European Parliament and the European Commission.

The **European Commission**, as the “guardian of the Treaties”, has the exclusive right to propose an amendment of Regulation 539/2001 to the Council of the European Union, where the member states are represented, and the Parliament. Since December 2009, when the Treaty of Lisbon entered into force, both the Council and the European Parliament share the decision-making power on visa policy on an equal footing. Prior to that, the Parliament had only to be consulted, but its opinion was not binding. The procedure applicable now is the so-called ordinary legislative procedure².

The Council takes decision on visa policy including Regulation 539/2001 by qualified majority.³ Each member state has a certain number of weighed votes. Since Ireland and the UK do not vote on visa policy, the needed votes are 234 out of 316. The votes have to come from at least 14 member states representing 62% of the population of the voting countries.⁴

¹ [Consolidated version of the Council Regulation 539/2001](#),

² Article 77(2) of the [Treaty of Functioning of the EU \(TFEU\)](#) stipulates that the two bodies will, “[...] acting with accordance with ordinary legislative procedure, adopt measures concerning: a) the common policy on visa and short-stay residence permits; b) the checks to which persons crossing external borders are subject; [...]”. Article 294 TFEU explains in detail the ordinary legislative procedure.

³ Article 294(8) TFEU.

⁴ If all 28 member states vote, the needed votes for a qualified majority are 260 out of 352. The positive votes should come from at least 15 member states, which account for 62% of the population of the EU..See [Lisbon Treaty](#), Protocol 36 on transitional provisions, Title II. Also, see the [Voting Calculator of the Council](#).

Distribution of votes in the Council:

Member state	Votes
France, Germany, Italy, (UK)	29
Poland, Spain	27
Romania	14
Netherlands	13
Belgium, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal	12
Austria, Bulgaria, Sweden	10
Croatia, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Slovakia, (Ireland)	7
Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Slovenia	4
Malta	3

This system will slightly change in from 1 November 2014. The new qualified majority will correspond to at least 55 percent of the member states and representing at least 65 percent of the EU population.⁵ Each 1 January the Council updates the population figures based on Eurostat data. However, in the period between 1 November 2014 and 31 March 2017, any member state will be able to request that an act be adopted in accordance with the qualified majority system as it is in force today.⁶

The European Parliament is a co-decision-maker on equal footing with the Council. The decision-making procedure that the two bodies follow is called "ordinary legislative procedure". This means that a legislative proposal goes through one or two readings, usually always with the Parliament looking at the proposal first, and, if the two bodies cannot agree on it, it is passed on to a conciliation committee, which tries to pave the way for adoption. An amendment of Regulation 539/2001 requires a simple majority of MEP's votes to be adopted. So far, the Parliament has been very much in favour of visa liberalisation with third countries, always supporting the respective legislative proposals.

Further reading

[ESI's backgrounder on the decision-making process for visa policy in the EU 2009/2010](#)

[European Parliament, The ordinary legislative procedure](#)

[Voting Calculator of the Council](#)

[EU institutions, The roles of the EU institutions in the decision-making process](#)

⁵ [TFEU](#), Article 238.

⁶ [Lisbon Treaty](#), Protocol No.36 on transitional provisions, Title II, Art.3(2).

The role of the European Commission

At the Commission, two Commissioners and the departments under their authority are in charge of the visa liberalisation process for Turkey: Cecilia Malmstrom, the Commissioner for Home Affairs, and the Directorate-General for Home Affairs (DG HOME); and the Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy Stefan Fule and the Directorate-General for Enlargement (DG ELARG).

DG HOME has had the lead on this issue since visa policy falls under its competence, but DG ELARG has been involved and provided input since it deals with Turkey and other accession countries.

The Commission is not only the sole institution that can propose changes to Council Regulation 539/2001. It also runs visa liberalisation processes. It drafts the roadmap (the catalogue of conditions) in consultation with member states. It establishes a system for reporting by the country implementing the roadmap. It organises the assessment missions to the ground comprising Commission officials and experts from the member states, and it produces progress reports. It presents these progress assessments to both the countries involved and the member states. Finally, it provides the countries with technical and financial assistance. In short, the Commission is in charge of the visa liberalisation process.

When member states decided in June 2012 to offer a visa liberalisation process to Turkey, they therefore “invited” the Commission “to take steps towards visa liberalisation as a gradual and long term perspective.”⁷ In Turkey’s case, there were two specificities: Firstly, the Council made it clear that the launch of the process would take place “in parallel to the signature of the readmission agreement between Turkey and the EU”,⁸ which was a long-standing demand of the EU. (All other countries that have been offered a visa liberalisation process – the Western Balkan countries, Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia – already had a readmission agreement with the EU in place before the EU made its offer.) Secondly, the visa liberalisation process was embedded in a broader dialogue and cooperation framework on justice and home affairs issues to address not only visa-related, but also other justice and home affairs matters.

⁷ Point 8 of the [Conclusions](#) of 21 June 2012: “[The Council] invites the European Commission, in parallel to the signature of the readmission agreement between Turkey and the EU, to take steps towards visa liberalisation as a gradual and long term perspective within the above mentioned cooperation framework. Such cooperation should be established on the basis of an Action Plan and progress would be founded on a performance based approach and conditioned on an effective and consistent implementation by Turkey of those requirements vis-à-vis the EU and its Member States. Such requirements should in particular, while upholding international obligations, include an effective and full implementation of the readmission agreement vis-à-vis all Member States and effective cooperation on JHA issues with all Member States, a better management of mixed migration flows at its borders, and further alignment with the EU acquis, especially in respect of the visa policy and those third countries whose nationals constitute a significant source of the mixed migratory flows towards the EU and as regards reciprocity, as well as its asylum legislation.”

⁸ *Ibid.*

The responsible Commissioners and their cabinet members



Cecilia Malmström (Sweden) - Justice and Home Affairs Commissioner

Prior to her appointment as a European Commissioner, Cecilia Malmström served as Swedish Minister for European Union Affairs (2006–2010) and Member of the European Parliament (1999–2006). She is a member of the Liberal People's Party, part of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe.

Website: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/malmstrom/



Laurent Muschel - Deputy Head of the Cabinet of Cecilia Malmström

In charge of, inter alia, the JHA Council, external relations and strategic partners, visa policy, the Visa Code and consular cooperation.

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Stefan Füle (Czech Republic) - Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy

Prior to this post, Stefan Füle held several positions with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, most recently as the Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to NATO (2005-2009). He began his diplomatic career in 1987, working at the United Nations desk of the Czech Foreign Affairs Ministry and later at the Czech Delegation to the United Nations itself in New York. From 1998 to 2001, he was Ambassador to Lithuania, and from 2003 to 2005, Ambassador to the UK.

Website: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/fule/



Christine Grau - Member of the Cabinet of Stefan Füle in charge of Turkey

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The responsible Directorates-General

While the Commissioners represent the political level and are comparable to government ministers, the Directorates-General represent the administration. Each Directorate-General is headed by a Director-General.

DG HOME

As part of the European Commission, the Directorate-General for Home Affairs prepares EU-level rules in the areas of asylum, migration, border control, organised crime and terrorism, and watches over their application. It consists of approximately 300 staff members. They are managed by Stefano Manservisi.

Stefano Manservisi (Italy), the Director-General for Home Affairs



Prior to this post, which he has held since 2010, Stefano Manservisi was the Director-General for DG Development and Relations with Africa, Caribbean and Pacific States. Mr Manservisi joined the European Commission in 1983. He served, among others, as Deputy Head of the Cabinet of Commissioner R. Vanni d' Archirafi; Head of the Cabinet of Commissioner Mario Monti; and Head of the Cabinet of Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission from 1999 to 2004. Mr Manservisi holds a law degree and studied at the University of Bologna, the University of Paris I Panthéon–Sorbonne, and the University of Strasbourg.

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The DG is further divided in directorates and units. The two directorates which are relevant for visa policy are Directorate C – Schengen, headed by Belinda Pyke, and Directorate D – Strategy and Delivery Steering, headed by Marta Cygan. They host the visa unit and the international relations unit. The organigram of DG Home can be found [here](#).

Directorate C – Schengen

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Directorate D - Strategy and Delivery Steering

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Head of Unit D2 (International Affairs, Mobility Partnerships): Luigi Soreca, luigi.soreca@ec.europa.eu, tel. +32 2 2962116

DG Enlargement

DG Enlargement has approximately 900 staff members in Brussels and in the EU Delegations in enlargement countries. They work under the political authority of Commissioner Stefan Fule and are currently managed by acting Director-General Joost Korte. The organigram of DG Enlargement can be found [here](#).



On 1 October 2013, **Christian Danielsson** from Sweden will become Director-General of DG ELARG. He is currently Deputy Secretary-General at the Commission's Secretariat-General, a post he has held since 2010. Before that, he was a director in the Enlargement DG, deputy Head of Cabinet of former Commission Vice-President Gunter Verheugen, and a Member of the Cabinet of Anita Gradin, the first Swedish commissioner. Prior to joining the European Commission, Mr Danielsson was Head of the External Relation section at the Swedish Permanent Representation to the EU. christian.danielsson@ec.europa.eu

Mr Danielsson is replacing **Stefano Sannino** from Italy (picture on the right), who left the post of Director-General to become Italy's Permanent Representative to the EU on 1 July 2013. The issue of visa liberalisation for Turkey became relevant while he was managing DG ELARG. Mr Sannino is an Italian diplomat and a long-time Commission official. Currently the DG is run by Deputy Director-General **Joost Korte** from the Netherlands (picture below), a lawyer specialised in European law who has been working for EU institutions since 1991. Joost.Korte@ec.europa.eu



Other relevant staff at DG ELARG:



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The role of the Council of the EU

The EU's 27 member states are represented in the **Council of the European Union**, a body that is supported by a Secretariat and some 150 different working groups. At the highest level, the member states are represented by their ministers (notwithstanding the **European Council**, which brings together the heads of state or government). At the ministerial level, the Council meets in 10 different formations (Justice and Home Affairs Council, Environment Council, Agriculture Council etc.).

Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Council: Visa policy is discussed and decided by the EU's interior and justice ministers who come together as the Justice and Home Affairs Council. They meet approximately every other month, except when there is urgent business to do, then they meet more often. (During the Lithuanian Presidency in the second half of 2013, JHA meetings are scheduled for 18/19 July, 7/8 October and 5/6 December. During the preceding Irish Presidency, they took place on 7-8 March and 6-7 June 2013, and there was an informal meeting in Dublin on 17-18 January 2013.

The interior ministers are responsible for visa and migration policy, combating organised crime, corruption, terrorism, trafficking in humans and illegal migration, border management, asylum and refugees, security features of travel documents, coordination of drug policies, police cooperation and civil protection, while the justice ministers deal with judicial cooperation, fundamental rights and EU citizenship, data protection, the guarantee of civil rights during criminal proceedings, cooperation among justice authorities, law enforcement agencies, border police and customs authorities, cooperation in criminal justice matters, the fight against racism and xenophobia.

The **Foreign Affairs Council (FAC)** is made of up EU foreign ministers and meets at least once a month. It discusses visa policy since it is an issue of great relevance for bilateral relations. However, the actual decisions imposing or lifting visa requirements are taken by the interior ministers. As an accession country, Turkey is also discussed by the **General Affairs Council (GAC)**, which is usually also made up for the EU foreign ministers.

Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper): Before an issue is put on the agenda of a Council meeting, it is discussed and, as much as possible, agreed by the ambassadors or their deputies heading the Permanent Representations of the member states in Brussels. Coreper meets in two settings, Coreper II (the ambassadors) and Coreper I (their deputies). They deal with different subject areas. **Coreper II** deals with justice and home affairs as well as general affairs and external relations (which means it deals with Turkey), and economic and financial matters. Coreper II also prepares EU summits that bring together the 27 heads of government or state. **Coreper I** is in charge of employment, social policy, health and consumer affairs; competitiveness, internal market, industry and research; transport, telecommunications and energy; agriculture and fisheries; environment; education, youth and culture.

Antici Group: this group decides on the organisation of Coreper II proceedings. The Antici Group consists of the personal assistants of the Permanent Representatives, a Commission representative, a member of the General Secretariat of the Council and an official from the Legal Service.⁹ The meeting usually takes place on the afternoon before Coreper.

⁹ http://www.eurocollege.ru/filesserver/files/COREPER_9-5.pdf

Mertens Group: this group prepares the Coreper I meetings. Its composition is similar to that of the Antici Group.

Council Working Parties: There are more than 150 Council working groups that prepare the ministerial meetings. In the JHA field alone, their number fluctuates around 20, depending on which issues need to be dealt with. Council working groups are staffed with member state representatives that usually come from the Permanent Representations in Brussels and sometimes from the capitals.

Council working parties in the JHA field

The following are the Council working parties dealing with the JHA matters¹⁰. The most relevant for visa liberalisation with Turkey are in bold.

Strategic Committee on Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum (SCIFA): This group is the most senior among all the JHA working parties. It is an umbrella organisation staffed with civil servants from the member states and charged with supervising and coordinating all the other working groups active in the areas of migration, asylum, border control and visa. SCIFA meets monthly and proposes to Coreper the items that should be discussed at the next JHA Council. SCIFA also has overall responsibility to coordinate the activities aimed at establishing a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) and common migration policy.

The **High-Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration** deals with all issues related to entering and leaving the EU. This includes the framework for legal entry and stay in the EU, questions on returning illegally residing persons to their home countries and thus readmission agreements. The group also works on integration issues, promoting and supporting national integration policies.

Visa Working Party: This is the most relevant JHA working party among the JHA working parties when it comes to visa liberalisation processes. Usually it is this group that examines or is at least involved in examining the catalogue of conditions listed in the roadmap for visa liberalisation (sometimes called action plan). In Turkey's case, the Council Working Party on Enlargement (see p. 14) had the lead in drafting the roadmap, but the Visa Group was associated. The Visa Group also reviews a country's progress in meeting the roadmap conditions, and it prepares the conclusions and decisions of the interior ministers (which then go to Coreper and then to the ministers). While it is possible that other JHA working parties will deal with certain conditions that Turkey will need to meet, their involvement is likely to remain marginal.

The **JAI-RELEX Working Party** ensures that the EU's external relations in the area of justice and home affairs (JHA) are appropriately coordinated. JAI-RELEX also plays a coordinating role in assisting other relevant Council working parties in making more strategic assessments within the external dimension of the area of justice and home affairs.

The Asylum Working Party deals with asylum issues and has recently emerged from several years of work on recasting some of the basic laws on asylum. This includes the Dublin

¹⁰ <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/13/st05/st05581.en13.pdf>

Regulation, the Eurodac Regulation and a number of EU Directives concerning reception and procedures for asylum seekers in the EU.

The Working Party on Frontiers deals with legislation regulating the crossing of the external EU borders, the external borders of the Schengen area and the internal borders between Member States. Questions related to the EU agency for the management of external borders, Frontex, are also addressed in this group.

The Standing Committee on Operational Cooperation on Internal Security (COSI) was created to strengthen operational cooperation in relation to the internal security of the EU. The key objective of the Committee, as set out in the Lisbon Treaty, is to promote the coordination of operational actions between the EU Member States, including in the area of law enforcement.

The Working Party on Civil Law Matters (JUSTCIV) deals with legislative initiatives in the area of civil law cooperation and plays a coordinating role when a common EU position has to be established prior to meetings with other international bodies.

The Working Party on Terrorism (TWP) considers initiatives to prevent and fight terrorism. At TWP meetings, relevant national experiences and initiatives as well as information about current terrorism-related incidents are exchanged between Member States.

The Customs Cooperation Working Party (CCWP) is responsible for the coordination of customs cooperation between Member States and continuously improving cooperation between customs authorities and between customs and police. The group adopts action plans, projects and proposals for Joint Customs Operations (JCO).

The Working Party on Cooperation in Criminal Matters (COPEN) deals with initiatives, typically legislative, regarding cooperation in criminal matters between Member States, including mutual assistance in investigations, the surrender and transfer of sentenced persons and the enforcement of judicial decisions.

The Working Party on Substantive Criminal Law (DROIPEN) considers legislative initiatives regarding substantive criminal law, in particular initiatives to harmonise national provisions of substantive criminal law. In addition, the working party considers new legislation relating to criminal procedure.

The Working Party on Civil Protection (PROCIV) deals with the Union's efforts to prevent and manage natural and manmade disasters, such as floods, forest fires and earthquakes. The group addresses issues concerning mutual disaster assistance between EU Member States as well as the EU coordination of joint disaster assistance to third countries. PROCIV also engages in cross-sector cooperation on the protection of European critical infrastructure and security cooperation in the fight against terrorism in the area of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear materials (CBRN).

The Working Party on Fundamental Rights, Citizens Rights and Free Movement of Persons (FREMP) secures compliance with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, and considers the question of the EU's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights. The group is also involved with preparatory work in the legislative procedures of the Council.

The Working Party on Information Exchange and Data Protection (DAPIX) addresses issues relating to information exchange and data protection. On the information exchange side, it draws up EU strategies for ensuring the exchange of information between law enforcement authorities of Member States. In the area of data protection, the working party helps to ensure that data are exchanged in compliance with current principles and rules on personal data protection.

The Coordinating Committee in the area of police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters (CATS) prepares the work of the Council in the areas of criminal law and law enforcement cooperation. A variety of cases from the relevant Council working parties are discussed from a more strategic and coordinating perspective in the Committee before they go to COREPER and the Council.

The Law Enforcement Working Party (LEWP) considers initiatives regarding criminal investigation and law enforcement. A number of expert groups associated with the working party discuss topics such as security at major sports events and issues related to radio communication and stolen vehicles.

The Working Party for Schengen Matters meets in four different formations, each dealing with particular areas within the Schengen system. These are: evaluation mechanisms (SCHEVAL Group), the Schengen Information System (SIS SIRENE Group), technical questions (IS-TECH Group), and the Schengen rules (Schengen Acquis Group).

The Working Party on General Matters including Evaluation (GENVAL) draws up some of the Community's strategies and policies aimed at coordinating measures to prevent and counter organised crime. The working party also plans evaluations of the Member States' compliance with their international obligations in this area.

The Ad Hoc Working Party on JHA Financial Instruments This working party was set up in January 2012 to examine the financial instruments relating to the Multiannual Financial Framework in the areas of Justice and Home Affairs.

Council working parties in the foreign affairs area

Visa liberalisation processes are also discussed in the working groups under the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC). These working parties are usually geographically defined. The working group responsible for Turkey is:

COELA (Working Party on Enlargement and Countries Negotiating Accession to the EU). COELA covers Turkey, Montenegro, Serbia and Iceland, consequently the group also deals with the visa liberalisation process for Turkey. It was agreed between the Commission, the Cypriot Presidency in the second half of 2012 and the member states that COELA had the lead in examining the roadmap for Turkey, which the Commission had drafted. The roadmap was finalised and agreed by Coreper in December 2012.

COWEB (Working Party on the Western Balkan Region) is responsible for issues concerning the EU's relations with the Western Balkans countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo (Serbia was also part of Coweb's portfolio, but was

moved to Coela in the fall of 2013 due to the imminent beginning of accession negotiations). The group deals with both the general political and economic development in these countries as well as with the Stabilisation and Association Processes and the financial Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA). It has also followed the visa liberalisation processes for five Western Balkan countries (all except Kosovo) between 2008 and 2010, and now deals with the visa liberalisation process for Kosovo, which began in June 2012 when Kosovo received its roadmap.

For more information about these visa liberalisation processes, see ESI's web pages: [Western Balkans – The Opening](#),¹¹ [Visa-free travel and asylum](#),¹² and [Kosovo – the Balkan Ghetto](#)¹³.

COEST (Working Party on Eastern Europe and Central Asia) covers, among other countries, the EU's Eastern Partner countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) and Russia. All EaP countries have been promised visa liberalisation. Ukraine has been implementing an action plan on visa liberalisation since November 2010, Moldova since January 2011, and Georgia since February 2013. There is also a set of "common steps" from December 2011 that Russia is to take if it wants to qualify for visa-free travel with the EU.

More information about the visa processes in the EaP countries is available at ESI's website ["The EU's Eastern Partners – The Vision"](#)¹⁴.

The Council Secretariat

The Council Secretariat, or formally the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, is "closely and continually involved in organising, coordinating and ensuring the coherence of the Council's work and implementation of its annual programme".¹⁵ This involves "traditional tasks", such as planning, convening and organising meetings (annually around 100 sessions of the Council and more than 3,500 meetings of working parties and other gatherings such as extraordinary Council meetings or EU meetings with other states), arranging rooms and interpretation, writing the minutes, acting as the Council's registrar and memory by keeping archives, and being a depositary for international agreements.¹⁶

The relevant sections are:

**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL C
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ENLARGEMENT AND CIVIL
PROTECTION**

Mr Leonardo SCHIAVO
Director-General

¹¹ <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=495>

¹² <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=532>

¹³ <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=444>

¹⁴ <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=445>

¹⁵ Council Decision of 22 March 2004 adopting the Council's Rules of Procedure

¹⁶ "An Introduction to the Council of the European Union", European Communities, 2008, p.16

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The Presidency of the Council of the EU

The Presidency of the Council of the European Union is responsible for the functioning of the Council. It rotates between the member states of the EU every six months. The Presidency organises and chairs all Council meetings apart from that of the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC), which is chaired by the High Representative. (However, the chairmanship of FAC *Working Parties* is divided between the Presidency and the EEAS. For example, COELA and COEST are chaired by the Presidency, while COWEB is chaired by the EEAS. See [here](#).

The role of the rotating Council Presidency includes:

- setting agendas: during its six-month programme, it decides on the order of discussions of the different proposals and policies that need to be decided;
- brokering inter-institutional compromises: trialogues between Commission, Parliament and Council are held to reach early consensus when new legislation is decided under the co-decision legislative procedure; the Presidency also takes part in the Conciliation Committee between Parliament and Council at the third stage of the co-decision legislative procedure;
- coordinating national policies and brokering compromises between member states in the Council;
- management and administration of the Council, external and internal representation.

Three successive presidencies, known as Presidency trios, cooperate for an 18-month period to provide continuity by sharing a common political programme. The 2012–2013 trio consists of Cyprus (1 July 2012 - 31 December 2012), Ireland (1 January 2013 - 30 June 2013) and Lithuania (1 July 2013 - 31 December 2013).

Useful documents:

Lithuanian Presidency, [Programme of the Lithuanian Presidency of the Council of the European Union](#), July-December 2013

[Guide to the Lithuanian Presidency of the EU Council](#), July 2013

[Who is Who during the Lithuanian Presidency](#) , July 2013

Eamon Gilmore, Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs, [“Priorities of Irish Presidency in the field of enlargement”](#), speech at the AFET Committee of the European Parliament, 22 January 2013

Erika Szabo, [“What role for rotating Presidency in the EU’s external relations post-Lisbon?”](#), College of Europe, 2011

The European External Action Service – EEAS

The Lisbon Treaty (2009) led to major developments in the area of external action with the establishment of the EU's diplomatic arm, the European External Action Service (EEAS).



The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – a post currently held by Catherine Ashton (picture on the left) – exercises the foreign affairs functions previously carried out by three bodies: her predecessor, the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy; the six-monthly rotating Presidency of the EU; and by the European Commissioner for External Relations.

Website: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/ashton/

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According to the mandate, the High Representative: conducts the Union's common foreign and security policy; contributes by his/her proposals to the development of that policy, which he/she carries out as mandated by the Council; ensures implementation of the decisions adopted; presides over the Foreign Affairs Council of Ministers; is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Commission and thus ensures the consistency of the Union's external action; represents the Union on matters relating to the common foreign and security policy; conducts the political dialogue with third parties on behalf of the union and expresses the Union's positions in international fora; and exercises authority over the European External Action Service and over EU Delegations in third countries and at international organisations.



The EEAS assists the High Representative in ensuring the consistency and coordination of the Union's external action as well as by preparing policy proposals and implementing them after their approval by the Council. It also assists the President of the European Council (currently Herman Van Rompuy, picture on the left) and the President of the Commission (currently Jose Manuel Barroso, picture above on the right) as well as the Commissioners in their respective functions in the area of external relations and ensures close cooperation with the Member States. The network of EU delegations around the world is part of the EEAS structure.

The EEAS staff is drawn from the Commission, the Council and from the member states' diplomatic services. The High Representative appoints his or her own staff directly. A maximum of 33% of the staff can be seconded from member states, while the rest are permanent officials drawn from the European Commission and the Secretariat General of the Council. While the High Representative conducts shuttle diplomacy, with special representatives reporting directly to her, the day-to-day administration of the EEAS is handled by an Executive Secretary-General. The structure of EEAS is very complex and is

still in the making. The full organigram can be found [here](#). Eventually EEAS should have 5,400 employed staff.¹⁷



At the EEAS headquarters in Brussels, Turkey is dealt with by Directorate IIA – Western Balkans and Turkey. The Directorate is headed by Fernando Gentilini (left picture). fernando.gentilini@eeas.europa.eu; Tel. +32 2 584-2426



The advisor for Turkey is Mr. Giles Portman, formerly the Head of Mission of the British Embassy to Turkey. giles.portman@eeas.europa.eu

The EU Delegation in Turkey

As a diplomatic mission, the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey operates under the terms of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and is managed by a Head of Delegation who is accredited to the President of the Republic of Turkey with the rank of ambassador. The Delegation has some 130 staff. It is the largest single-country EU Delegation in the world.

Head of the Delegation: Jean-Maurice Ripert
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Further reading

[“Learning to dance to the same tune? The European External Action Service and National Diplomacies”](#), European Policy Centre, January 2013

[“The Right Approach to Europe. An Advocacy Handbook for Civil Society: Understanding and Influencing EU Policymaking”](#), Policy Association for an Open Society (PASOS), January 2012

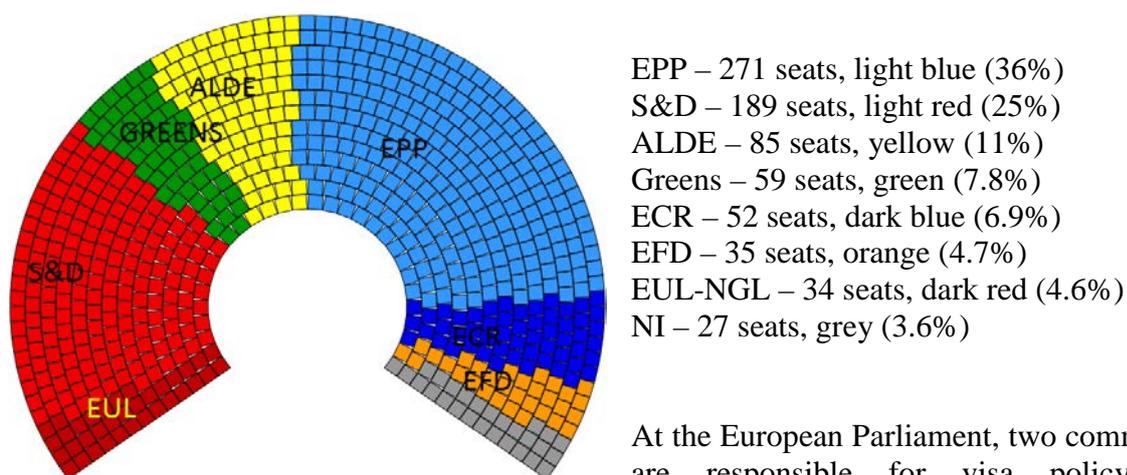
¹⁷ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11941411>

The European Parliament

The European Parliament is currently composed of 754 deputies, the members of the European Parliament (MEPs), who are directly elected by the citizens of the EU every five years. The next elections are due in May 2014.

The MEPs are divided into eight political groups according to their parties' political affiliation. The most numerous are the European People's Party (EPP), which unites conservative parties, and the Socialists & Democrats (S&D). Together they make up 61% of the total number of MEPs. Other groups include:

- ALDE (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe): this is the liberal/centrist political group, very favourable of Turkey's accession into the EU;
- Greens /EFA (European Free Alliance): apart from the green agenda, this political group consists of political parties that are representing minority rights, regionalism, and stateless nations. This political group is the most 'sensitive' to the state of human rights in Turkey.
- ECR (European Conservatives and Reformists): this group is anti-federalist, somewhat EU-sceptical and conservative. Its MEPs mostly come from Poland, the UK and the Czech Republic. Polish MEPs are more conservative when it comes to social issues, such as family, LGBT rights and abortion, while the British MEPs uphold a free market economy and are against government interference in it. The MEPs from Eastern Europe are against Turkey's membership to the EU, which they consider as a 'Christian club'.
- EFD (European for Freedom and Democracy): this is a far-right, anti-EU political party, whose members are predominantly from the UK's Independence Party and Italy's Lega Nord.
- EUL-NGL (European United Left/Nordic Left) is a left-wing political group.



At the European Parliament, two committees are responsible for visa policy: the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) and the Foreign Affairs Committee (AFET). LIBE has the lead, while AFET provides input.

The **Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE)** is in charge of most of the legislation and democratic oversight of policies linked to the transformation of the European Union into an “area of freedom, security and justice” (Art. 3 TEU).

The LIBE Committee is generally responsible for: the protection within the territory of the Union of citizens' rights, human rights and fundamental rights, including the protection of minorities; questions of discrimination, personal data; the establishment and development of an area of freedom, security and justice, in particular **measures concerning the entry and movement of persons, asylum and migration**; integrated management of the common borders; and police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters. It is also responsible for the EU agencies and bodies in this area (Europol, Eurojust, etc).

The **Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET)** helps to formulate and monitor a foreign policy that addresses the interests of the Union, the security expectations of its citizens and the stability of its neighbours, and ensures that it is coherent and effective. The committee is responsible, among other things, for strengthening the EU's relations with third countries, as well as for the EU accession negotiation process with candidate countries.

EP committees usually discuss a dossier over the course of at least three separate meetings (presentation, followed by debate and discussion of amendments, followed by a vote), but usually more. This can take months. However, the procedure can also be sped up, like it was the case when the Western Balkans countries were in the process of being granted visa-free travel.

At the plenary sessions, resolutions, reports and amendments are debated and voted on. As the political composition of a committee reflects the weight of the political groups in the Parliament, it is expected that the plenary votes along the same lines as the committee. A simple majority of votes is enough for the adoption of a visa waiver for a third country (which requires an amendment of Visa Regulation 539/2001).

MEPs meet once a month in Strasbourg for a plenary session. They also meet in Brussels for mini-sessions 6 times per year.

The rapporteur for a specific law, amendment, resolution or dossier is the focal person during the process. Their role is to draft a report based on the results of the first debates, which will be further discussed and amended until it is ready to face a plenary session. Rapporteurs ‘own’ their reports and are a primary contact point for the media and stakeholders. They are influential since they try to convince all political groups of their view and draft the report that goes to plenary.¹⁸ The nomination of each rapporteur is decided by the political groups, according to the so-called De-Hondt formula and informal agreements.¹⁹

Contacts

LIBE Secretariat

¹⁸ “The role of Rapporteur in the European Parliament” Centre for Public Scrutiny, Research Report No. 4; September 2006, at <http://www.aalep.eu/sites/default/files/documents/Rapporteurs%20in%20the%20European%20Parliament.pdf>

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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AFET Secretariat

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Mr. Luca di Preso, official in charge of Turkey, luca.dipreso@europarl.europa.eu

Assistant, Ida Jonsson, ida.jonsson@europarl.europa.eu

MEPs relevant for Turkey:

- [Emine Bozkurt](#) (S&D, the Netherlands) – Dutch of Turkish descent, active member of LIBE, advocating strongly Turkey’s membership in the EU emine.bozkurt@europarl.europa.eu, tel. +32 2 28 45940
- [Helene Flautre](#) (Greens, France) – Chair of the Delegation to the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee, helene.flautre@europarl.europa.eu, tel. +32 2 28 45364
- [Ria Oomen-Ruijten](#) (EPP, the Netherlands) – EP’s rapporteur for Turkey, ria.oomen-ruijten@europarl.europa.eu
- [Alojz Peterle](#) (EPP, Slovenia) – chair of informal EP group ‘[Friends of Turkey](#)’. alojz.peterle@europarl.europa.eu, tel. +32 2 28 45638
- [Ismail Ertug](#) (S&D, Germany) – MEP of Turkish origin. His assistant Fatih Aydogan is a secretary of the informal EP group ‘[Friends of Turkey](#)’. ismail.ertug@europarl.europa.eu tel. +32 2 28 45547
- [Tanja Fajon](#) (S&D, Slovenia) – former LIBE rapporteur for the Western Balkans on the visa liberalisation issue, tanja.fajon@europarl.europa.eu, tel. +32 2 28 45493; Twitter: @tfajon
- [Baroness Sarah Ludford](#) (Liberals, UK) – former AFET rapporteur for the Western Balkans on the visa liberalization issue, sarah.ludford@europarl.europa.eu; tel. +32 2 28 45104
- [Ulrike Lunacek](#) (Greens, Austria) – Kosovo rapporteur and interested in visa liberalisation - ulrike.lunacek@europarl.europa.eu, tel. +32 2 28 45395
- [Agustin Diaz de Mera](#) (EPP, Spain) – Rapporteur for the suspension clause agustin.diazdemera@europarl.europa.eu, +32 2 28 45624
- [Monika Hohlmeier](#) (EPP, Germany) – involved in discussions on Common European Asylum System (CEAS); monika.hohlmeier@europarl.europa.eu, +32(0)2 28 45191
- [Franziska Brantner](#) (Greens, Germany) – interested in the Western Balkans and visa liberalisation; franziska.brantner@europarl.europa.eu; tel. +32 2 2845354 Twitter: @fbrantner

A list of all members of LIBE and AFET can be found in the Annex.

The Friends of Turkey

The Friends of Turkey group comprises (the email addresses can be found in the Annex):

EPP: BACH Georges; CORAZZA BILDT Anna Maria; GUTIERREZ-CORTINES Cristina; KALNIETE Sandra; STOLOJAN Theodor Dumitru; MAZZONI Erminia; NEYNSKY Nadezhda; PETERLE Alojz; PEDA Cristian Dan; SCHNIEBER-JASTRAM Birgit; SEDÓ

I ALABART Salvador; STOLOJAN Theodor Dumitru; SVENSSON Alf; VIDAL-QUADRAS Alejo; WAŁĘSA Jarosław; ZVER Milan

S&D: ARLACCHI Pino; ARIF Kader; BERLINGUER Luigi; BOȘTINARU Victor; BOZKURT Emine; CASHMAN Michael; CHILDERS Nessa; CHRISTENSEN Ole; DE KEYSER Véronique; EL KHADRAOUI Saïd; ENCIU Ioan; ERTUG Ismail; FAJON Tanja; FÄRM Göran; GEBHARDT Evelyne; FLECKENSTEIN Knut; GEBHARDT Evelyne; GOEBBELS Robert; HOWITT Richard; JAAKONSAARI Liisa; KIRILOV Evgeni; LEINEN Jo; LIBERADZKI Bogusław; MCCARTHY Arlene; MENENDEZ DEL VALLE Emilio; MORAES Claude; MUÑIZ DE URQUIZA María; NEUSER Norbert; NEVEĎALOVÁ Katarína; OBIOLS I GERMA Raimon; PERELLO RODRIGUEZ Andres; POC Pavel; SÁNCHEZ PRESEDO Antolín; SIMON Peter; STEINRUCK Jutta; ZALA Boris

ALDE: BUSOI Cristian Silviu; DUFF Andrew; IN'T VELD Sophie; JÄÄTTEENMÄKI Anneli; KACIN Jelko; KAZAK Metin; LUDFORD Sarah; MEISSNER Gesine; SCHAAKE Marietje; THEIN Alexandra; THEURER Michael; VAJGL Ivo; WATSON Graham

Greens/EFA: ALBRECHT Jan Philipp; DELLI Karima; FLAUTRE Hélène; GREZE Catherine; HAUTALA Heidi; KELLER Franziska; ROMEVA i RUEDA Raül; SARGENTINI Judith; SCHULZ Werner; TARAND Indrek

ECR: KARIM Sajjad; VAN ORDEN Geoffrey; ZHRADIL Jan



Further reading:

Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament – 7th Parliamentary Term, January 2013
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getLastRules.do?language=EN&reference=TOC>

Neil Nugent (2010) The Government and Politics of the EU, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan

Relevant excerpts from recent EU policy documents

Council of the European Union, [Conclusions of General Affairs Council](#), 25 June 2013:

“The Council agrees to open Chapter 22 and underscores that the intergovernmental conference with Turkey will take place after the presentation of the Commission’s annual progress report and following a discussion of the GAC which will confirm the common position of the Council for the opening of Chapter 22 and determine the date for the accession conference.”

Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council: [Remarks after meeting with Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan](#), 23 May 2013:

“2013 marks the 50th anniversary of the Ankara Agreement of Association with the European Union. We should use it to rebuild momentum in the accession process. Last December, all 27 heads of state and government of the European Union reconfirmed their commitment to Turkey's accession process. And we should shortly see the opening of a new chapter in the negotiations, the first since 2010. I hope more will follow soon.

“We welcome Turkey's continued reform efforts. Significant progress has been made already, including in judicial reforms and with the broad-based work that continues on constitutional reform in the Parliament. In this context, I recall the importance that the EU attaches to fundamental rights and freedoms, including the freedom of expression.

“Visa liberalisation is an important goal on our immediate agenda. It is a step that will knit our societies closer together. It will provide fresh and significant momentum to our relations. I trust that the signature by Turkey of the readmission agreement with the European Union would allow us to advance quickly through the roadmap leading to visa free travel for Turkish citizens.”

Council of the European Union, [Conclusions on developing cooperation with Turkey in the JHA field](#), 21 June 2012:

“[The Council of the EU] invites the European Commission, in parallel to the signature of the readmission agreement between Turkey and the EU, to take steps towards visa liberalisation as a gradual and long term perspective within the above mentioned cooperation framework. Such cooperation should be established on the basis of an Action Plan and progress would be founded on a performance based approach and conditioned on an effective and consistent implementation by Turkey of those requirements vis-à-vis the EU and its Member States. Such requirements should in particular, while upholding international obligations, include an effective and full implementation of the readmission agreement vis-à-vis all Member States and effective cooperation on JHA issues with all Member States, a better management of mixed migration flows at its borders, and further alignment with the EU acquis, especially in respect of the visa policy and those third countries whose nationals constitute a significant source of the mixed migratory flows towards the EU and as regards reciprocity, as well as its asylum legislation.”

Eamon Gilmore, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Ireland: [Speech to the European Parliament AFET Committee, 22 January 2013:](#)

“The December Council Conclusions on Turkey recognised that it is in the interests of both parties that accession negotiations regain momentum soon.

“The Commission’s positive agenda has succeeded in retaining engagement in the process. The technical working groups established are carrying out valuable work in a number of key areas to promote the continued alignment of Turkey's legislation with the EU acquis.

“The EU has prepared a broader dialogue and a framework for cooperation with Turkey on JHA issues, as well as a road map towards a visa-free regime. It is now important for Turkey to sign in parallel the readmission agreement with the EU. This is a precondition for steps towards visa liberalisation as a gradual and long-term perspective.

“Though of great value in themselves, these positive developments are not a substitute for actual progress in the negotiations. I am conscious that it has been some time since the last negotiation chapter was opened under the Spanish Presidency in 2010. We would hope to make progress on the negotiations during our Presidency and hope to open at least one Chapter, if that proves possible.”

[General Affairs Council Conclusions on Enlargement, 11 December 2012:](#)

“20. The EU attaches great importance to the readmission agreement, as well as its full and effective implementation, and looks forward to its signature, in parallel with the initiation of the dialogue on visa liberalisation between the European Commission and Turkish authorities. Pending all of the above, and recalling that Turkey is one of the key transit countries for illegal immigration to the EU, and one of origin, adequate implementation of existing bilateral readmission agreements and readmission provisions contained in similar agreements remains a priority. In the Council conclusions of 21 June 2012, the Council invited the Commission to establish a broader dialogue and cooperation framework between the EU and Turkey to address the full range of Justice and Home Affairs policy fields and in parallel to the signature of the readmission agreement between Turkey and the EU, to take steps towards visa liberalisation as a gradual and long term perspective. The EU has prepared the broader dialogue and a roadmap and progress will be founded on a performance based approach and conditioned on an effective and consistent implementation by Turkey of those requirements vis-à-vis the EU and its Member States. Such requirements should in particular, while upholding international obligations, include an effective and full implementation of the readmission agreement vis-à-vis all Member States, and effective cooperation on JHA issues with all Member States, a better management of mixed migration flows at all its borders, especially those with the EU, and further alignment with the EU acquis, especially in respect of the visa policy and those third countries whose nationals constitute a significant source of the mixed migratory flows towards the EU and as regards reciprocity, as well as its asylum legislation.”

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, [Press Release Regarding the Conclusions of the EU General Affairs Council](#), 12 December 2012:

“Visa exemption to our citizens entering the EU countries is a principal expectation. **The only candidate country whose citizens do not enjoy visa free travel to the EU is Turkey. We hope that the EU takes the necessary steps to remedy this unfair situation without further delay.** In this context, the “road map” which will be delivered to us by the EU will be studied. **On the other hand, it is not understandable that the EU links this issue with the signing of the Readmission Agreement between Turkey and the EU in relation to illegal migrants and requires its implementation in advance. Presenting Turkey as a country of origin with regard to illegal migration is also in contradiction with reality.** Turkey is a country situated on the route of illegal migration and one that fights against it. We will continue our dialogue with the EU in these areas.”

[EU-Turkey Association Council Conclusions, 22 June 2012](#)

“Concerning justice, freedom and security, Turkey continued making uneven progress. Sustained efforts are required in areas such as visa policy, judicial cooperation in criminal and civil matters, asylum, migration, external borders and fight against trafficking in human beings. The EU looks forward to the swift conclusion of an EU-Turkey readmission agreement and effective implementation after its entry into force and stresses that the adequate implementation of already existing bilateral readmission agreements remains a priority. The EU welcomes the signature of the Memorandum of Understanding with Frontex. The EU reminds Turkey that a solid and comprehensive personal data protection system, in terms of legislation and administrative capacity as well as effective application, is of key importance. The EU emphasises the importance of the effective implementation of the strategy against organised crime, and measures to tackle money laundering.”

[2012 EU Progress Report for Turkey](#)

Chapter 24 – Justice, Freedom and Security: Conclusion

“Limited progress can be reported in the area of justice, freedom and security. Turkey is successfully providing humanitarian assistance to the Syrian refugees; however, its asylum system is far from the EU standards. Turkey needs to increase its capacity to prevent irregular migration. After having been initialled in June the swift conclusion and the effective implementation of the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement as well as the full implementation of the existing readmission obligations are of crucial importance. Adoption of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection as well as reforms in border management also continue to be a priority. Only limited progress could be reported in aligning the visa legislation. The lack of adequate data protection legislation prevents progress. Reforms are needed in the area of fight against terrorism and organised crime. Overall, alignment is at an early stage in this area.”

[Consolidated version of the Council Regulation 539/2001](#)

CIVIL SOCIETY



[European Stability Initiative – Brussels](#) – The European Stability Initiative, which has authored this manual, has succeeded in becoming the most influential think-tank on EU-led visa liberalisation processes (www.esiweb.org/whitelistproject). Geographically, ESI deals with Turkey, the Western Balkans, some countries in the EU’s eastern neighbourhood and with enlargement issues in general.

ESI was founded in 1999. It aims to provide policy recommendations on current political, economic and social developments based on thorough field research and in-depth analysis. The overall objective is to improve understanding of this region and support its integration in Europe.

Since 1999, ESI has produced more than [65 reports](#), [14 one-hour films](#) (12 of which were broadcast by in Germany, Austria and Switzerland) and built up a rich website (www.esiweb.org) that has an average of 4,000 individual visitors a day. ESI has conducted thousands of meetings and conferences with decision-makers and opinion-leaders. Its electronic [Newsletter](#), which is published 6 to 10 times per year, is sent to 33,000 subscribers.

Relevant publications include:

- [Cutting the Visa Knot. How Turks can travel freely to Europe](#), May 2013
- [Nine reasons for an EU Visa Liberalisation Process with Turkey](#), June 2012
- [Facts and figures related to visa-free travel for Turkey](#), June 2012
- [A very special relationship: Why Turkey’s EU accession will continue](#), November 2010
- [The Great Debate: Germany, Turkey and the Turks. Part I Intellectuals](#), October 2010

ESI’s Brussels team is headed by Alexandra Stiglmayer, Senior Analyst and ESI’s General Secretary (a.stiglmayer@esiweb.org).



A journalist by training, Alexandra Stiglmayer covered the wars in former Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1996 for TIME Magazine and other US and German media. During that time, she wrote a book about war-time rape of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1997/1998, she was based in Berlin for TIME. From 1998 to 2002, she worked for the Office of the High Representative in Sarajevo as the head of the press office, amongst other positions. Following three years as a speechwriter for the European Commission, she joined ESI in 2006 on a full-time basis.

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The [European Policy Centre](#) (EPC) is an independent, not-for-profit think-tank founded in 1997. It is “committed to making European integration work”. By its own description, the EPC works at the “cutting edge” of European and global policy-making. One of EPC’s main activities is to organise events and debates with political dignitaries visiting Brussels. Each day, there is at least one event, and on some days even more. The EPC also offers analysis and policy recommendations on various issues. Its work is based on a three-year strategic plan, divided into three programmes: EU Integration and Citizenship, Europe’s Political Economy, and Europe in the World.

The analyst in charge of Turkey is **Amanda Paul**, EPC Policy Analyst and Programme Executive, tel. +32 2 286 93 76, a.paul@epc.eu.

Latest publications on Turkey:

- [Between a rock and a hard place: What is Turkey’s place in the transatlantic market?](#), July 2013
- [Gezi Park one moth on: what lies ahead?](#) , June 2013
- [Turkey and the New Middle East](#), July 2012
- [Turkey’s Syrian Dilemma: Testing the ‘Regional Solutions for Regional Problems’ Proposition](#), July 2012
- [The changing dynamics of the EU-Turkey political dialogue - New opportunities and challenges](#) (Turkish Foreign Minister A. Davoutoglu policy briefing), March 2012

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[Carnegie Europe](#) - Founded in 2007, Carnegie Europe is the European centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In Brussels, Carnegie Europe combines the work of its research with the perspectives of Carnegie's centres in Washington, Moscow, Beijing, and Beirut, bringing a global vision to the European policy community. Through publications, articles, seminars, and private consultations, Carnegie Europe aims to foster new thinking on the challenges that Europe faces. One of the issues Carnegie Europe is dealing with is *Turkey’s transformation*, in which Turkey’s politics, regional power, and relations with its neighbors and the West are analysed.



Jan Techau is director of Carnegie Europe, the European centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Techau is a noted expert on EU integration and foreign policy, transatlantic affairs, and German foreign and security policy. Email: jtechau@ceip.org, Twitter: @jan_techau



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Judy Dempsey is a non-resident senior associate at Carnegie Europe and editor-in-chief of *Strategic Europe*, a series of essays from leading policymakers, diplomats, experts and journalists on Europe’s foreign policy and its role in the world. She is also a columnist for the International Herald Tribune. Twitter: @Judy_Dempsey

Recent publications:

- “[Time for Europe to talk Turkey](#)”, Judy Dempsey, June 2013
- “[Is Turkey Becoming More Western or Less](#)”, Judy Dempsey, June 2013
- “[Avoiding a Divorce: A Virtual EU Membership for Turkey](#)”, Sinan Ulgen, December 2012
- “[Breaking the EU-Turkey stalemate](#)”, 12 December 2012
- “[Europe is Turning Away from Turkey and the Rest of the World”: A Reply to Orhan Pamuk](#), Judy Dempsey, 11 November 2012

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The [Centre for European Policy Studies](#) (CEPS) is an independent policy research think-tank founded in 1983. Currently headed by Daniel Gros (danielg@ceps.eu), the CEPS aims to carry out “policy research leading to solutions to the challenges facing Europe today”. CEPS focuses on eight major EU policy areas: EU Neighbourhood, Foreign and Security Policy; Financial Markets and Institutions; Justice and Home Affairs; Politics and European Institutions; Regulatory Policy; Trade Developments and Agricultural Policy.

As part of the EU Neighbourhood, Foreign and Security Policy Programme, the Centre publishes working documents, policy briefs and commentaries on Turkey, enlargement and the Balkans. **Michael Emerson**, Associate Senior Research Fellow, is the Director of the EU



Neighbourhood, Foreign and Security Policy Programme. He holds a M.A. from the University of Oxford in Politics, Philosophy and Economics, and honorary doctorates from the Universities of Kent and Keele.

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Researchers dealing with EU Neighbourhood, Foreign and Security Policy include:

- **Steven Blockmans**, Senior Research Fellow and Head of the EU Foreign Policy Unit (steven.blockmans@ceps.eu)

Researchers in the Justice and Home Affairs Programme:

- **Sergio Carrera**, Senior Research Fellow, Head of JHA Programme (sergio.carrera@ceps.eu)

- **Elspeth Guild**, Associate Senior Research Fellow, elspeth.guild@ceps.eu

-

Relevant publications:

- [Who remembers Turkey's pre-accession?](#), Philipp Bohler, Jacques Pelkmans, Can Selcuki, December 2012
- ['Joint Operation RABIT 2010' – FRONTEX Assistance to Greece's Border with Turkey: Revealing the Deficiencies of Europe's Dublin Asylum System](#)", Sergio Carrera, Elspeth Guild, 22 November 2010.
- ["EC Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements: Implementing a New EU Security Approach in the Neighbourhood"](#), Florian Trauner, Imke Kruse, 23 April 2008.

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OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

► The [Open Society European Policy Institute](#) is the EU representative office of the Open Society Institute, a leading private operating and grant-making foundation founded in 1993 by the financier and philanthropist [George Soros](#). Established in 1997, OSI-Brussels focuses on various policy areas, striving for respect of human rights, justice, accountability, and open societies. As an advocacy group, OSI targets EU policy-makers and aims to “influence EU policies”.



Heather Grabbe is the director of the Open Society European Policy Institute as well as director of EU affairs for the Soros network. She has been working on EU enlargement for many years, moving between academia and practice. From 2004 to early 2009 she was a senior adviser to EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn, responsible for Turkey and the Balkans and Turkey. Prior to that, she was deputy director of the *Centre for European Reform*, a London-based think-tank. One of her recent publications include [The Way Forward for Turkey and the EU: A Strategic Dialogue on Foreign Policy](#). She wrote it together with Sinan Ülgen, a visiting

scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels. Some of Heather's other publications can be found [here](#). Contact: heather.grabbe@osi-eu.org.

The Open Society European Policy Institute has divided the issues with which it deals into three main groups: EU Foreign Policy; Opening Societies on the EU's Periphery; and Maintaining Vibrant and Tolerant Societies within the EU. **Neil Campbell** is the Senior Policy Analyst for Turkey and the Western Balkans (neil.campbell@osi-eu.org).

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The [International Crisis Group](#) (ICG) is one of the leading independent, non-profit, and non-governmental organisation specialising in conflict prevention and resolution. ICG provides analysis and advice to governments and intergovernmental bodies. It combines expert field research, practical policy recommendations, and high-level advocacy in a wide range of countries. Since 2001, ICG has been headquartered in Brussels.

Louise Arbour, a Canadian, has been the President and CEO of the International Crisis Group since July 2009. Prior to that, she was the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2004 to 2008). From 1996 to 1999, she was the Chief Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia ([ICTY](#)) and the International Tribunal for Rwanda ([ICTR](#)). Arbour began her academic career in 1974. She occupied various functions during her domestic legal career, including justice at the Supreme Court of Canada.



Turkey experts:

- **Paul Quinn Judge**, Europe Program Director (E-mail: pqjudge@crisisgroup.org, Twitter: @PaulQuinnJudge)
- **Hugh Pope**, Turkey/Cyprus Project Director (Twitter: @Hugh_Pope)

The ICG latest reports on Turkey include:

- [Blurring the Borders: Syrian Spillover Risks for Turkey](#), April 2013
- [Turkey: the PKK and the Turkish Settlement](#), September 2012
- [Turkey: Ending the PKK insurgency](#), September 2011
- [Turkey and Greece: Time to Settle the Aegean Dispute](#), Europe Report N°64, July 2011,
- [Turkey and the Middle East: Ambitions and Constraints](#), Europe Report N°203, 7 April 2010

General contact information:

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[ECAS – European Citizens Action Service](#) is a non-profit organisation with a mission to enable NGOs and individuals to make their voices heard within the EU by providing advice on how to lobby, fundraise, and defend European citizenship rights. ECAS is supported by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) of the European Commission.

One of ECAS’ projects dealt with the visa requirement for Turkish citizens. It explored the hurdles and difficulties that Turkish citizens face when they apply for a Schengen visa, by offering them between 17 November 2009 and 18 January 2010 to tell their story by phone, email, fax or mail. The findings were published in a report called “Visa hotline Turkey” and published in March 2010 (see below). This project was run in collaboration with the Turkish [Economic Development Foundation, IKV](#)).



ECAS staff

The Director of ECAS is Tony Veneables, email: t.venables@ecas.org, tel. +32 2 548 04 90.

Relevant publications:

- [“Consensus Statement- Regional Civil Society Conference: For Europe of the Western Balkan and Turkey”](#), September 2012
- [“Final report on Visa Hotline Project”](#) (March 2010)
- [“Visa Hotline Project Background Paper: Turkish Citizens’ Rights in the EU”](#) (Feb. 2010)

An interesting publication by IKV is an assessment of the implications of the Soysal ruling by the European Court of Justice in February 2009. This ruling accorded Turkish service providers, in this particular case truck drivers, the right to enter without a visa certain EU member states, in the case at hand Germany. It was based on the provisions of the EU-Turkey Association Agreement from 1963 and an Additional Protocol to the agreement from 1970. The publication is:

K. Groenendijk and E. Guild, [Visa Policy of Member States and the EU Towards Turkish Nationals After Soysal](#), Revised and Updated Second Edition, Economic Development Foundation Publication No. 249, Istanbul, September 2011.

General contact details of ECAS:

Avenue de la Toison d'Or 77
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PASOS, the Policy Association for an Open Society, supports the development and strengthens the impact of think-tanks in Eastern and Central Europe, Turkey and the Balkans. Currently it has 56 members.

PASOS has followed EU-led visa liberalisation processes since their inception in 2008. In March 2011, it launched a new [multi-NGO project called "No Visa"](#) with the support of the OSI- Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative. As a consortium of 8 different NGOs plus PASOS, the project advocates for visa-free travel regimes between the EU and the six Eastern Partnership countries. On the website, one can find many country reports and PASOS' handbooks for think-tanks and NGOs are very useful.



The Executive Director of the PASOS Secretariat is **Jeff Lovitt**, jefflovitt@pasos.org, tel. +420 2223 13644, mob. +420 7315 17224. Jeff Lovitt was Director of Communications at the international secretariat of Transparency International, the global anti-corruption NGO, from 2000 until becoming the first Executive Director of the PASOS Secretariat upon its establishment in Prague in 2005. Prior to that, he was a journalist, correspondent and editor, working for The European, the Sunday Times, New Statesman, the Financial Times, and the British political weekly Tribune. He also briefly worked as an editor and media consultant in Prague and Bratislava.

Recent publications include:

- [“Time to de-link visas and migration”](#), January 2013
- [“An Advocacy Handbook for Civil Society: Understanding and Influencing EU Policymaking in the Area of Migration and Visa Policies”](#), April 2012

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Visa-free Europe is a coalition of more than 43 European think-tanks and NGOs that advocate visa-free travel for the whole of Europe. Its activities are focused on the countries of the Eastern Partnership (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine) and Russia, and include diverse research and advocacy projects, as well as organisation of the public events. The coordinator of all the activities is Jakub Benedyczak, jbenedyczak@batory.org.pl, tel. +48 tel. 22 53 60 204, and the assistant Krzysztof Mrozek, kmrozek@batory.org.pl.

General contact details:

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Relevant publications: The coalition has a rich website with news, overviews and publications of all its members. It is at <http://visa-free-europe.eu/>.



Friends of Europe is one of the leading Brussels-based think-tanks working on EU affairs. It was founded in 1999 by **Giles Merritt** (Secretary General) and Geert Cami (Director) with the aim to stimulate discussion and new thinking on EU-related issues.



Giles Merritt is a journalist, author, and broadcaster specialising in the study and analysis of European public policy issues since 1978. He began his newspaper career in 1968 when he joined the *Financial Times* for which he worked as a correspondent in several European capitals. Merritt also founded **Forum Europe** in 1989, which organises various EU conferences and events. Phone: +32 2 737 91 45; Email: giles.merritt@friendsofeurope.org

Friends of Europe focuses on six major EU policy areas: Europe and the World; EU Competitiveness and the Internal Market; Institutional Reform and the Future of Europe; Energy and the Environment; European Society and International Development.

In October 2005, Friends of Europe co-initiated **Europe's World**. This pan-European policy journal is published three times a year in English with the help of a network of over 150 think-tanks and universities. Frequently there are articles on enlargement written by prominent experts, policymakers and think-tanks' representatives.

Recent publications on enlargement and Turkey include:

- [We may become an EU-40, but that's not necessarily good news](#) by Fritz Breuss - Spring 2010
- [Ankara- Turks are now puzzling over the EU's back-handed compliment](#) by Mensur Akgun - Spring 2010
- [Turkey's Membership Prospects: Current Pressures vs. Strategic Thinking](#) by Mátyás Eörsi – Spring 2010

Friends of Europe also organises various events, including roundtable discussions, high-level conferences, dinners and lunch debates, bringing together EU-level and national policymakers, NGOs, business leaders, the media, and civil society representatives from Europe. Events on enlargement include VIP Diver Debate, Turkey's European Future: Co-organised with the Security & Defence Agenda and Europe's World, in December 2009.

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► [Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation - EU Office in Brussels](#): The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) was founded in 1925. It describes itself as a “private cultural non-profit” institution closely associated with the German Social-Democratic party (SPD). Committed to social values, the FES carries out various activities, including projects in developing countries, practice-oriented research, consulting activities, and scholarship programs.

The EU office in Brussels was established in 1973. By its own description, the office “participates in the European integration process, backs and accompanies the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany in Europe and contributes to shaping the external relations of the European Union”. The EU office gives considerable attention to EU enlargement policies. As part of the [EU and its Neighbours Programme](#), the office organises conferences, seminars and working visits.

The contact person for EU enlargement and external relations is **Stefanie Ricken**, Policy Officer (stefanie.ricken@fes-europe.eu) Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy.

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The [German Marshall Fund \(GMF\) office in Brussels](#) was established in 2001. The GMF is a non-partisan American public policy and grant-making organisation. Its main goal is to promote “better understanding and cooperation between North America and Europe” on various issues. The aims of the Brussels office are to strengthen transatlantic cooperation by providing a better understanding of the implication of a more integrated Europe for the United States and the effect this has on US-EU relations and NATO.

Ian Lesser is Senior Director for Foreign and Security Policy at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, managing activity in these areas across GMF. He also serves as Executive Director of the Transatlantic Center, GMF’s Brussels Office, and leads GMF work on the Mediterranean, Turkey, and the Southern Atlantic. ilesser@gmfus.org

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[Barcelona Centre for International Affairs - CIDOB](#) is a Barcelona-based think-tank that aims to offer “information and ideas that help to shape policies that promote a safer, freer and more just world for all.”

In 2012, CIDOB was recognised as the most influential think-tank in the South of Europe by the ranking "Global Go to Think Tanks" issued by the Department of International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania. The think-tank covers a wide range of issues and regions, from Latin America to the Middle East and from development issues to migration topics.



Carles A. Gasoliba has been the chairman of the CIDOB Board since May 2012. He has a PhD in Economics from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and a Master in Industrial Economics from the University of Sussex. From 1980 to 1986 he was a member of the Spanish parliament. During the same period he was involved in Spanish negotiations for EU accession as the chairman of the Catalonia government delegation at the Spanish Government Commission for overseeing the negotiations. From 1986 to 2004, he was a member of the European Parliament for CiU (Convergence and Unity, a centrist and moderately nationalist party coalition from Catalonia, part of the liberal parties group at the EP). In 2004 he was elected CiU Senator for Barcelona, and was also Chairman of the Senate Committee for the Economy and Treasury.

Jordi Bacaria is the director of CIDOB. He holds a PhD in Economics from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB). He has been Dean of the Faculty of Economics at the UAB (1986-1988) and director of the Institute for European Studies (1988-1992, 1994-2000). Bacaria is the author of publications on economic integration, Latin America,

Mediterranean economy, monetary institutions and public choice. His email is director@cidob.org.

Francesc Fabregez is CIDOB's project manager dealing with Turkey's progress towards the EU, as well as with human rights in Turkey. ffabregues@cidob.org

Deniz Devrim used to work for CIDOB as an Associate Researcher. Her expertise was EU-Turkey relations, enlargement, Turkish foreign policy and European Neighbourhood Policy. Since November 2012, she has worked at the European Commission, DG Enlargement. Twitter: @denizdevrim.

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Relevant books and publications:

- [“Visa policy for the twenty-first Century: beyond the visa queue”](#), January 2013
- [“Turkey’s Middle East policy challenged by Arab Spring”](#), September 2012
- [CIDOB International Yearbook 2011. Country Profile: Turkey](#)
- [“Turkey’s bold new visa policy”](#), Deniz Devrim, March 2010



FRIDE is, by its own account, a Madrid-based think tank for global action, which provides innovative thinking and rigorous analysis of key debates in international relations. Its mission is to inform policy and practice in order to “ensure that the EU plays a more effective role in supporting multilateralism, democratic values, security and sustainable development.” The research areas include the EU’s foreign policy, the Middle East, changing approaches to security and Europe in the reshaped

global order.



Pedro Solbes has been the President of FRIDE since 2009. He was A Spanish Second Vice-President and Minister of Economy and the Treasury from March 2004 until April 2009. Between 1999 and 2004, he was European Commissioner of Economic and Monetary Affairs. His mandate coincided with the entry of the Euro and the strengthening of coordination of the EU’s economic policies. In the 1990, Solbes was responsible for the portfolios of Agriculture and Fishing and Economy and the Treasury during

the Felipe Gonzalez administrations. His email is: psolbes@fride.org.es

Relevant publication:

- [Visa-Free Travel: Is It Working as an EU Foreign Policy Tool?](#), Zeynep Ozler, Ilke Toygur, April 2011

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MEDIA

Turkish journalists based in Brussels

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Mr.	Zeynel	LULE	Hurriyet	+32478544025	zlule@skynet.be
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Mr.	Vakur	KAYA	Abhaber.com		vakurkaya@gmail.com

TURKEY STAKEHOLDERS

Turkey's diplomatic representations in Brussels

Permanent Delegation of Turkey to the European Union

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Belgium

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Fax +32 2 511-0450

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Website: <http://www.avbir.mfa.gov.tr>

Ambassador: Selim Yenel



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Ambassador: Ismail Hakki Musa



Permanent Delegation of Turkey to NATO

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Ambassador: Haydar Berk



TUSIAD

The TÜSİAD EU-Brussels Representative Office represents the Turkish business community before EU institutions. In this regard, the Representative Office maintains regular contact with the European Commission, EU member state delegations, the European Parliament, the European Council and other EU agencies and institutions. Another dimension of the work of the Representative Office extends to acting as the representative of TÜSİAD and TİSK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations) within Business Europe (the Confederation of European

Business) and informing the Turkish private sector on the latest developments taking place at the EU level.

The Representative Office is both a point of contact and information for the Turkish private sector and Turkey more generally. With a view to supporting Turkey's accession to the EU, the Representative Office collaborates with various think tanks, civil society organizations, European public and private sector organizations and academia.

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Dr. Bahadır KALEAĞASI, International Coordinator and EU Representative (in the picture)

Twitter: @Kaleagasi

Dilek İstar ATEŞ, Project Manager and Researcher

Gamze ERDEM, Researcher

Arzu SENGÜN, Bureau Officer



TUSKON



The Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey (TUSKON) is a non-governmental and non-profit umbrella organisation representing 7 business federations, 178 business associations and over 42,000 entrepreneurs from all over Turkey. The EU representation, the first foreign office of TUSKON, was established in 2007 in Brussels in order to be a partner between the European Union and the private sector in Turkey. Aiming at contributing to the EU membership

negotiations of Turkey, the EU Representation of TUSKON seeks to strengthen and facilitate the dialogue between the EU and Turkey. In this regard, the TUSKON EU Representation has organised over 80 events, visits, panels, conferences and roundtable discussions in Brussels and Turkey.

Picture above: Rizanur Meral, TUSCON President

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TUSKON EU Representation

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TOBB

The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) represents the private sector in Turkey. Similar to guilds and syndicates, which traditionally organised and represented tradesmen and producers throughout Turkish history, TOBB adopted a representative role in a democratic and modern society. Today, TOBB has 365 members in the form of local chambers of commerce, industry, commerce and industry, maritime commerce and commodity exchanges. TOBB is a founding member of the Association of European Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Eurochambers). (Picture on the right: Rifat Hisarcıkliođlu, the president of TOBB)



TOBB Brussels Representatives

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IKV

The Economic Development Foundation (IKV) was established at the initiative of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and Istanbul Chamber of Industry in 1965, in order to inform the Turkish business world and the public about developments in the European Union (EU) and Turkey-EU relations. Since its establishment, IKV has become a respected organisation on Turkey-EU relations both in Turkey and in the EU, through its seminars, research, publications, lobbying activities and its close cooperation with foreign and domestic institutions. The Brussels Office was established in 1984.

General contact details:

Mr. Haluk NURAY - IKV Brussels Representative

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E-mail: ikvnet@skynet.be

TÜGİAD

The Young Businessmen Association of Turkey (TÜGİAD) is the first national and the only international association of young businessmen of Turkey. Founded in 1986, it aims to stimulate public interest in issues it considers important, and to contribute to the improvement of the socio-economic status of the Turkish society as a whole. It does so by enhancing leadership skills, social responsibility and fellowship among young Turkish businessmen. TÜGİAD is a member of the European Young Businessmen Confederation (YES).

General contact details:

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Suat Sisik, TÜGİAD representative in Brussels (on the picture right)

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Email: suat.sisik@tugiad.org.tr and suat.sisik@ulb.ac.be



Annex I: Current interior ministers of the EU member states

AT	Johanna Mikl-Leitner (OVP), Popular Austrian Party, Federal Minister for the Interior, 21 Apr. 2011 – present
BE	Joelle Milquet, (CDH), Christian Democrat, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for the Interior, 6 Dec. 2011 – present
BG	Tsvetlin Yovchev, Independent, 29 May 2013 – present
CY	Socrates Hasikos, Democratic Rally, 1 March 2013-present
CZ	Martin Pecina, Social Democratic Party, 10 July 2013 – present
DE	Hans-Peter Friedrich (CSU), 3 Mar. 2011 – present
DK	Margrethe Vestager, Social-liberal Det Radikale Venstre, Minister for Economic and Interior Affairs, 3 Oct. 2011 – present
EE	Ken-Marti Vaher, IRL (PPE), Minister for the Interior, 5 Apr. 2011 – present
EL	Evrpidis Stylianidis, New Democracy, 21 June 2012
ES	Jorge Fernandez Diaz, Partido Popular, 22 Dec. 2011 – present
FI	Paivi Rasanen, Christian Democrat, Minister for the Interior, 22 Jun. 2011
FR	Manuel Vals, PS – Socialist party, 16 May 2012
HR	Ranko Ostojić, Social Democratic Party (centre-left), 23 December 2011-present
HU	Sándor Pintér, Independent, 6 July 1998- 27 May 2002 and from 29 May 2010 – present
IE	Alan Shatter, Fine Gael (Centre-right, EPP), 9 March 2011 – present
IT	Alfano Angelino, People of Freedom, 28 April 2013– present
LT	Dailis Alfonsas Barakauskas, Party Order and Justice, 12 December 2012– present
LU	Jean-Marie Halsdorf, Parti Populaire Chrétien Social, 2004 – present
LV	Rihards Kozlovskis, Zatlers' Reform Party, 25 October 2011 – present
MT	Emanuel Mallia, Labour Party, 13 March 2012– present
NL	Ronald Plasterk, Dutch Labour Party, 5 November 2012 – present
PL	Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz (PO), Civic Platform, 25 February 2013– present
PT	Miguel Macedo, Social Democrat, 21 Jun. 2011 – present
RO	Radu Stroe (PNL), National Liberal Party, 21 December 2012– present
SE	Tobias Billström, MSp (Centre-right), 6 Oct. 2006 – present
SI	Gregor Virant, Civic List, 20 March 2013– present
SK	Robert Kaliňák, Social Democrat, 4 Jul. 2006 – 8 Jul. 2010 and then 4 Apr. 2012 – present
UK	Theresa May, Conservative, 12 May 2010 – present



JHA Council meeting, June 2013 (©Council of the EU)

Annex II: Permanent Representations of EU member states to the EU

Permanent Representation of Austria to the EU

Ambassador: Grahammer Walter

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Permanent Representation of Belgium to the EU

Ambassador: Olivier Belle

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Permanent Representation of Bulgaria to the EU

Ambassador: Dimiter Tzantchev

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Permanent Representation of Croatia to the EU

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Permanent Representation of Cyprus to the EU

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Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the EU

Ambassador: Martin Povejsil

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Website: <http://www.czechrep.be>

Permanent Representation of Denmark to the EU

Ambassador: Jeppe Tranholm-Mikkelsen

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Permanent Representation of Estonia to the EU

Ambassador: Harri Tiido

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Permanent Representation of Finland to the EU

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Permanent Representation of France to the EU

Ambassador: Philippe Etienne

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Permanent Representation of Germany to the EU

Ambassador: Peter Tempel

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Permanent Representation of Greece to the EU

Ambassador: Théodoros N.Sotiropoulos

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Permanent Representation of Hungary to the EU

Ambassador: Péter Gyorkos

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Permanent Representation of Ireland to the EU

Ambassador: Rory Montgomery

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Permanent Representation of Italy to the EU

Ambassador: Stefano Sannino

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Permanent Representation of Latvia to the EU

Ambassador: Ilze Juhansone

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Permanent Representation of Lithuania to the EU

Ambassador: Raimundas Karoblis

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Website: <http://www.eurep.mfa.lt>

Permanent Representation of Luxembourg to the EU

Ambassador: Christian Braun

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