

TURKEY AND EUROPEAN UNION INTEGRATION

**ANALYSING THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF TURKEY-
EU COOPERATION IN TERMS OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY
POLICY**

SEDA GOZDE TOKATLI

JANUARY 2016

TURKEY AND EUROPEAN UNION

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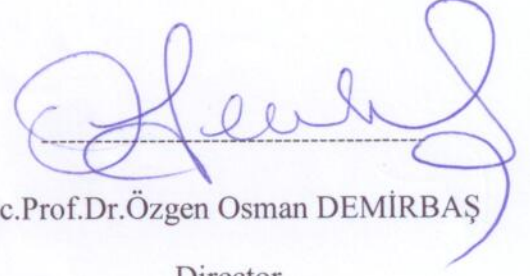
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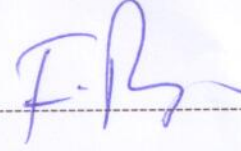
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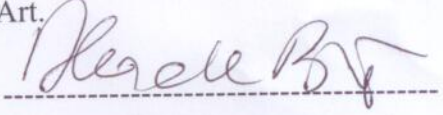
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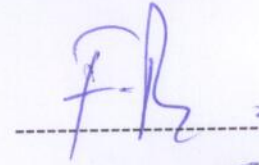


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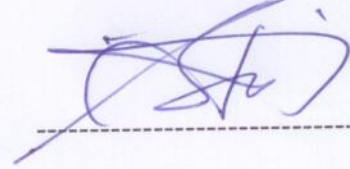
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ABSTRACT

ANALYSING THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF TURKEY- EU COOPERATION IN TERMS OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

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Turkey's relations with the European Union based on previously, European Economic Community, then European Community when it signed an Association Agreement known as "Ankara Agreement" with the European Economic Community in 1963. Turkey has had the longest historical relationship with the EU without obtaining full membership status. Turkey's EU accession negotiations began in 2005. Since that time, discussions about the implications of Turkey's prospective EU membership have become more serious and extensive in both Turkey and the EU. This thesis will analyze the possible implications of Turkey- EU cooperation by considering foreign and security factors. This thesis contributes to the literature that EU and Turkey needs closer cooperation in order to better solve common problems to reach desired goals. It will mainly analyze the new trends and new perspectives about the relationship of EU and Turkey regarding to foreign and security policy during thesis research. EU is ready to move together with Turkey especially in refugee crisis and terror problems. In Turkey's perspective, Turkey wants to act in the same direction with EU in the foreign and security policy areas. European Union membership is still a priority for Turkey. In other words, it desires to revive its accession process and intensify cooperation with Europe in foreign and security issues.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ İŞBİRLİĞİNDEKİ OLASI ETKİLERİ GÜVENLİK VE DIŞ POLİTİKA ACISINDAN ANALİZ ETMEK

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Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği ile ilişkileri, Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu ve 1963 yılında imzalanan Ankara anlaşması ile bilinen ortaklık anlaşmasına dayanmaktadır. Türkiye'ye tam üyelik statüsünü almadan AB ile uzun tarihsel ilişkileri olmuştur. Türkiye'nin AB'ye katılım müzakereleri 2005 yılında başladı. O tarihten bu yana Türkiye'nin müstakbel AB üyeliğinin etkileri ile ilgili tartışmalar hem Türkiye hem AB ile daha ciddi ve kapsamlı hale gelmiştir. Bu tez dış politika ve güvenlik faktörleri göz önünde bulundurarak Türkiye-AB işbirliğine olası etkileri analiz edecektir. Tezin edebiyata olan katkısı ise Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye ortak problemlerini istenilen hedeflere ulaşmak için yakın işbirliğine ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Araştırma süresince AB ve Türkiye ilişkisinde güvenlik ve dış politika alanında yer alan başlıca yeni eğilimler ve yeni perspektifler analiz edecektir. Avrupa Birliği, özellikle mülteci krizi ve terör sorunlarını Türkiye ile birlikte hareket etmeye hazırdır. Türkiye açısından ise, Avrupa Birliği üyeliği hala bir önceliktir. Başka bir deyişle, Türkiye ve Avrupa birliği dış politika ve güvenlik alanlarında beraber hareket etmek istiyor. Türkiye Avrupa birliği ile üyelik sürecini canlandırmak, dış ve güvenlik konularında işbirliğini yoğunlaştırmaya arzulamaktadır.

This thesis is dedicated to my dear mother Gülfiye Kurt , my dear Father Saban Kurt
and to my husband Sertac Tokatli in whose endless support I found during my
research.

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I would like to thank Asst. Professor Alexander Buergin for his invaluable guidance and suggestions during this research work. I am thankful to his comments and responses to my endless questions. This study could never have been completed without his precious contributions, reviews and comments.

This thesis dedicated to my family for their outstanding support during my education, as in every stage of my life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP - The Justice and Development Party

CFSF - Common Foreign and Security Policy

EC - European Community

EU- European Union

EEC - European Economic Community

ENP- European Neighborhood Policy

EUROPOL- European Police Office

NATO-North Atlantic Treaty Organization

IKV- Economic Development Foundation

SIS- Schengen Information System

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

The European Union has been significant in effecting the political structure since the post-world war II. EU-Turkey relations can be quite a turbulent marriage. But for good and for bad, both countries have managed to stay together for years. The formal relations of Turkey with the EU have started in 1963. Turkey and EU has long historical relationship without getting full membership status in history.

The European Union (EU) has been built by the voluntary economic and political integration between the nation-states of Europe. The establishment of a coal and steel community which was the beginning of this integration has been accomplished by economic, social, and political union.

This thesis will consist of five chapters. The first chapter, as an introduction discusses the purpose of the thesis as well as the importance of the thesis topic by offering a review and sources. The second chapter presents the milestones of Turkey-EU relations in their historical context. Then it will focus on the theories which are Europeanization and powers in order to get better understand the role of Europeanization. The fourth and fifth chapters will examine the security and foreign implications of EU – Turkey integration process based on pro, contra and discourse arguments. The last chapter will analyze the bilateral relations and current changes both Turkey and EU relationship in terms of foreign and security areas.

This study will focus on the Turkey and EU cooperation and investigates answers to the major researchquestion;

Are there any new trends and new perspectives in the relationship of European Union and Turkey regarding to foreign and security policy?

While focusing on the major research question, following key questions will be answered:

What are the mutual implications of Turkey and European Union integration regarding to foreign and security policy?

What are the reasons for a continued tense relation between EU and Turkey?

How have the discourses in the EU and Turkey developed regarding to foreign and security cooperation?

1.2. IMPORTANCE

Enlargement holds an important place in the increasing role of the EU in the international arena. Today, with its important foreign policy tools, diplomatic, economic and military operations for peace keeping and peace enforcement, the EU is playing important roles in the international arena and gaining stature as a global actor. ¹Establishing common monetary, security and foreign policy made this union powerful than before. The establishment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy in the 1993 treaty on European Union signed at Maastricht which was a major turning point for the EU in terms of its role in the international arena. EU enlargement has far-reaching implications not only for the political shape of Europe but also for the institutional set-up and the major policies of the Community.

The efforts to take new initiatives and its responses to developments in the international arena show the EU's will to be a global actor. The enlargement door remains open to any European country. The EU is the latest stage in a process of European integration aimed at promoting political reconciliation and economic prosperity throughout the European continent. It has been built over several decades through a series of binding treaties.²

The EU and Turkey cannot disregard each other because EU cannot be significant actor in the international arena without Turkey's membership, while Turkey cannot disregard EU which is important in achieving for its own goals. Turkey has demonstrated huge efforts in the reform process in order to gain EU candidacy status. Turkey is committed to fulfill all the Copenhagen criteria effectively. Turkey will go through experiences similar to those of other new members on the eve of joining the EU. Turkey has a strategic location by its geostrategic position at the intersection of three key regions (Europe, the Middle East, and the Caucasus), young dynamic population, military capacity, and growing market.

¹ Roy H. Ginsberg and Michael E. Smith, "Understanding the European Union As a Global Political Actor: Theory, Practice, And Impact," Princeton University, September 6, 2005, 1,

Available at: www.princeton.edu (accessed February 26, 2008).

² Archick, Kristin "European Union Enlargement", Congressional Research Service, 2014, p 2

Turkey will face the same membership process and similar experiences as other new members on the eve of joining the EU. The European Commission also plays a central role as a gate keeper and agenda-setter in the enlargement process.

This thesis demonstrates that EU and Turkey need coordination and cooperation in order to better overcome their common problems. Turkey wants to move in the same direction with EU in the foreign and security policy. European Union membership is still a priority for Turkey. Turkey wants to revive its accession process and intensify cooperation with Europe especially in foreign and security areas.

From EU's perspectives, Turkey is an important country in maximizing for European interests. At first, European leaders believe that close ties would make the Middle East's conflicts Europe's problem. But current experience shows that Europe's influence in the region and beyond from the Black Sea to Central Asia will be zero without close ties with Turkey.

Some of the potential drawbacks arise from concerns about issues such as Turkey's large population, agricultural capacity, cultural differences and terrorism problem. These issues must be assessed in a long term perspective.

The pull of the EU has helped to transform its candidates and members into modern, functioning democracies with strong market economies. More recently, it has inspired far-reaching reforms in Turkey.

EU enlargement has some political benefits on members of the community such as the extension of peace, stability, prosperity, democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

The advantages of Turkish and European Union (EU) integration would outweigh the potential disadvantages of Turkey and EU disintegration.

1.3. METHODS AND SOURCES

This study analyzes the implications of Turkey- EU membership in terms of security and foreign policy dimension. This thesis will start with the review of Turkey and EU relations in a historical context in the introduction chapter and then will focus on pro- contra and discourse part. The thesis concludes with an assessment of these potential outcomes.

This study relies upon the secondary sources such as books, articles, and reports. In addition to primary sources, the important parts related to topic dealing with Turkey's prospective membership in EU Summit Declarations and EU Commission Reports are also taken into consideration.

Besides that, it will also focus on the recent statements of politicians, scientists, media, think tanks regarding Turkey's and contribution to the EU 's Foreign and security policies and vice versa.

2. ANALYSIS OF EU-TURKEY RELATIONS IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Turkey-EU relations historically move in a different age. At the end of each cycle, Turkey moves closer and becomes more integrated to the EU. The long-term pattern is clearly in the direction of further integration. Turkey and European Union have ups and downs in their relationship since Turkey granted candidate status of European Union.

The slower the path and the grater delays on the path to membership also imply, however, that Turkey is confronted with higher barriers to entry.

The number of EU members has dramatically increased over time and ultimately all these twenty- eight members have to endorse full-membership.

Furthermore, public opinion and citizen participation are likely to become increasingly important over time which means that Turkey needs to cultivate not only elite support but also support at the level of the individual citizens in Europe to be able to accomplish its long-term goal of EU membership.³

The Ankara Agreement was the turning point in the Turkey's relations with European integration. Many significant developments have been made between Turkey and European since Ankara Agreement.

Turkey applied for full membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1987 and granted the candidate status of Turkey in 1999.

³ Loukas, Tsoukalis, *What Kind of Europe? (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003*

2.1. RELATIONS BETWEEN 1959 AND 1990

Turkey and EU relations have started by the first time application for associate membership in the EEC on 31 July 1959. Ankara Agreement was signed between Turkey and the EEC. The Ankara Agreement entered into force in 1964. The ultimate aim of this association is the full membership of Turkey in the Community.

The import-substitution strategy of the 1960s and the 1970s had brought along over dependence on imports and foreign borrowing. The 1980's were important in the development of economic and political relations. Additionally, multiparty elections were held in 1983 after the 1980 military coup in the country. These measures contributed to the normalization of relations between Turkey and the EEC, which had reached a freezing point at the beginning of the 1980s.

In 1987, Turkey applied for full membership. Since this application came after the accession of Greece (1981), Spain, and Portugal (1986), the addition of another Mediterranean country seemed plausible for both Turkey and the EU. Turkey now faced the prospect of joining a political union, not just an economic community, and the standards of membership would be accordingly higher.⁴

2.2. RELATIONS BETWEEN 1990 AND 1997

Turkey's application brought dynamism to the relations. Each side's efforts to improve relations have increased. Customs Union between Turkey and the EU, which covers industrial goods and processed agricultural products, was completed by 1995.

The Government of Turkey confirmed its intention to complete its transition to full participation in the EU customs union by January 1996.

In all these respects, Customs Union has increased trade and furthered the economic integration of Turkey into the EU. The Luxembourg Summit in 1997 was another important development affecting the mutual relationship of Turkey and EU. The next step after the completion of the Customs Union for Turkey is to start EU

⁴ Müftüleri-Bac, Meltem. 2003. "The New Face of Turkey: The Domestic and Foreign Policy Implications of November 2002 Elections." *East European Quarterly* 37(4): 421-438

enlargement process. Turkey's aim was full membership; The Luxembourg Summit decisions were significant in terms of Turkey-EU relations.

At this summit, while countries that had fallen behind Turkey in meeting the EU's economic and political criteria for membership were given candidate status, Turkey was not granted this status. It created the great disappointment in Turkey. It also strengthened the tension between Turkey and European Union tendency that started to grow after the rejection of Turkey's membership application in 1987.

The European Council Meeting in Luxembourg marked not only a moment of historic significance for the future of the Union and of Europe as a whole but also for relations of the EU with Turkey. The European Council Meeting in Luxembourg marked not only a moment of historic significance for the future of the Union and of Europe as a whole but also for relations of the EU with Turkey.

EU leaders proclaimed "the dawn of a new era" after a historic two-day summit in Luxembourg which took the first step towards opening the bloc's door to the countries of former Communist-dominated Eastern Europe.⁵

2.3. RELATIONS BETWEEN 1998 AND 2015

The crisis in Turkish-EU relations blew up after the summit meeting when the EU refused to place Ankara as a formal candidate for future membership in the same category as the former Communist countries in central and southeastern Europe.

The decision made Turkey freeze all political dialogue with the EU and declined to participate in the European Conference in 1998 where all candidate countries were invited. The EU-Turkey relations at this time were characterized by tensions and mutual distrust.

The Helsinki Summit was significant for Turkey because Turkey was first time given a candidate status by the EU. It was the starter of having a new era in the relationship of Turkey and EU. The decision provided a powerful incentive to reform for Turkey. Turkey is a candidate state destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate states. Since the Helsinki Summit, Turkish-EU relations have gained new momentum. With the EU Commission and

⁵ *The Irish Times on the Web, December 15, 1997.*

the EU leaders persuaded that Turkey had made sufficient progress on fulfilling the Copenhagen Political criteria.

Turkey had gained full recognition as a member of the European family and it would bring Turkey more closer to understanding the one of its cherished dreams. Turkey has granted formal candidate status over 12 years from its first accession application in 1987. For both the EU and Turkey, the Helsinki decision had a very positive impact on their relations towards each other. The EU's capability for promoting democratization processes in candidate countries has made the enlargement policy its most successful foreign policy tool.⁶

Copenhagen Summit was another important cornerstone of EU and Turkey relations in terms of starting accession negotiations with Turkey without delay in 2004.

In analyzing Turkey-EU relations during the era, we may identify two distinct sub-phases. The first phase, from the end of 2002 to roughly the end of 2005, corresponds to the Golden Age of Europeanization in Turkey. The second phase demonstrates a certain loss of enthusiasm and commitment on the part of the government to what had previously been the focal point of Turkish foreign policy efforts, namely joining the EU as a full member.⁷

The "Turkey question" is a reflection of deeper uncertainties and fears in European societies and the problems that they face in adapting themselves to the pressures of globalization. At the Brussel summit, The European Council made an important decision regarding Turkey's EU membership prospective. The Helsinki outcome had a significant effect on the following positive development in EU-Turkey relations and in the membership perspective of Turkey.

The decision in 2004 to open accession negotiations also reflected the EU's internal disagreements over Turkey as the decision has an open-ended nature, meaning that the outcome of negotiations cannot be guaranteed beforehand.

The European Council gave Turkey the green light by deciding that the accession negotiations with Turkey would be opened in 2005. The reason behind the positive

⁶ Buskjær Christensen, Mette" *Mobilizing Local Networks for a Better Informed Dialogue on Turkey's Accession to the EU*" *EU-Turkey relations and the functioning of the EU*, C.E.S.Pg 8

⁷ Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz, "Between Europeanization and Euro-asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era," *forthcoming in Turkish Studies* (Spring, 2009)

commission report is the abolition of death penalty, allowing the teaching in Kurdish at school and its use in radio and TV broadcasts, abolition of state security courts and transforming National Security Council from a military dominated political body to a civilian-led consultative body.

The European Council made an important decision regarding Turkey's EU membership prospective. The negotiations will include the adoption of EU rules and regulations divided into 35 chapters. In December 2006, the Council decided to suspend part of the negotiations by freezing eight chapters due to the absence of Turkish recognition of the Republic of Cyprus with the crucial point being the access of Cypriot vessels and planes to Turkish harbors and airports.

Turkey has been experiencing a slowdown in its process of Europeanization. Detailed negotiations between the EU and Turkey on the *acquis* began in 2006. Since then, the EU has opened talks on 14 chapters of the *acquis* but progress has been slow and complicated in part by Cyprus-related issues.

In 2006, the EU decided to delay the opening of eight chapters dealing with areas affecting the customs union pending Turkey's compliance with applying the Additional Protocol to Cyprus. Readmission agreement which is a benchmark for the opening of Chapter 24 would oblige Turkey to take back illegal immigrants who have used Turkey as transit country.⁸

In 2011, Council of Interior Ministers gave green light for a visa dialogue but visa exemption not mentioned as target. Because of increased numbers of illegal immigrants in Turkey, it is necessary for Turkey to improve border management. Constructive negotiations of the readmission text can create new mutual trust. The necessity to cooperate with Turkey in migration issues plus Court decisions in favor of the visa exemptions for Turks increased the pressure to abolish the visa obligation.

Freezing of negotiation chapters and ongoing opposition in Europe weakened credibility of membership incentive. Turkey's response was to continue harmonization to EU *acquis* in all chapters if it is beneficial for the modernization of the country.

Given the various difficulties with Turkey's membership negotiations, in 2012, the European Commission launched a "positive agenda" with Turkey to reinvigorate EU-Turkish relations and to inject new momentum into Turkey's accession process.

Areas covered by the “positive agenda” included, among others: alignment of Turkish legislation with the EU *acquis*; political reforms and fundamental rights; visas; energy; and counter terrorism. This agenda intended to support Turkey’s accession period.

In June 2013, Turkey’s EU accession process would be given a boost by the opening of negotiations on at least one new chapter. But it delayed starting the actual talks because of anti-government protests (called Gezi park protests) that erupted in late May-early June.⁹

In November 2013, following the release of the Commission’s annual progress report on Turkey, formal negotiations began on the regional policy chapter, although little progress has been achieved to date. It has been a positive factor in helping transform Turkey’s political and military institutions and its political culture.

2.4. CONCLUSION

There are important milestones in the long history of relations between Turkey and the EU. Though sometimes these relations came to the verge of a freezing point, they returned to the road of recovery in a short period of time. Many observers have pointed to the fact that there has been a progressive weakening of relations between Turkey and the EU since the initiation of accession negotiation. Because of the unresolved Cyprus dispute, and following the suspension of eight chapters in the negotiation process, Turkey has been undergoing a slowdown in its process of Europeanization.¹⁰

Relations have gained momentum since Post Helsinki period. Important steps have been taken, and Turkey started accession negotiations with the EU in 2005.

The slow progress of the negotiations suggests that there is still much to accomplish on the way to full membership. There are also troubling signs of a rise of

⁹ *Press reports indicate that Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands were instrumental in delaying the start of EU Turkish talks on the regional policy chapter. Daniel Dombey, “Germany Blocks Turkey’s Bid To Join EU,” Financial Times, June 20, 2013; Adrian Croft and Justyna Pawlak, “EU Rebukes Turkey on Crackdown by Delaying Entry Talks,” Reuters, June 25, 2013*

¹⁰ *Buskjær Christensen, Mette” Mobilizing Local Networks for a Better Informed Dialogue on Turkey’s Accession to the EU” EU-Turkey relations and the functioning of the EU, C.E.S. Pg 10*

nationalism as Turks have become more disillusioned about the prospects of joining the EU.

All in all, EU-Turkey relations are being confronted with negative dynamics. This vicious cycle of reinforcing negativity also affects public opinion.

According to 2014 Turkey progress report; Turkey has to strengthen inter-institutional co-operation, audit mechanism and border control in order to achieve satisfactory enforcement of the aligned legislation and maintain its security. It has to establish a national strategy against organized crime.¹¹ With regard to the fight against terrorism, Turkey has to provide the widest possible range of assistance to other countries' law enforcement and regulatory authorities for terrorist financing investigations. Turkey is invited to set up an independent anti-corruption body and to adopt the anti-corruption law.

Furthermore, the dialogue between the government, public administration and civil society needs to be strengthened. Besides that, as regards, common foreign and security policy, Turkey's foreign policy continues to be broadly in line with that of the EU.

The adoption of most of the EC Generalized System of Preferences in particular is a welcome development. Five new police colleges were opened as well as two new directorates of police criminal laboratories.

Comparing the years, Turkish government accelerates the pace of reforms, which have brought far-reaching changes to the political, legal and security system.

3. THEORY

3.1. EUROPEANIZATION THEORY

Europeanization and power theories are important concepts in understanding the significance and mechanisms of European Union on candidate states. Europeanization is used to explain policy change, administrative innovation, cultural change, and new identity formation.

The process of Europeanization is often used to describe the adjustment of an entire political culture in Turkey on its path towards membership in the European Union.

¹¹ *Turkey Progress report, EU Commission, 2014*

Available at :

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/brochures/turkey_2013.pdf

In this process, the European Union exercise impact on these candidate states through both soft power and smart power, however also through hard power from the economic perspective.

Europeanization is the implementation of EU standards, independence of judiciary and recognition of EU identity. Europeanization involves a process through which EU stimuli are received, translated and adopted or rejected.

There are four Europeanization mechanisms such as conditionality, domestic empowerment, socialization and lesson drawing.

Conditionality mechanism is a transferring an established system, rules, institutions and policies of the country in to EU. A number of changes have been introduced over the last year to strengthen civilian control of the military with a view to aligning it with practice in EU member states.¹² For example, Turkey has achieved significant legislative progress in many areas, through further reform packages, constitutional changes and the adoption of a new Penal Code, and in particular in those identified as priorities in the Accession Partnership.

Domestic empowerment mechanism is active in providing incentives of the EU for the applicant state. For example, phare program is to support for institution building, investment to strengthen the regulatory infrastructure needed to ensure compliance with the *acquis*, and investment in economic and social cohesion. The EU has provided significant resources in a number of important areas such as basic education, training, environmental infrastructure, and security measures. Turkey is also a major beneficiary of assistance from the European Investment Bank.

Next, Socialization is identified the ‘club-like atmosphere’ and member states willingness to coordinate their foreign policy actions, share information and comply with common procedural norms.

Europeanization might occur through the influence of member state representatives placed in Brussels on national preference formation. Non-cooperation entails the risk of being isolated and marginalized in the decision-making process.¹³

¹² *Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 11:4 August 2004: 669–687

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.586.2017&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

¹³ *Nicole Alecu de Flers, Patrick Müller” Applying the concept of Europeanization to the study of foreign policy . Dimensions and mechanisms”*, *Institute for European Integration Research*, 2010, pg17

Socialization is a process of inducting individuals into the norms and rules of a given community which eventually implies a switch from a logic of consequentiality to a logic of appropriateness (rule-following behavior)¹⁴.

Socialization processes can have an even more profound impact on EU member states and result in changes of national preferences and identities. Socialization is the identification with the EU community.

Lastly, lesson drawing mechanism was effective both governmental and societal actors in order to draw lessons from the EU and to tackle better problems they face. Furthermore, the candidate countries can draw on member states' expertise through "Twinning light" an exchange of expertise mechanism to support projects of limited scope. Twinning will again be an important element under the program, contributing to the results of 22 projects.

External incentive model works if benefits of membership are higher than adoption costs. Social learning model is the identification with the EU community.¹⁵

Lesson drawing model represents EU as a role model. EU is an anchor for reform in Turkey's Europeanization. Opening accession talks as external incentive for political reform. EU demands as a sellout of national interest. Turkey is playing as a strategic role in foreign policy. In reform process, Turkey will get benefit in terms of modernization and democratization.

According to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, Europeanization emphasizes its impact on both public policies and national institutions coming from European level.¹⁶ The EU's main tool for inducing national domestic political change is its conditionality especially for membership, though not necessarily constrained to membership.¹⁷

EU is the only institution with enforcement mechanism and it becomes the most visible manifestation of the Europeanization process. EU has been a powerful actor increasingly influencing the Europeanization process in Turkey since 1999.

¹⁴ Nicole Alecu de Flers ,Patrick Müller” *Applying the concept of Europeanization to the study of foreign policy . Dimensions and mechanisms”*, Institute for European Integration Research,2010,pg21

¹⁵ *Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 11:4 August 2004: 669–687
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.586.2017&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

¹⁶ Schimmelfennig, F. and Sedelmeier, U. (2002) 'Theorizing EU enlargement: research focus, hypotheses, and the state of research', *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(4):pg7

¹⁷ Schimmelfennig, F., Engert, S. & Knobel, H. (2003) 'Costs, Commitment, Compliance: Latvia, Slovakia and Turkey', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 495–519.

Turkish government had a strong incentive for its democratization and political reforms in terms of a distinct possibility for full membership in the EU if it fulfilled the political conditions. This was also the first time that Turkey was given a clear perspective for membership; this in turn increased the impact of the EU on Turkey's political Europeanization process. For example, introduction of civil code, recognition of women's right to property in case of divorce, abolition of death penalty and violence on women and freedom of speech etc... EU has stimulated the Europeanization process in Turkey in an increasing fashion since 1999.

Europeanization process in Turkey has mostly been interpreted as democratization, that is, political Europeanization. An important aspect of Europeanization is improving efficiency in policy and decision making.

The prospective EU membership has provided a very strong incentive for adopting major political change in Turkey, and one can confidently claim that without the EU incentive, those changes would have been much harder to adopt.¹⁸

Turkey now faces the challenge of implementing and enforcing the political reforms adopted, especially with regards to the freedom of expression clauses.¹⁹

An important aspect of Europeanization is improving efficiency in policy and decision making. EU membership provides a strong incentive for adapting the political change on candidate countries. Those changes are much harder to adopt without the EU incentive.

No one can know today whether Turkey will ever become a member. Turkey could also take an entirely different route from what is now predicted.

Perhaps the next generation in Turkey might not want to join the EU, even if all the criteria have been fulfilled. However, Turkey desires to bring its "Europeanization process" to its ultimate conclusion EU membership conditionality has been an important mechanism for Turkey to undertake such democratic reforms that have undoubtedly contributed to the ongoing de-securitization processes; however, since security-speak on the Kurdish issue and Islamic activism has not faded away, the EU's de securitizing role has remained limited.²⁰

¹⁸ Muftuler Bac, Meltem "Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union, South European Society & Politics Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2005, pp.29

¹⁹ Muftuler Bac, Meltem "Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union, South European Society & Politics Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2005, pp.30

²⁰ Acikmese, Sinem Akgul "EU conditionality and desecuritization nexus in Turkey" Department of International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2013' pg:318

3.2. POWER THEORY

According to A. Moravcsik, a professor of politics, there are three essential elements at the core of liberal inter-governmentalism: the assumption of national state behavior, a liberal theory of national preference formation, and an inter-governmentalist analysis of interstate bargaining or negotiation²¹.

In this respect, understanding the EU states as rational actors and taking decisions with regard to foreign affairs based on their own benefits and preferences (cost and benefit analysis) are the basic premises of this approach. Europeanization process has an influential impact on Turkey's foreign policy behavior. The emphasis of Turkish foreign policy during this period shifted quite dramatically towards the use of "soft power" resources.²²

Soft power is a part of Europeanization process. Soft power theory and smart power theory play an important role in describing the role of EU on candidate states.

Soft power is the ability to attract other actors to act in a certain way without using force or some other type of hard power. Soft Power is "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments" arising from a countries culture, political ideas and policies, whereas "hard power" is "the ability to coerce" based on a countries military and economic might.²³

The concept of soft power was established by Joseph Nye who is a professor in Harvard University described that "A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries-admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness-want to follow it"²⁴.

Soft power theory is based on attracting other actors because other actors wants to be like you or wants something that you have. This essentially means that the European Union impact on Turkey has worked, because the EU has made itself the attractive option for Turkey.

²¹ Moravcsik, A. (1993) "Preferences and power in the European Communities: a liberal intergovernment approach."

Journal of Common Market Studies 31-4: 482

²² Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkish Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times," *Chaillot Paper*, No: 92 (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2006). See also the special issue of *Insight Turkey (Turkey's Rising Soft Power)* Vol. 10, No. 2 (2008)

²³ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol.119, no.2, 2004, p.256

²⁴ Nye, Joseph. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

²⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol.119, no.2, 2004, p.256

The AKP era has started out with a strong emphasis on Europeanization of Turkey. Turkish foreign policy is deeply committed to Europeanization and making the EU membership important element or the central of its multi-dimensional foreign policy. AKP's foreign policy style is characterized by greater emphasis on the use of soft power and developing friendly relations with all neighbors.²⁵The benefits of deep Europeanization have already manifested themselves in terms of strong economic performance, major steps towards democratic consolidation and foreign policy based on soft power. To begin with, there are both military area that articulates hard power traits and civil sphere that shows soft power features within the EU for Turkey to play a potential role on European security.

4. THE POSSIBLE IMPACTS OF TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP ON EU'S FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Turkey's foreign policy is entering a new period of change with the approaching EU membership perspective. Enlargement is one of the EU's most powerful policy tools. It serves the EU's strategic interests in providing stability, security, and conflict prevention.

Enlargement is described as having new member countries, new security and political issues, new opportunities to exercise political power over new and wider geographical areas in the foreign policy of the EU.

Turkeys' relations with the European Union entered a new phase with the European Council's decision at its Helsinki Summit of December 1999 to grant Turkey a candidate-country status.²⁶

In particular, EU expects from Turkey to ensure that its national policies and practices conform to its' common positions, defends these positions in international arena and ensures that all sanctions and restrictive measures could be duly implemented.

²⁵ *Öniş, Ziya – Yılmaz, suhnaz* " Between Europeanization and Euro –asianism " : Foreign policy activism in Turkey during the Akp Era",pg:3

²⁶ *Muftuler Bac, Meltem*, "Turkeys role in the EUs security and Foreign policies , Department of Political Science, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey,2000,pp 489

EU has an expectation from Turkey to promote stability and security in its region, namely the Balkans, Caucasus, Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Turkey has been a member of NATO since 1952, an associate member of the EU since 1963, and an associate member of the WEU since 1992.

Turkey and EU integration has had relationship rooted in 1960 s and that started accession negotiations in 2005, holds an important place in this agenda. Since its establishment, the EU has increased its power in the international arena both economically and politically. Its willingness to enter into new policy areas and adapting the EU policies has made the EU one of the major foreign policy players in the world.

Turkey's location has attracted the attention of many countries for a variety of economic, political, and military reasons. Today, the implications for CFSP hold an important place in the analysis of the potential effects of Turkey's membership upon the EU.

The EU's new borders would force the EU to take new initiatives and engage in new political challenges as a result of the push for a common foreign policy. Therefore, Turkey's membership would make the EU more active foreign policy player in international arena.²⁷ Turkey's institutional role in the Union's common foreign and security policies, its significant military capabilities, and its pivotal geographical position determine Turkey's strategic importance for the EU in the post-Cold War era.

The estimates of the probable geopolitical and security risks that Turkey's exclusion entails for the EU and the potential benefits its inclusion would bring prompted the EU's decision to grant Turkey a candidate-country status. It has brought a valuable contribution to the peace and stability in the European continent.

4.1. FOREIGN POLICY DIMENSION

4.1.1. PRO-ARGUMENT

Turkey's policies toward its neighborhood have been important not only for Turkey itself, but also for the entire region. Turkey has established a leading role in

²⁷ Michael Emerson and Nathalie Tocci, "Turkey as Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy," *Centre for European Policy Studies*, no.1 (2004): 8-10.

the region. In this context, the convergence of Turkey and European Union foreign policies, and complementary implementation of their policies will bring positive contributions to the EU's common foreign policy area.

First of all, Turkey is a supporter of the EU's "Stabilization and Association Process" and the EU policies facilitating the accession of the Western Balkan countries to the EU. It can be clearly seen that Turkey has played significant roles in the prevention of conflict, disorder and have made contributions to security and stability in the Balkans. For Example, Turkey has been active participant in the European Union's police missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the Republic of Macedonia.

Secondly, The Black Sea is another important issue in the EU's foreign policy. Bulgarian and Romanian membership extended the EU's borders to the western of the Black Sea. With Turkey's membership, the EU would control the entire Black Sea. This would enable the EU to expand its influence over the Black Sea, which is important in terms of "transportation, energy links, fisheries and combating organized crime and illegal immigration".

Besides that, Turkey's membership would also be important in terms of EU-Russia relations. After Turkey's accession, European Union will cooperate with Russia especially in combating energy interests in Central Asia. Turkey is also well positioned to serve as a central transit route for rising European energy needs. The Greek-Turkish Interconnector gas pipeline project demonstrates Turkey's contribution to energy security.

Turkey is willing to be part of solving conflicts, bringing the security and providing the stability into the unstable region of the world. Turkey's EU membership could make the EU more influential in the stabilization of the region.

In addition, the Middle East is one of the most unstable regions of the world. Turkey's membership will play a gate role to the EU in order to extend the border to Iran, Iraq, and Syria in the Middle East.

Turkey and the EU agree on the need for a diplomatic solution into the Iranian nuclear crisis and a functioning democracy in Iraq. Turkey is a significant country in the promotion of the EU's interests such as energy security, spreading democratic values to the region, and resolving the Israeli Palestinian conflict and the Iranian nuclear problem. Turkey's accession would be important for the EU's relations with

the Islamic world. Over the years, Turkey has been successful in building firm relationships with both Western and Eastern countries.

On the one hand, Turkey has membership in organizations such as NATO, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the Council of Europe.

Turkey also is member of Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Economic Cooperation Organization. Being a part of both organizations provide close ties with both Western and Islamic countries and have enabled Turkey to serve as a bridge between west and east. Turkey's membership offers a structural potential to enhance the credibility of EU policies towards the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Mediterranean regions.

In addition to this, If EU policies contribute to and support a fundamental transformation of the Turkish state and society, the Union's credibility as a civilian actor would rise.

Next, Turkey's accession would lead to an extended reach of the European neighborhood policy. Turkey's neighbors would become direct neighbors of the EU. Turkey has the role of a geographical hub for regional cooperation. Turkey is a secure energy-transport hub for Caspian, Middle Eastern and Russian oil and gas. Turkey is well situated to become a forward base for the EU's security and defense policy, for military logistics and the credibility of the EU's presence in the region.

Another important issue is that Turkey's accession would confirm the contribution of European integration to conflict resolution, with the reconciliation between the Turkish state and its Kurdish population, its rapprochement with Greece and its constructive role over Cyprus. Turkey's transformation of its security and foreign policy culture reveals less reliance on military power and greater emphasis on diplomacy and civilian instruments. Turkey's EU accession would demonstrate that Europe is an inclusive concept, with multi-cultural values and openness to different religions.

In short, Turkey's inclusion into the EU orbit brings numerous benefits for the Union's foreign policies through Turkey's capabilities and its ties in the regions around it. Its exclusion would be problematic and even risky due to Turkey's ability to influence EU decisions through its vote in the NATO Council. Major political effect of EU membership for Turkey would be Turkey's representation in EU institutions.

4.1.2. CONTRA-ARGUMENT

Turkey's possible membership exposes the EU new security challenges. There are some negative impacts of Turkey's EU membership on the EU's foreign policy goals.

Firstly, Turkey's uneasy relations with the Arab states in general and its neighbors in particular, its direct involvement in the Cyprus problem and the remaining potential of a new escalation of tensions with Greece, Turkey's considerable stakes in Central Asia, and direct exposure to the instabilities in the Caucasus may bring new security headaches to the Union.²⁸

Turkey's neighborhood with volatile regions will bring new problems for the EU. For example, the Second Gulf War, subsequent ongoing conflict in Iraq, Iran nuclear weapons problems, the Syrian conflict and the Georgia- Russian armed conflict.

Having a direct border with this conflict-prone neighborhood would force the EU to face significant problems waiting to be settled in the EU foreign policy agenda. EU will confront with new policy areas where having differing views and attitudes make it difficult for EU to define and implement a common policy.

Secondly, this is not to deny that Turkey has serious problems that pose obstacles to its accession to the EU. Turkey has a dubious human rights record, structural deficiencies in its democracy pertaining to the political role of the military through such institutions as the National Security Council, and serious problems related to the Kurdish issue.

Turkey inside the EU would complicate a common foreign policy because EU has already had difficulties to harmonize the position of different EU countries and often doesn't act as a unified actor. Moreover, Turkey's problems such as Kurdish problem, relations with Armenian society would become the problems of EU.

Ankara's willingness to acquire more influence in the Middle East, ideological proximity to the Muslim Brotherhood, and the increasing instrumentalization of foreign policy for domestic purposes .As a result, Turkey and European Union policies about Syria, Iraq, Israel and Palestine have sometimes diverged with each other.

²⁸ *Muftuler Bac, Meltem, "Turkey's role in the EU's security and Foreign policies , Department of Political Science, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, 2000, pp 492*

Another striking feature of the EU-Turkey dialogue on pressing foreign policy issues is the atomized procedures used so far. The first EU high representative appointed in 2010 under the Lisbon Treaty visited Ankara once. EU-Turkey dialogue on foreign policy issues have been organized by senior officials as a result it creates an impression of weakening interest at the political level.

Last but not the least, what is important to recognize, however, is that the “Turkey question” is a reflection of deeper uncertainties and fears in European societies and the problems that they face in adapting themselves to the pressures of globalization. Turkey-skeptics in Europe, strongly embodied in the personalities of leaders like Sarkozy (before) and Merkel, hold that Turkey is not a natural insider in a culturally-bounded vision of Europe and the associated deep integration process...

Although remarkable developments have been made in the previous twelve months but still there is a slow progress in other areas.

Another aspect which could hamper EU-Turkey relations further is policy makers who are in Europe feel increasingly doubtful about Turkey’s European credentials when reading Erdogan’s statements about the “natural” inequality between men and women or his pledge to reintroduce the Ottoman language at schools nearly a century after Atatürk introduced the Latin alphabet at the expense of the Arabic one²⁹

Finally, the progress report reflects antigovernment protests in Istanbul’s Gezi Park with excessive use of force and the massive rollback of Turkey’s rule-of-law architecture. In terms of rule of law, in the last few years, it is witnessed a significant deterioration in the rule of law and fundamental rights in Turkey.

From massive police repression against the Gezi Park protests, the lack of an independent and impartial judicial investigation into the 2013 corruption scandal involving members of the Turkish government, the passing of laws restricting freedom of assembly and speech in the online and offline world, to the restructuring of the judiciary and almost non-existent progress of negotiations with Turkey, some political groups in the European Parliament have called for a reassessment of the relationship. It would be a terrible mistake, as this is a critical moment for the future of the country.

²⁹ *BBC (24 November 2014). Turkey president Erdogan: Women are not equal to men. Available at: Available at ;<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-30183711> (Accessed: 07 January 2015).*

4.2. SECURITY DIMENSION

Turkey's membership would make the EU a more active security policy actor. From the EU's points of view, security interests play a dominating role in agenda. With the Association Agreement, the EEC intended to anchor Turkey further within the European security sphere.

Western European States, since the beginning of the Cold War, in other words for more than 50 years, have been working in order to establish a collective security structure. During the Cold War years, NATO has been the primary organ of this structure. With the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the nature of the threats to European security has changed significantly.

NATO has undergone a series of reforms to adapt itself to the new security environment, primarily by adding peacekeeping instruments to its traditional defense structures. At the same time, efforts by Western European countries for a genuinely European security structure have also gained pace during the 1990s.

The European Union has included Common Foreign and Security Policy in its three pillared structure with the Maastricht Treaty in 1991. CFSP has continued evolving since then. The introduction of qualified majority voting, establishment of a Political and Security Committee, a Military Committee and a Military Staff, and finalization of NATO-EU Consultation and Cooperation arrangements have been major achievements achieved throughout the 1990s and early 2000s.

Traditional decision-making mechanisms of the Cold War years have gradually been replaced with more participatory decision-making mechanisms with the involvement of new civic actors such as NGOs and the businessmen.

With the end of the Cold War, Turkey's role in European security has started to change. The EU and Turkey have complementary tools able to produce a number of achievements, particularly in the human security field.

Increased human security, therefore, strengthens stability in Europe's neighborhood and will eventually bring prosperity and better business opportunities.

If the prospect of full membership of Turkey be withdrawn, Turkey will either have to adopt more nationalist policies or in some cases will need to act in harmony with the US.

Turkey's membership is a vital part of the development of the Common Foreign and Defense Policy. Beginning the accession negotiations is, therefore, critical for both the EU and for Turkey. ESDP is European policy on security and defense, in cooperation with NATO.

The integration of Turkey into European Union means to be part of the ESDP, the second pillar of the EU. In other words, Turkey is guaranteeing its role in security policy making.

4.2.1. PRO- ARGUMENT

Turkey's membership into the EU will certainly be a facilitating factor in the development of the EU-Turkey relationship. Turkey's contribution to the EU will increase with the development of a credible CFSP and ESDP. The fundamental reason behind the incapability of the EU to develop an efficient foreign and security policy is interest and preference based on conflicts among member-states.

Firstly, Turkey with its geographical proximity to a region containing a great amount of the world's oil and gas reserves has become an important energy conduit for European Union countries.

Turkey is a secure energy-transport hub for Caspian, Middle Eastern and Russian oil, gas. Turkey is well situated to become a forward base for the EU's security and defense policy, for military logistics and the credibility of the EU's presence in the region. EU member states are already fearful about being too dependent on oil from the Middle East or from Russia. Turkey has always been of strategic importance to Europe's security due to its geography and history.

Turkey serves as a corridor in road, rail, maritime, and pipeline connections to the EU by having geostrategic position.

Turkey's accession would enable the EU to control these transportation modes, especially for energy, which has gained importance as a critical issue on the EU's security agenda. Due to its location, Turkey is a strong candidate to become one of the world's most important gas and petroleum terminals in the short term.

Secondly, through its proactive energy diplomacy, the pipelines in Turkish territory indicate it has become a regional center for energy transportation. Turkey's geopolitical location and military capabilities would enhance the EU's standing as a global actor when it becomes a member.

Thirdly, Turkey's military forces are by far the largest in NATO's European contingent by number of personnel, accounting for a quarter of the total, with 514,000 enrolled.³⁰ After achieving considerable economic and political strength through the European integration within the framework of the European Union, NATO's European allies are trying to reduce their dependence on the United States for their security and defense. This goal was manifested in the European Union's efforts to create a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) that targets the emergence of an EU military capability complementary to, but autonomous from, NATO.

Considering Turkey's high defense budget and its experienced and well-equipped military forces, the largest in NATO's European contingent by number of personnel, Turkey's accession would make significant contributions to the EU's military capabilities and the development of the ESDP.³¹ Overall, Turkey has the military, civilian and diplomatic resources to make the EU more capable. With the opening of accession negotiations, cooperation with the EU will be further strengthened and fruitful results will be observed even prior to Turkey's full membership.³²

Another significant point is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction which is particularly in the Middle East is a serious concern both for the EU and Turkey. Coping with the regional conflicts be it in the Balkans, the Middle East or the Caucasus goes beyond the capabilities of any single state. Turkey is well situated to help the development of such policies as part of the EU.

Another major threat enlisted in the strategy document is organized crime where Europe is presented as a prime target for that. Turkey is getting her share of organized crime, with drug trafficking and illegal migration among the primary problems. Indeed cooperation between Turkish and EU authorities has increased over the last years and is producing good results. Brussels could utilize Turkey's advanced military and intelligence capability in its struggle against international terrorism, which is an overt threat against security of the EU.

³⁰ Emerson, Michael and Tocci, Nathalie'' *Turkey as a Bridgehead and Spearhead'' Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy, Centre for European Policy department , 2004,pg;8*

³¹ Emerson and Tocci, "Turkey as Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy,"pg 32.

³² Buharali, Can , "Turkey's foreign Policy towards EU membership:A security Perspective",EDP.pg 15

Turkey's exclusion would mean that the EU would lose the opportunity of influencing an important regional actor. Any meaningful European role in the fight against the proliferation of terrorism and drug trafficking will have to include Turkey and its important diplomatic ties and experience.

Turkey's EU accession seems important for the EU's emerging foreign and security policy as the recent accession of the ten new member states put together. Turkey is almost completely surrounded by a set of regions that represent the EU's prime security concerns, from the residual instability of the Balkans to the west, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Iraq and Iran to the east, and Israel-Palestine and the Mediterranean to the south.³³

Turkey signed a co-operation agreement with Europol which will enhance co-operation in fighting serious forms of organized crime which is an important step to guarantee its security in the arena. The fight against torture and ill-treatment has been strengthened and the Turkish legal system has come closer to European standards in this respect.

Lastly, foreign fighters are the common security problem of EU and Turkey. Currently, European politicians started to criticize themselves for not sharing the burden of refugees with Turkey, which has currently hosted more than two million for the last four years. They also started to realize just how important Turkey is for the EU on such issue.

Without Turkey's cooperation, Europe and international community will struggle to confront the threat of foreign fighters, defeat the Islamic state, and stabilize Iraq and resolving political solution to Syria. Turkey's "transit country" position for foreign fighters mandates the EU and Turkey to act in a close cooperation.

The EU wants to have a close cooperation with Turkey to block its citizens to join radical organizations like ISIS as foreign fighters and to prevent those foreign fighters from putting a terrorist act in Europe after returning back.

Turkey's institutional role in the Union's common security policies, its significant military capabilities and its pivotal geographical position determine Turkey's strategic importance for the EU in the post-Cold War era. From Turkey's perspectives, differentiation between terror groups could lead to terror spreading

³³ Emerson and Tocci, "Turkey as Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy," pg 33.

across Europe and reaching the entire world. A new agreement is needed in order to produce the same solution.

In conclusion, Turkey would build on the advantages of its comparative openness as well as proximity to the Middle Eastern and Eurasian neighborhoods. Turkey is well situated to become a forward base for the EU's security and defense policy, for military logistics and for asserting the EU's presence in the region. It can be clearly noticed that Turkey's real contribution to regional peace operations arises not only from its military capabilities and its crucial geopolitical location, but also from its ability to contribute to the civilian sector of peace operations. Turkey bears very huge impact and greater importance on European countries interests.

4.2.2. CONTRA- ARGUMENT

There are some possible negative outcomes of Turkey's membership on EU's security goals.

First of all, Turkey's membership would make the EU geographically closer to the problematic regions. Turkey's membership raises concerns and creates threat perception among EU members. Yet these threats are global. Some of these threats, such as terrorism and illegal immigration, already constitute significant security threats in the EU.

Also, Turkey has struggled against threats, particularly terrorism, illegal immigration, and drug trafficking, over the years and has gained experience with handling them.

In addition to that, Turkey's accession might bring a whole range of new security risks to the EU, such as direct exposure to fundamentalist Islam, trans-border tensions with such unstable states as Syria, Iraq, and Iran and ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus.³⁴

Besides that, Turkey still needs to align with the EU visa requirements and exemptions, to harmonize its visa policy towards EU Member States. Turkey has to adapt a law to set up single border security organization in line with the national action plan to implement Turkey's integrated border management strategy.

³⁴ *Muftuler Bac, Meltem, "Turkey's role in the EU's security and Foreign policies , Department of Political Science, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, 2000, pp 493*

Cooperation in other operators needs to be improved especially on the detection of false and falsified documents.

In addition to that, having the same borderline with Turkey might result in migrant flow from Turkey to some of the EU member states which has combined with feelings of group protectiveness to produce widespread animosity to Turkey's entry into the EU. The combination of high levels of feelings of threat to group resources and high levels of Turkish migration will make EU citizens significantly more likely to oppose the Turkish candidacy.

The threat for Europe is that, Syrian and Iraqi civil wars in the southern borders of Turkey allowed terrorist organizations to expand their area of activity and then, the region became attractive for the foreign terrorist fighters. For this reason, the ISIS and foreign fighters have a direct threat to Turkey. The "open door" policy towards the Syrians who tried to come across the border since the beginning of Syrian civil war in 2011 brought Turkey to be more exposed to ISIS-based threats.³⁵

The security risk is that the ISIS raises for the internal security of Turkey became more obvious with the attack that took place in the Embassy of Turkey in Mosul. The ISIS is one of the most important reasons why Turkey could not accomplish its foreign policy goal regarding the political solution in Syria. Open door policy which causes the movements of so many foreigners to Europe results in so much threat feeling and insecurity in European countries.

From security perspective, it is important for Turkey to cooperate with Frontex which is the EU's external border security agency; Europol, its law enforcement body; Euro-just, its judicial cooperation agency and to develop police and judicial cooperation with law enforcement agencies in the EU member states too.

According to EU, Turkey has to progress in some important areas such as revision of its anti-terrorism legislation, reform of its justice system, and adoption of a comprehensive strategy for the refugees and migrants who live the country.

EU and Turkey needs to have cooperation in order to addresses security problems.

Lastly, NATO member Turkey has acted reluctantly in the Syria conflict and has been slow to heed American requests for using its Incirlik airbase in operations against the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.

³⁵*EU and Turkey's Attitudes towards the Fight against the ISIS and Foreign Fighters, 2015*
Available at :<http://researchturkey.org/eu-and-turkeys-attitudes-towards-the-fight-against-the-isis-and-foreign-fighters/>

Moreover, in the wake of the recent conflict in Ukraine in which Russia annexed the Crimea, stirred-up secessionist movements in East Ukraine, and consequentially saw tensions between the EU and Russia rise to unprecedented levels. Turkey appears to be committed to furthering its EU-bid at least on paper.

4.3. DISCOURSE IN EUROPE ON THE EU-TURKEY COOPERATION REGARDING TO SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICIES

Turkey's prospective membership will change the dynamics of the EU and the region the better. It is important to ask that how have the discourses have developed regarding to EU and Turkey cooperation?

Politicians, scientists, media, think tanks play a significant role in terms of understanding the new trend of EU discourse on Turkey's integration into the EU in terms of security and foreign dimension .

What are the reasons for continued tense relations between both Turkey and European Union? European Parliament reporters call on Turkey for more alignment on foreign policy. They want Turkey to act in the same direction with EU in the foreign policy.

European Parliament has urged the Turkey to intensify cooperation on foreign policy coordination and cooperation. EU calls on the Turkey to talk in a one voice in a foreign policy in terms of Russian issue and hopes to “improve alignment on foreign policy and security policy”³⁶

Accession talks aim to bring the candidate country and the EU closer to each other. Candidate countries have to be compliance with the Copenhagen criteria which set the conditions for EU membership. Adopting different practices toward Turkey would not only decrease the potential advantages of this membership for Turkey, but also alienate the Turkish people from European community.

According to Mogherini;

³⁶ *EU officials emphasize Turkey's EU accession 2014*
Available at ;<http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2014/12/08/eu-officials-emphasize-turkeys-eu-accession>

*"I hope that not only the Turkish government, but also the Turkish people, embrace that Turkey's accession to the EU is not only beneficial for Turkey, but also for the EU as well."*³⁷

*"Our top priority will be Turkey's EU accession process," "We aim to work with Turkish government officials to give the process a concrete step and move forward"*³⁸

From this perspective, it is a call from EU to work with Turkish government officials to upgrade the cooperation between EU and Turkey.

It is related to the impact of enlargement dimension which effects the organization and the state to which its institutional rules are extended. This statement matches with the problem solving entity that highlights the role of bilateral mutual relations and emphasize that this cooperation is not only advantages for the Turkey but also for the EU.

Turkey is an essential partner for the EU in dealing with drugs and human trafficking, organized crime and illegal migration.

EU Council president Donald Tusk said that before the start of today's EU-Turkey summit on refugees:

*"We have reached an agreement which I hope will be accepted". "Let us not us not be naive though", he continued. "Turkey is not the only key to resolving the migration crisis. The important one is our responsibility and duty to protect our external border. We cannot outsource this obligation to any third country. Without control on our external borders, Schengen will become history."*³⁹

Turkey stands at the crossroads of almost every issue of importance on the European continent-including NATO, the Balkans, Cyprus, the Aegean, the sanctions

³⁷ *EU officials emphasize Turkey's EU accession 2014*
Available at :<http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2014/12/08/eu-officials-emphasize-turkeys-eu-accession>

³⁸ *EU officials emphasize Turkey's EU accession 2014*
Available at ;<http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2014/12/08/eu-officials-emphasize-turkeys-eu-accession>

³⁹ *"We have reached an agreement": Tusk at EU-Turkey summit,2015-*
<http://neurope.eu/article/we-have-reached-an-agreement-tusk-at-eu-turkey-summit/>

of Iraq, the relations of Russia in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and transit routes for Caspian oil and gas”.⁴⁰

Like Mogherini, Stefan Fule who was a European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy defines the European Union and Turkey cooperation:

*“We are bound to avoid that the sustainable momentum we want to create is undermined; we are bound to succeed together! It was an integration call for both countries. In addition to this, In the light of what is at stake, Turkey needs more European engagement, and with it more of European Union standards and values, not less.”*⁴¹

In his speech, he mentioned about the importance of European Union-Turkey relations which he believes to have the potential to develop in a more constructive spirit than before.

Moreover, EU Enlargement Commissioner Johannes Hahn explains the cooperation of EU and Turkey shortly:

*“One or more chapters could open in Turkish-EU accession talks in the future “We welcome recent moves and signals from member states, and therefore... I am hopeful that it might be possible to open one or the other chapter in the next presidency,” “Things are moving in the right direction.”*⁴²

There is a new momentum in the EU-Turkey relationship. Turkey can provide many assets for the EU. It has a young and dynamic workforce.

It is located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, with good connections in the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Middle East, Russia and Central Asia.

⁴⁰ Kurt, Umit” *A Glance to Turkey-EU Relations from the Security Perspective: Incorporation of Turkey into the EU is Necessary for European Security would Strengthen the Prospects of Turkey’s Integration* ,2008 “pg 63

⁴¹ EU Commission , *Crucial Moment in TR-EU relations* , 2013
Available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-526_en.htm

⁴² *EU calls for greater ‘alignment’ with Turkey over IS threat,2014*
Available at ;<http://www.france24.com/en/20141209-eu-calls-greater-turkey-alignment-IS>

Another positive message comes from The European Commission president Jose Manuel Barroso said in 2014, in Istanbul,

*“Turkey has also made progress in its alignment with the EU legislation even if we consider that the picture is mixed as regards the political criteria. We welcome the fact that the new government has tabled its EU Strategy, which is intended to reinvigorate Turkey’s work on its European path. We would like to see this clear European commitment on the Turkish side.”*⁴³

Turkey has already become a key element of Europe’s competitiveness in the global economy. Turkey has already become a key element of Europe’s competitiveness in the global economy.⁴⁴

Although several politicians have highlighted the necessity to increase cooperation with Turkey and speed up accession talks, many politicians are still skeptical about upgrading of EU-Turkey relationship.

First of all, Mogherini also raised concerns over the state of free speech, media liberties and the role of women in Turkey which she branded as "real issues" that need to be solved.

*“We need to improve on the alignment on foreign policy and security policy, it's never been so low and this is a problem for the European Union, but it is mainly a problem for Turkey,”*⁴⁵

EU’s final decision on Turkey’s accession is dependent both on Turkey’s performance in adopting the EU’s distinctive security identity.

The second concern is about having senior level communication of both countries. Javier Solana who was EU High Representative for foreign and security policy since 1999 to 2009 said that:

⁴³ EU Commission , *Regional Integration and global developments, 2014*, Available at ;www.europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-639_en.htm.

⁴⁴ Buskjer Christensen, Mette” *Mobilizing Local Networks for a Better Informed Dialogue on Turkey’s Accession to the EU” EU-Turkey relations and the functioning of the EU, C.E.S.Pg 12*

⁴⁵ *EU calls for greater ‘alignment’ with Turkey over IS threat ,2014* Available at :<http://www.france24.com/en/20141209-eu-calls-greater-turkey-alignment-IS>

“A good place to start would be a meeting of members of the European and Turkish parliaments in order to monitor the possible revision of Turkish Foreign policy, achieving the goal of enhanced stability in Middle East and to set up meeting at regular intervals for agreements regarding to urgent challenges and joint actions”⁴⁶

Moreover, The European Union and Turkey have drifted apart on foreign policy and need greater "alignment" to tackle threats including the Islamic State group, the EU's foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini said on conference.

Another negative statement comes from Jonathan Friedman, a global risk consultancy group said that

“Turkey’s not ready for the EU and the EU is not ready for Turkey. Turkey is “independently minded.” It’s a large country. It would actually want to have a seat at the high table, up there with France and Germany. I don’t think France and Germany are really prepared for that”⁴⁷

According to Turkey Progress Report in 2015, Turkish police needs to strengthen its capacity to identify suspicious travelers *inter alia* through improved profiling. Police and judicial cooperation with EU Member States and EU agencies in combating terrorism is limited by the absence of a personal data protection law in line with EU standards and differences over the definition of, and penalties for, terrorism.⁴⁸ Turkey signed cooperation agreements with most member states allowing for information sharing and joint operations in the fight against crime and terrorism.

Besides that, despite sharing an understanding of the threat and making some progress on joint efforts, the EU and Turkey’s counterterrorism cooperation has been hindered by a trust deficit that is proving difficult to bridge.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Turkey- Eu bilateral relationship,2015

Available at :<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/turkey-eu-bilateral-relationship-by-javier-solana-2015-06>

⁴⁷ EU gates still closed to Turkey: ‘The journey has now been almost 50 years’ 2015

Available at :<http://business.financialpost.com/news/economy/eu-gates-still-closed-to-turkey-the-journey-has-now-been-almost-50-years>

⁴⁸ Turkey Progress Report, Eu Commission. 2015

Available at :http://www.ab.gov.tr/files/000etkinlikler/2015/11/10/20151110_report_turkey.pdf

⁴⁹ A moment of opportunity in Turkey- Eu membership,2014

Available at :<http://carnegieeurope.eu/2014/12/10/moment-of-opportunity-in-eu-turkey-relationship>

Turkey has been critical for European Union for sharing information in a timely manner in order to enable Turkish security forces to take necessary steps to counter the fighters. The EU has been also critical of Turkey for turning a blind eye to EU citizens who have become fighters and who head to Syria to join jihadist groups.

Currently, both countries are struggling to solve immigration and terror problems. Hollande who is a president of France said that “We agreed a certain number of rules with Turkey. If we can’t get control of our external borders, then we can’t go further on the promises we made to Turkey.”⁵⁰

The EU Commissioner responsible for negotiations, Johannes Hahn, recently suggested that there could be a new beginning for Turkey's EU accession process with the opening of new chapters, one of Turkey's demands.⁵¹ It focuses on economic and monetary policy with bolstering the independence of Turkey's central bank a pre-condition to Monday's move.

Currently, there is a new trend in the EU and Turkey cooperation. The reason of the new trend in the discourse is the commitment of European Union in increasing political engagement with Turkey, providing Turkey with significant financial support, accelerating the fulfillment of the visa liberalization roadmap and energizing the accession process with Turkey.

"The opening of Chapter 17 is part of the energizing of Turkey's accession process as agreed at the EU-Turkey summit in November," Luxembourg's Foreign Minister Jean Asselborn said in a press conference.⁵²

European Union tries to exercise influence in Turkey by opening a new chapter and having a new start in their relations by opening of Chapter 17- economic and monetary policy which was a condition of an agreement at a special summit.

⁵⁰ *Refugee crisis: EU summit exposes impotence and unfulfilled pledges*, 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/17/refugee-crisis-eu-summit-exposes-impotence-and-unfulfilled-pledges>

⁵¹ *Refugee crisis; EU summit exposes impotence and unfulfilled pledges 2015, EU weakens criticism of Erdoğan in return for refugee agreement, 2015*

Available at :
http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_eu-weakens-criticism-of-erdogan-in-return-for-refugee-agreement_405542.html

⁵² *EU and Turkey open fresh chapter in accession talks, 2015*
Available at ; <http://www.dw.com/en/eu-and-turkey-open-fresh-chapter-in-accession-talks/a-18917506>

In summary, while some politicians emphasize on the importance of this cooperation, some still have concerns about the progress of the relationship of Turkey and European Union.

4.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Each enlargement has increased the EU's influence in the international arena. Turkey and the EU have a win-win situation. In all of these enlargement rounds, new members made important changes to the EU's interests and capabilities. Turkey's potential membership and its implications deserve to be discussed. Turkey's membership would affect the EU in various ways. First, Turkey's membership in the EU would have effects on the EU's Common foreign and security policy.

Thanks to Turkey's accession, the EU foreign policy area would expand, and the EU would increase its influence in Turkey's neighborhood and play more active roles in the international arena. In other words, the EU would play more active roles in the international arena by increasing its foreign policy areas.

Turkey's contributions to EU policies regarding to specific regions in Turkey's neighborhood, Turkey's relations with its neighbors, and its active roles and policies regarding to its neighborhood would be major factors in the development of the EU's CFSP.

From a security perspective, Turkey's membership would expand the EU's borders and the EU would become neighbors with the currently volatile countries Iraq and Georgia.

Moreover, Turkey with its military capacity will make an enormous contribution on the European Security and Defense Policy and to the EU's efforts to counter global threats such as terrorism and illegal immigration. In other words, there are three assets that make Turkey an indispensable actor in the European security system in the post-Cold War era: its membership in NATO, its military capabilities, and its geostrategic position.

First, by exercising its vote in the North Atlantic Council, Turkey has an institutional lever which can affect the EU's defense aspirations. Turkey's incorporation into the EU becomes essential. Exclusion of such an integral actor from the European security structures would carry significant risks, while its

inclusion would enhance European military capabilities and allow the European Union to exploit Turkey's geopolitical value.

Second, Turkey's military capabilities are significant for operations in the expanded European security area.

Third, Turkey controls a pivotal intersection between Southeastern Europe, the Middle East, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, which allows it to qualify as a major player in all these regions.⁵³

According to 2014 Turkey Progress Report, the signature and entry into force of the EU–Turkey readmission agreement and the launch of the visa liberalization dialogue is a welcome development. Turkey has to make an effort to reform its border authorities to ensure more effective and integrated border management. Turkey has not yet adopted a law setting up a single border security organization in line with the national action plan to implement Turkey's integrated border management strategy.

On the other hand, Turkey made some progress in the fight against organized crime. Turkey improved its program to counter the financing of terrorism. The adoption of a data protection law is a necessary pre-condition for further international police and judicial cooperation. Overall, alignment in the area of justice and home affairs is moderately advanced.

The political dialogue between the EU and Turkey on foreign and security policy continued to expand and intensify. Turkey continued to participate in civil and military crisis management operations in the framework of the common security and defense policy. Turkey continued to engage actively in cooperation with international organizations.⁵⁴ Turkey's active counter-terrorism dialogue with the EU has continued. Turkey improved its programmer to counter the financing of terrorism.

Turkey is an important player in the changing European security arena, and, without its participation, EU-led operations may stand less chance of success. Turkey bears remarkable advantages to EU's security areas. The EU will be more active player in the international arena by incorporating with Turkey as a full member. The

⁵³ Muftuler Bac, Meltem, "Turkeys role in the EUs security and Foreign policies , Department of Political Science, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey,2000,pp 490

⁵⁴ EU progress Report , EU Commission , 2014 Pg, 68
Available at :http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf

importance of the relations between Turkey and the EU is best appreciated in the context of the new security environment, of the plans for an international order in implementation global EU foreign policy.

Turkey's enormous military capability will make a considerable contribution to hard power of the EU. Indeed, success of the EU's military operations in the Balkans and the Middle East that depends on the Turkey's support and its logistic assistance proves the importance of Turkey geostrategic position.

As two groups within the EU that have drawn contradicting conclusions about Turkey's membership of the EU, with one side viewing it as a security risk and the other seeing it as a security opportunity. It depends on the way where you can look at. Given the EU's interest in exerting influence in Turkey's southern and eastern neighborhoods, it is important to examine Turkey's surroundings and consider in greater depth the likely effects of Turkey's membership on the EU in both foreign and security policy dimensions.⁵⁵

Turkey would be a crucial player for filling security and foreign policy gaps of EU and in that respect security would be regarded as a bridge-building for Turkey's EU membership. Recent terror attacks in Paris will not have an influence on the EU-Turkey cooperation on migration. It also has made the EU countries more united and committed to fight the ISIS.

Overall, the foreign and security advantages of Turkey's entry outweigh the potential disadvantages of Turkey and EU integration.

Indeed, the EU-Turkey relationship would get more benefit from a more global and coherent framework that takes all aspects of the partnership into account. Now is a moment of opportunity for both sides. Viewing Turkey as a potential asset to the EU's foreign and security policies can be characterized into two terms used in military security studies: bridgehead and spearhead.

Democratization of Turkey would be the bridgehead of a modern, multi-cultural Europe alongside the ideological chaos and violence of the neighborhood beyond. Its civilian, military and human resources could be integrated with those of the EU and

⁵⁵ Kurt, Ümit'' *A Glance to Turkey-EU Relations from the Security Perspective: Incorporation of Turkey into the EU is Necessary for European Security would Strengthen the Prospects of Turkey's Integration* ,2008

serve as a spearhead of the EU's soft and not-so-soft power projection into the region.⁵⁶

The European Union has to gain from a mutual understanding in its relations with Turkey. For Turks, the least problematic chapter of negotiation will be that of foreign and security policy.

Furthermore, Turkey makes high contribution on European security. Adopting more inclusive behavior to Turkey would be right and beneficial for Europe. Especially, European countries need Turkey more than ever in order to solve refugee crisis which is occurred by transiting the border of Turkey and reaching European line.

Turkey is a key country for the EU in terms of securing its stability, playing a bridge role between states and providing prosperity in its neighborhood. It would be wise step for Turkey's European friends to facilitate the accession process.

5. THE POSSIBLE IMPACTS OF EU'S MEMBERSHIP ON TURKEY'S FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The prospect of EU membership plays an important role in Turkey's foreign and security policy. EU membership has been regarded as one of the significant tools for achieving this goal in Turkey.

The candidate countries have to fulfill certain political, economic, and legal criteria for EU membership. Turkey's membership in the EU would have important effect on both the EU and Turkey.

From Turkey's perspectives, Turkey's membership would contribute positively to Turkey. Turkey has shown important signs of improvement in terms of the reform process.

By the time of accession, Turkey has committed to fulfill all the Copenhagen criteria effectively. As a result of membership, Turkey will be modernized, stabilized and restructured its political, economic and legal systems.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Emerson and Tocci, "Turkey as Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy," pg 34

⁵⁷ Mustafa Aydın and Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, "To Be or Not to Be with Turkey; December 2004 Blues for the EU," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, (Fall 2004): 9,

http://www.turkishpolicy.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=88&Itemid=201 (accessed March 14, 2008).

Turkey's EU candidacy since 1999 has stimulated Turkish political and legal reforms and intensified the Europeanization process in Turkey. The key questions in these discussions are the following:

How would EU prospective membership affect Turkey in terms of foreign and security policy?

In an attempt to examine this topic properly, it will include the pro, counter arguments and discourse statements with an assessment of the possible impacts of EU membership on Turkish foreign and security policy interests.

5.1. FOREIGN POLICY DIMENSION

Today, Turkey, with its "multi-dimensional foreign policy" plays an active role in the international arena and through the instruments of its geographical location, historical and cultural ties serves as a bridge between different cultures.⁵⁸

Today, the EU has become an important global actor. It has a powerful economy and potential political structure as a result the EU has increased its sphere of influence in the international arena.

The establishment of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in 1992 by the Maastricht Treaty was one of the most important steps taken by the EU to constitute a collective political identity in the international arena. The Maastricht Treaty set out significant objectives such as "to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, and independence of the EU," "to strengthen the security of the EU and its member states in all ways," and "to promote international cooperation."⁵⁹

The EU has implemented a more active foreign policy in the global arena since the Amsterdam Treaty which also increased cooperation regarding security issues among the member countries and contributed to the emergence of the EU's European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP).

⁵⁸ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Synopsis of the Turkish Foreign Policy," Available at :<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa> (accessed October 29, 2008).

⁵⁹ Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc, 2005), 585.

ESDP has enabled the EU to conduct peace keeping and peace building missions in different parts of the world.⁶⁰ It maintains its efforts to enlarge with new member states and to establish stronger relations with other states, notably its neighbors, through various instruments, including the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)⁶¹.

5.1.1. PRO-ARGUMENT

Turkey's accession into the EU would mean that Turkey would be one of the significant actors in the global area. In other words, with EU membership, Turkey would be an active participant in some or all of the military, police and civilian missions conducted by the EU. This would allow Turkey to strengthen its position in the international arena. Turkey will have an important position in the formulation and implementation of the CFSP about all these issues and it would enable Turkey to increase its weight in the European Union.

Turkey's membership inside the EU would stress the multicultural character of the EU. For example, having a reputation of the EU in the Arab world would increase higher reputation and more influence in the region. In other words, it will contradict with the clash of civilization theory.

Moreover, Turkey's membership inside the EU will provide Turkey a crucial position in the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament because Turkey has a larger population than all EU member states except Germany.

For the following years, its population could be equal with Germany's it can be argued that with its voting power, Turkey would have an important position. This would enable Turkey to play a major role in the decision making process of the EU. In other words, Turkey would have a voice in taking foreign policy decisions related to its own interests. Turkey would increase its weight in the international arena since the EU is a global power.

In addition to this, membership in the EU would pave the way for establishing closer relations with other member countries.

Turkey would strengthen its relations with members located in the north and western parts of the European continent. Turkey's EU membership could also

⁶⁰ Hanns W. Maull, "Europe as a Global Power," paper from "Worldviews of Major and Aspiring Powers" Conference at the George Washington University, September 2007,

⁶¹ European Commission, "European Union in the World," http://ec.europa.eu/world/index_en.htm

contribute to the resolution of problems such as the Aegean disputes between Turkey and Greece. This would bring advantages to both countries, as well as to the EU itself. Turkey would have a say about the taking decision in the EU.

On the one hand, Turkey has been a close western partner for so long and its route toward EU membership would provide a growing market for exports, a source of needed labor, a positive influence on the Middle East, and a critical ally in the war on terror.

A resentful, unstable, and inward-looking Turkey, on the other hand, would be a disaster not only for Turkey but for the West.⁶² It is hard to imagine it ever being lost. While the membership statues remain stable, the relationship will move beyond the accession framework. Bordering Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Caucasus, Turkey also occupies the corridor between Western markets and the Caspian Sea energy reserves.

5.1.2. COUNTER- ARGUMENT

While Turkey gets benefit from new policies and cooperation instruments to better manage its multifaceted relationship with the European Union, there are some concerns that Turkey's foreign affairs have after granted full membership in the European Union.

To start with that, Turkey's accession would damage its regional power. Its role as regional power is not affected by its EU membership prospects, but by size, location and history. Turkey's willingness to accede to the Union and the explicit American support for Turkey's EU membership, have often been interpreted as an American strategy to introduce a "Trojan horse" (Turkey) in order to control the political decision-making within the Union.⁶³ Turkey could be considered by its neighbors as a Trojan horse of EU and American interests.

Secondly, it is problematic in the sense that it assumes Turkey as a "bridge" rather than a part of the West/Europe. If Turkey is bridging two assumedly divergent, if not oppositional civilizations, it is thus thought as a *torn country* rather than a member of

⁶² Philip H. Gordon, and Omer Taspinar "Winning Turkey" Brookings Institution Press

⁶³ G. E. Fuller, "Turkey's Strategic Model: Myths and Realities", *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2004), pp. 57-59.

the Western civilization. Turkey and the EU could better handle their foreign policy dialogue in a results-oriented manner on current situation on Turkey's southeastern border.

Next, Turkey will experience maximum economic and political benefits if it plays the role as a mediator between Europe and the Middle East. If it were a member of the EU, Turkey would be grouped in among Western powers that interfere in the Middle East in order to vie for their own interests. As a separate entity from the EU, the Middle East is much more willing to sympathetically view Turkey as a Muslim ally, especially with the Islamic based political party, the AKP, as the main power of Turkey. In other words, as an individual actor with equal relations between Europe and the Middle East, Turkey will find itself much more strategically advantageous when pursuing its own interests and when acting as a mediator between the two regions.

In addition to this, if Turkey chooses to remain separate from the European Union, it will not be tethered to EU agenda and can more easily partner with the United States on Middle Eastern policy developments. The US has been a long-time supporter of Turkish accession to the EU, but Turkey's new potential to become a mediator between the west will likely change the US's opinion. If Turkey joins the EU they are no longer a single independent state with which the US can partner and support.

Turkey which has the opportunity now to become a major power in the Middle east should form a partnership with the US. Turkey would be more advantageous in focusing on US oriented foreign policy in the Middle East rather than being a part of EU policies.

Moreover, Turkey's growing capability at strategically advantageous interaction with other important global players also makes such a strong bond with the EU and even detrimental to its own agenda.

Accordingly, Turkey will pave a more beneficial path for itself by remaining separate from the EU rather than tethering itself to EU economic and political activities. Turkey is frustrated at not having convinced its western allies about Egypt

and Syria and faces the direct repercussions of the events in Syria and Iraq in the form of a massive exodus of refugees toward Turkey.

The growing gap between Turkish and U.S. positions on Israel, Egypt and indeed Syria and the Islamic State has had a negative influence on European assessments of Turkey's foreign policy direction.

Turkey, while strongly reaffirming its EU orientation, increasingly wants to mark its differences with the EU on foreign policy-especially in the Middle East, despite successive setbacks.

It seems obvious that Turkey has no more interest than the EU in seeing Russia take control of entire Ukraine, including by re-appropriating Crimea for itself.

At the same time, Turkey has strong relations with Russia .Turkey is massively dependent on imports of Russian gas. This dependence leads Turkey to be very careful in its dealings with Moscow and to avoid too close a convergence with the EU.

In addition to "Turkey -skeptics" in Europe, there are also "Euro-skeptics" in Turkey. According to Euro-skeptics in Turkey, "the membership will certainly do away with Turkish identity and sovereignty."⁶⁴ It would prevent Turkey from establishing positive relations with other regions of the world. This approach demonstrates that Turkish identity will be damaged after getting full membership status from EU.

In other words, European integration will tend to divide the unity and damage the secular structure of the Turkish state.

The EU expects from Turkey to subscribe its foreign policy statements and to approve EU declaration without changes .However, Turkey has increasingly does not approve this automatic alignment with the EU.

Besides that, Europe is rapidly losing its weight in the international arena. Its response to the financial crisis, the emerging multi-polar world, new security challenges, questions of European identity and human rights has come under critical observation. Both are satisfied with the current state of deep freeze.

⁶⁴ Aydın and Açıkmeye, "To Be or Not to Be with Turkey; December 2004 Blues for the EU," 2.

There is a danger that Turkey will be increasingly perceived as distancing itself from its traditional allies.

EU member states will have to decide how best to exert influence on the future of Turkey's democracy.

5.2. SECURITY DIMENSION

Turkey's entrance into the European Union as a full member is expected to bring new capabilities and interests that pave the way the EU's ability to realize its security objectives. On the other hand, EU membership will bring some concerns in Turkey's security policy as well.

5.2.1. PRO-ARGUMENT

Ten years ago, Turkey has a reputation of being a country to resort hard power in its relations with its neighbors and referred to security consumer rather than security provider. The country was in a violent conflict with PKK and then anti -terror laws and had a very poor human rights record. Today, we are confronted with a different Turkey. For example, re-designing the structure of national security court, closing down state security courts and replacing zero- sum approach with win –win thinking approach in international relations.

Turkish membership in the EU could bring different results for the country's security affairs. The first possible consequence would be Turkey's full participation in European Security and Defense Policy with its full membership in the EU.

Turkey has involved in a number of ESDP missions and supported the EU's efforts to conduct crisis management missions in different parts of the world.

In addition to this, Turkey with its strong military capacity will play a major role in the formulation of the EU's security strategy and in the conduct of ESDP missions. This membership status would bring the country into the remarkable position in the ESDP institutions.

EU membership would be important for Turkey as well with respect to struggles such as terrorism, illegal immigration, and drug trafficking.

Terrorism which is one of the most important global threats holds a significant place on the security agenda of many countries, including Turkey. Over the years,

Turkey has given great attention to fighting against all kinds of terrorist organizations threatening both national and international security.

It is expected that Turkey's EU membership will provide leverage in enhancing the required efforts of European Union countries against terrorist organization. Also, it would advance the mutual cooperation in the fight against terror issues between Turkey and its EU members.

Besides that, in order to be successful in the struggle against illegal immigration, terrorism and other security problems, efficient policies in areas such as migration, border control and asylum have to be implemented properly.

The EU's efficiency in developing the necessary policies and laws and coordination among the member states in these areas has been increasing.

When Turkey is granted a full membership status from EU, EU's borders would become Turkey's borders. The coordination between the EU and Turkish institutions in these areas would go further, and Turkey's rules and regulations would be fully in a harmony with the Schengen acquis.

Turkey will also participate in the European Police Office (Europol) and Schengen Information System (SIS) which would facilitate information exchanges between Turkey and other EU member states.

All of these factors would contribute positively to Turkey's efforts in fighting against these global contemporary security threats.⁶⁵ Those elements which have been particularly favorable to Turkish membership are those that see the future of the EU moving in a more intergovernmental direction and at the same time envisage a strong role for the EU as a security actor.

5.2.2. COUNTER- ARGUMENT

Although Turkey has eagerly wanted to join the EU and its evolving security this aim has not yet been attained because of following challenges.

Firstly, the current state of the Eurasian energy market presents a crucial opportunity for Turkey to strategically utilize its geographical advantage. Turkey's role as an energy transit country is a prime example of how Turkey will benefit more from acting separately from the EU than acting within it.

⁶⁵ Çiçekli, Bülent "Impact of Turkish-EU Accession Process on the Development of Turkish Immigration Law," *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, November 2, 2004, Available at : <http://www.turkishweekly.net/articles.php?id=21> (accessed November 11, 2008).

Were Turkey a member of the EU, it would not possess the freedom that it currently enjoys in making decisions regarding energy transit procedure. As an individual actor it can gain more profits from transit; when not tethered to the EU agenda the Commission has less influence over what agreements Turkey's state-owned energy companies take part in; and finally, other countries are able to see Turkey not as part of the Western conglomerate that just wants a piece of them, but as a separate actor with its individual concerns, and this makes Turkey more appealing as a trading partner.⁶⁶

The crisis in the Middle East is one of unprecedented proportions and results in several common challenges. The rise of the Islamic State since June 2014 has largely changed the situation in Syria and Iraq, with massive consequences for Turkey: more refugees, asylum requests, and resettlement concerns, attacks on Syrian Kurds, repercussions for the Turkish Kurds, transit of jihadists to and from Syria, and exports of oil from Islamic State-controlled territories.

Turkey will probably continue to consider the military wing of the Syrian Kurdish political party as a terrorist organization, while Western countries will see it as the best counterforce to the Islamic State. Further consultations may help reduce this divergence.

Besides that, Turkey's bid for EU membership has been looked on with suspicion in the Middle East in history, the prevalent belief being that this is the clearest indication that Ankara has turned its back on its Islamic heritage.

The issue of border control is also likely a top subject for EU-Turkey relations in the years to come because of developments linked to the Islamic State.

Closing the border between Turkey and territories held by the Islamic State in northern Syria is probably the most efficient way to degrade the terrorist organization. That is all the more so because the jihadists are almost entirely dependent on access to and from Turkey for fresh recruits, weaponry and logistical resupplies, and exports from the oil fields and oil refineries the group has seized.

Turkey has been under the refugee burden by itself without any major cooperation from outside partners such as the EU. With some two million refugees along its borders and in many large cities and the probability that those numbers will increase,

⁶⁶ *Campbell, Madison* "Disadvantages to Turkey's EU Accession: Turkish Perspective" *University of Washington*, pg 9

Turkey is now confronted with a heavy humanitarian burden and a direct impact on its own society.⁶⁷

But the continuing instability in Syria, Iraq and the territorial expansion of the Islamic State present a formidable security challenge to both Turkey and the EU; both are deeply threatened in terms of homeland security.

Despite sharing an understanding of the threat and making some progress on joint efforts, the EU and Turkey's counterterrorism cooperation has been hindered by a trust deficit that is proving difficult to bridge.⁶⁸

The research demonstrates that Europe is first time facing simultaneous and multiple attacks so that people are shocked. After having Paris attack, reinforcement of security measures will affect the relationship of Turkey and it is going to be very big factor. Turkey is not totally sealing the border and less active in Islamic state.

Lastly, Turkey has criticized EU members for not sharing information and intelligence in a timely manner to enable Turkish security forces to take necessary steps to counter the fighters. Its policies in the Middle East would be viewed in Europe with skepticism and concern.

5.3. DISCOURSE IN TURKEY ON THE EU-TURKEY COOPERATION REGARDING TO SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY.

There are many indicators that EU membership plays a crucial role in the Turkish domestic discourse. In order to better understand the cooperation of Turkey with EU, it is worth to analyze the quotes of the current politicians, press and prime ministers in Turkey.

One of which is reflected by statement such as the Recep Tayyip Erdogan who is a president of Turkey made a speech during the Economic Development Foundation (İKV) in İstanbul and stated that:

“Turkey was determined to continue its accession process with the EU despite setbacks. Our goal of creating a new Turkey is never separate from

⁶⁷Basbakanlik acil durum ve afet yonetim merkezi , Available at : www.afad.gov.tr/TR/HaberDetay.aspx?ID=5&IcerikID=3192.

⁶⁸ A moment of opportunity, 2015
Available at: <http://carnegieeurope.eu/2014/12/10/moment-of-opportunity-in-eu-turkey-relationship>

the goal of EU membership. We believe that we will be able to reach our goal of new Turkey faster with the EU membership."⁶⁹

Turkey wants a strategic relationship with the EU that could end up in full integration and ready to follow Europeanization mechanisms in Turkey. The EU and Turkey need to move together in order to overcome the growing regional threats in a globalized world.

Secondly, Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu who told in news conferences with Mogherini:

*"We know that our membership in the EU will present opportunities for both sides," "We look to our relations with the EU as win-win."*⁷⁰

*"Turkey, a regional Sunni Muslim power, has barely made progress in membership negotiations with the EU since they formally opened in 2005."*⁷¹

*"I think we all realize better now that close and positive Turkish-EU relations is essential ... for the region as a whole"*⁷².

It implies that positive Turkey -EU relations is essential for the entire region. Turkey and the EU remain strategically important partners that share common values and interests.

Turkish policymakers would like to see more EU political commitment and support for a comprehensive strategy toward the conflict areas, namely Syria and Iraq, with the aim of eradicating the conditions conducive to violent radicalization and terrorism.

⁶⁹ Erdoğan says Turkey's EU accession talks blocked 'arbitrarily', Sunday zaman .
Available at :http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa_erdogan-says-turkeys-eu-accession-talks-blocked-arbitrarily_380249.html

⁷⁰ EU calls for greater 'alignment' with Turkey over IS threat ,2014
Available at ;<http://www.france24.com/en/20141209-eu-calls-greater-turkey-alignment-I>

⁷¹ EU calls for greater 'alignment' with Turkey over IS threat ,2014
Available at ;<http://www.france24.com/en/20141209-eu-calls-greater-turkey-alignment-IS>

⁷² EU and Turkey open fresh chapter in accession talks,2015
Available at :<http://www.dw.com/en/eu-and-turkey-open-fresh-chapter-in-accession-talks/a-18917506>

Next, Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu shows his pleasure from the new beginning in the relations of Turkey and EU in Brussels summit.

*"Today is a historic day in our accession process to the EU," "I am grateful to all European leaders for this new beginning."*⁷³

The last EU and Turkey summit have accelerated relations by opening a new chapter after nearly four years. This relationship is linked with the power theory of European Union in which EU has implementing soft power on Turkey by offering financial aid in order to protect its interest on European border.

According to Volkan Bozkir who is a Chief Negotiator of Turkey and EU said that;

*"We are hopeful that 2016 will bring about important results for Turkey, for the EU and for our people."*⁷⁴

Energizing talks between the two sides will would also increase the EU's leverage on Turkey. Removing the Schengen visa for Turkish citizens and opening more chapters will accelerate the cooperation and coordination between EU and Turkey.

Besides functioning as a roadmap that will guide the new commission over the next five years, the employment, the growth and investment package, the digital union, energy, the domestic market, the economic and monetary union, the free trade agreement with the U.S, justice and basic rights, immigration targets also provide a solid basis for the improvement of Turkey-EU relations during this same period with an eye to our shared interests.⁷⁵

While some politicians stress on the importance of deeper cooperation with the EU, some statements shows that there is a lack of willingness to make cooperation with European Union.

Despite the new trends and more pro-European voices, some politicians are in favor of more independent foreign policy.

⁷³ *European Union, Turkey Seal Agreement on Migrants,2015*

Available at :<http://europe.newsweek.com/european-union-turkey-seal-migrants-deal-399293>

⁷⁴ Available at :<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-eu-intensify-political-economic-dialogue.aspx?PageID=238&NID=93629&NewsCatID=429>

⁷⁵ *Turkey's election results may revive Turkish-EU relations,2015*

Available at :<http://www.turkishweekly.net/2015/07/28/comment/turkey-s-election-results-may-revive-turkish-eu-relations/>

Although Prime Minister Davutoglu might have recently declared that “Our determination on EU accession will continue (...), it might well be too little too late, as winds in Brussels and Strasbourg might have changed, at least for the year to come”.⁷⁶

Turkey shows an effort in fighting against terrorism that it will spread by the collaboration of EU countries by sharing the responsibility of sheltering refugees.

Sinan Ulgen who is a visiting scholar Carnegie Europe states that building a genuine partnership between the European Union and Turkey to address the long-term challenge of the refugee crisis will require overhauling not only Europe’s approach to migration but also its approach to eventual Turkish membership in the union.⁷⁷

“Turkey cannot be the solution for the European Union's inability to act collectively to address the enormity of this humanitarian tragedy and develop policies to share the burden”,⁷⁸

Turkey and the EU signed a readmission agreement which allows EU countries to send illegal migrants who enter Europe via Turkey back to Turkey; it will come into force in three years’ time. Turkey’s leaders are committed to EU membership and still aim to play in the “first division” of Europe.

Moreover, the challenges of the years ahead include those difficulties inherent to the accession process and to the revision of instruments such as the customs union. Also of very high political importance are counterterrorism, visa facilitation, and other new issues, as well as the more general question of consistency among the various EU policy instruments used in Turkey and in neighboring countries.⁷⁹

EU and Turkey have to eliminate trust deficit with each other in order to have an effective counterterrorism mechanism. It may be difficult to find common ground on many subjects, but the EU and Turkey give priority to the major foreseeable challenges of the near future such as refugee problems, terrorism.

⁷⁶ Wedekind, G. (March, 2015), “A New Turkey and a New EU: What to expect for 2015?”, Vol. IV, Issue 3, pp.6-13, Centre for Policy and Research on Turkey (ResearchTurkey), London, Research Turkey

⁷⁷ *Turkey Can’t Be Europe’s Gatekeeper*, 2015
Available at :<http://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/10/01/turkey-can-t-be-europe-s-gatekeeper/iieh>

⁷⁸ *Turkey Can’t Be Europe’s Gatekeeper*, 2015
Available at :<http://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/10/01/turkey-can-t-be-europe-s-gatekeeper/iieh>

⁷⁹ *A moment of opportunity in the EU-TR Relationship*, Carnegie Europe, 2014,
Available at :<http://carnegieeurope.eu/2014/12/10/moment-of-opportunity-in-eu-turkey-relationship>

Ankara believes that some EU members turn a blind eye to the flow of foreign fighters until the security risk from their return to Europe becomes significant.

Turkish policymakers would like to see more EU political commitment and support for a comprehensive strategy toward the conflict areas, namely Syria and Iraq, with the aim of eradicating the conditions conducive to violent radicalization and terrorism.

5.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The EU is thought as an institution which would be influential as long as it maximizes the self-interests of the Turkey.

Turkey and the EU's goal have to take joint action on common interest by creating intensive political dialogue through regular and structured meetings.

From foreign policy dimension, effective channel of communication between Turkey and European Union has to set up in order to control suspected people for the timely sharing of information on highly suspected persons, so they can be included on Turkey's no-entry list. The best way to tackle this is by means of through cooperation among relevant institutions. EU member-state agencies and the union's counterterrorism coordinator have to work hand in hand with their Turkish counterparts and use all tools at their disposal, including those in the purview of the European Commission.

From security dimension, the return of the good old days in terms of the security and defense cooperation seems to be difficult, but not impossible.

Endeavors from both sides may prove useful for granting Turkey as a privileged status again.

For this to happen, two simultaneous approaches can be recommended. The first one concerns the formulation of groupings that would lead to intense interactions which would make Turkey even more suitable for the CSDP. Second, a pragmatic approach in Cyprus may result in the elimination of the antagonism in security and defense field.

Turkey was identified as a security consumer because of making investment in the military sector but for now it is defined as security provider by making an investment in the civilian sector in peace-keeping and peacemaking-operations by visualizing the country.

In spite of these contradictions and challenging relations, Turkey's probable EU membership will convey considerable benefits to the EU in military capability, geostrategic position and its growing role in international affairs.

6. CONCLUSION

Turkey has been an EU candidate country since 1999, and it would be a strategic mistake to see Turkey merely as a key partner of the EU in energy and economic terms. Member states need to support the ongoing accession negotiations, and the Turkish government must commit itself to the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria, and continue its process of democratization and modernization. Turkey has to continue to make efforts to fulfill the accession criteria.

The EU has to treat Turkey as it has treated previous candidates for membership. Adopting different practices toward Turkey would not only decrease the potential advantages of this membership for Turkey, but also alienate the Turkish people.

Turkey and the EU have strategic relationship remain strategically important partners that share common values and interests .Both sides have much to gain in areas such as foreign policy, economic and trade relations, security of energy supply, border management, and employment and migration policy.

On foreign policy, Turkey is a very important, independent actor in a volatile region. It remains to be seen whether Turkey-EU relations can be polished once more in 2015. It might well be that negativity finally has gotten hold over the intrinsic value of mutual dependency between the EU and Turkey. The EU-Turkey relationship would benefit from a more global and coherent framework that takes all aspects of the partnership into account.

The analysis has shown that Turkey is bound to enrich the European mosaic with its own colors as an exemplary model of diverse cultures and religions living together in peace. Turkey's membership will upgrade the EU from a regional peace project to a genuinely global one. Relations between Ankara and Brussels are about more than Turkey's potential accession to the European Union.

As analyzed before, the relationship is diversified, but it needs to be deepened and modernized. Talks have stalled due to stumbling blocks including a territorial

dispute with member Cyprus and opposition from EU heavyweights France and Germany.

There are some significant developments that have contributed to have a tense relationship with European Union and Turkey. One thing is fighting terrorism as a security dimension. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) initially emerged in Iraq and due to the Syrian Civil war, have further advanced in the region.

The ISIS can be considered both as a local terrorist group that is confined to two countries and a global phenomenon due to the increasing number of foreign fighters. Since 2011 when the Syrian civil war started, the EU and the member states, which did not carry out a dynamic foreign policy, attempted to deal with the problem through humanitarian aid policies.

In 2014, the EU member countries, due to ISIS's rapid advance and the increasing number of the European fighters, placed the ISIS on top of the threat list. Terror threat led to a reevaluation of Turkey as an important partner to better cooperate between the secret services.

Secondly, the prominent point of EU's statements is that Turkey has the key position for the influx of foreign fighters from Europe to Syria and Iraq.

Border issue is important because it is importing insecurity to the Europe such as Paris Attack. The EU demands Turkish foreign policy to be harmonized with EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defense Policy and it emphasizes too often that political dialogue between Turkey and the EU has to be exercised to increase the cooperation against the ISIS and to block the flow of foreign fighters.

Another issue high on the agenda is the refugee crisis which led to a reevaluation of Turkey as an important partner in FP issues. Facing an unprecedented migrant influx, a rising threat from Islamic State terrorists, and unchecked Russian military intervention in Syria so that Brussels is desperate for the cooperation of Turkey's president⁸⁰ Joint work is urgently needed, not just to keep refugees on Turkish soil, but also to restore some order and humanity in this disastrous crisis.

In terms of foreign policy, personal mobility from Turkey which is a transit country to Europe importing insecurity and increasing terror attack.

⁸⁰ *Erdogan's EU visit fails to produce results ,2015*
Available at ;<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/10/turkey-european-union-erdogan-brussels-visit-wide-breach.html>

This analysis has shown that EU has been facing refugee and terror problems requires a new deal which will make Turkey and the EU act on the same platform in the same direction, producing the same solutions.

In spite of serious ups and downs and periodic crises along the way, the long-term trend has clearly been in the direction of deepening both the EU's internal integration process and Turkey's integration process with the EU.

From Turkey's perspectives, the Turkish president wishes to play the refugee card to his advantage and force the EU not only to pitch in financially, but also to push forward Turkey's staggered EU accession process. The EU and Turkey are negotiating on a common action plan, which envisages the EU's financial assistance in the amount of 3 billion Euros, the intensification of negotiations on Turkey's accession to the EU and the intensification of the visa abolition process for Turkish citizens.⁸¹

For the EU, it is crucial to cooperate with Turkey for the resolution of Syrian refugees' problems. The ball is in the EU's court. Its final decision could end up changing global balances.⁸²

On the other hand, there are some concerns that require resolution for the following problems. Firstly, Turkey needs to cultivate not only elite support, but also support at the level of the individual citizens of Europe in order to accomplish its long-term goal of EU membership. Europe is not much different. They do have senior official level relationship rather than political level relationship.

Secondly, more generally, since 2013, a clampdown on the media, business, judges, and anybody critical of Turkey's leadership has resulted in a dramatic deterioration of the country's rule of law architecture. This brings to a halt the rapprochement of Turkey's political framework with that of the EU.

Thirdly, the subject of foreign terrorist fighters constitutes one of the fundamental foreign policy for the EU and its member states because a large number of Europeans are known to go especially to Syria, Iraq. Most of ISIS militants who cross the border over Turkey are importing insecurity to Europe as a result it create worries about Turkey in European Union.

⁸¹ *EU-Turkey co-op important for solving refugee problem ,2015*
Available at ;<http://en.trend.az/world/turkey/2459761.html>

⁸² *EU's Turkey decision will be a strategic one,2015*
Available at :<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eus-turkey-decision-will-be-a-strategic-one.aspx?PageID=238&NID=90859&NewsCatID=409>

The influence of criticisms and news pointing out that transition of foreign fighters and weapons from Turkish borders is allowed and that the most of ISIS militants who cross the border over Turkey are importing insecurity to Europe as a result it create worries about Turkey in European Union.

In addition to that, immigration agreements arise following questions:

Will the refugees really be stopped or really be satisfied with the transferred amount of money? Will the member states accept visa free travel for Turkish Citizens?

It is hard to say that this agreement is a good for Turkey's interest in the long term. This agreement is a step backward because it focuses on cooperation with Turkey with regard to key issues such as migration and energy, and provides certain funds and the prospect of visa free movement to the EU for Turkey.⁸³

In addition to that, disagreements over Turkey's rights' record, its democratic credentials, and especially its troubled ties with EU-member Cyprus are among the major impediments to EU accession.

Widespread perception in Europeanization literature is that EU has lost its influence on Turkey; however this study has shown that EU and Turkey need to cooperate with each other for some reasons.

Firstly, counter terrorism that requires the harmony and cooperation between the EU and Turkey with regard to fighting against the ISIS, ASAD. The threats of globally increasing terror and radicalization and achieving permanent solutions by dealing with the root of the problems can only be possible by conducting a common fight at both military and ideological levels. It has continued to participate actively in civil and military crisis management missions.

An importing development was the development of the dialogue on counter-terrorism, with Turkey joining the international coalition against ISIS. Secondly, foreign fighters and refugee crisis are one of the primary topics that intensify the regular political dialogue between Turkey and EU and concern both sides.

Likewise, EU accession is still a priority for Turkey. According to 2015 Turkey Progress Report, Turkey wants to act in the same direction with EU in the foreign policy.

⁸³ *Academic Aydın-Düzgit: Turkey-EU agreement not ethical, a step backward in relations ,2015 Available at ;http://www.todayszaman.com/monday-talk_academic-aydin-duzgit-turkey-eu-agreement-not-ethical-a-step-backward-in-relations_406256.html*

Turkey is moderately prepared as regards the alignment with the EU in the area of foreign, security and defense policy. Some progress was made as the political dialogue between the EU and Turkey on foreign and security policy continued to intensify. Turkey maintained its policy on Syria, supporting the opposition and providing vital humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees.

EU-Turkey Summit on November 2015 which activated the Action Plan and energized the EU-Turkey relationship. The European Union has committed to increasing political engagement with Turkey, providing Turkey with significant financial support, accelerating the fulfillment of the visa liberalization roadmap and energizing the accession process with Turkey.⁸⁴ Turkish politicians are committed to alignment with Europe in security and foreign policy fields. European Parliament has urged the Turkey to intensify cooperation on foreign policy coordination and cooperation.⁸⁵ Turkey has experience a process of change as the result of EU conditionality dynamics.

Turkey wants a strategic relationship with the EU that could end up in full integration; it does not want simply a tactical relationship with some temporary benefits. In my opinion, leaving Turkey outside the EU and treating it as a barrier against soft and hard security threats will not operate in today's globalized environment.

Turkey desires to talk in a one voice in a foreign policy with EU. Turkey needs EU because of trade, investment and refugee issues and EU needs Turkey because of trade, investment and refugees issues. General agreement on high level of agenda is required for both countries.⁸⁶

Indeed, both sides got concessions: The EU desperately needs Turkey's help to contain the flow of migrants into the bloc, and Turkey hopes to join a bloc in which it would, by population, become one of the biggest member states. Turkey wants be influential in decision making process.

⁸⁴ 2015 Progress Report on Turkey, 2015

Available at :http://avrupa.info.tr/fileadmin/Content/Files/File/Docs/20151110_report_turkey.pdf
⁸⁵ Yilmaz, Bahri" *The Relations of Turkey with the European Union: Candidate Forever*" Visiting Scholar, Center for European Studies at Harvard University', 2008, pg23

⁸⁶ Marc Pierini on BBC World News, 2015

Available at :<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqt3a0-mM5s>

Before the conclusion, following discourse deserves to be mentioned in this context According to EU foreign policy Chief Federica Mogherini:

*“Turkey and Europe need each other. We are facing the same problems from the war in Syria to terrorism to the stability or instability for the region, we can be partners. We have to put all the issues we have on the table”*⁸⁷

Currently; Turkey and European Union are having a new start in their relations by opening of Chapter 17- economic and monetary policy which was a condition of an agreement between Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu and EU leaders at a special migration crisis summit.

Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Mehmet Simsek told a news conference in Brussels on Monday.

*“We are committed to doing whatever it takes to become a full EU member,”*⁸⁸

It is linked with the power of Europeanization and its conditionality mechanisms which makes a big contribution on the Europeanization process of Turkey.

Cooperation on visas, mobility and migration was followed in the framework of the visa liberalization dialogue launched in December 2013. A Joint EU-Turkey Action Plan for refugees and migration management was welcomed by the European Council in October.

Migration crisis was successful in forcing Turkey and EU into new dialogue. Turkey-EU summit spur Ankara to action against human trafficking networks and reduce the flow of refugees across the Aegean Sea. The agreement opens the way for closer cooperation between Ankara and Brussels regarding to foreign and security policy issues where the EU needs Turkey and vice versa.

The analysis has shown that EU is still a priority for Turkey and it is an anchor for the Turkey.

EU also needs Turkey for cooperation in refugee crisis. This has led to opening of new accession talks which plays an important role in Europeanizing of Turkey and

⁸⁷ *Turkey, EU aim to bolster relations to address refugee crisis, 2015*

Available at ;<http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2015/11/29/turkey-eu-aim-to-bolster-relations-to-address-refugee-crisis.html>

⁸⁸ *EU opens new chapter in Turkey's accession talks, 2015* Available at: <http://en.trend.az/world/turkey/2469516.html>

energizing of its accession process by having strong political dialogue on foreign and security policy. Turkey wants to get full membership in which it would get the highest number of seats in the parliament in order to play an active role in taking decision related to its own interest.

To sum up, there is a new revitalization of EU-Turkey relations and new discourses have developed on Turkey's and EU's reform momentum.

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APPENDICES

VITA

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