

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH  
N°:



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES  
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**Turkey's Accession to the European Union:  
Major Obstructions**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Master Degree**

**Submitted By:**

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**Mr Nourdine Refice**

**Academic Year: 2016 /2017**

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By: Tebbal Roumaissa

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Academic Year: 2016/ 2017

## **Abstract**

Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU) is a subject of intense debate both in Europe and in Turkey today. Although Turkey first applied to join the EU about 60 years ago, it is the only candidate country which until now does not guarantee its position in EU map for several reasons. The main objective of this study is to analyze the major obstacles that prevent Turkey from being a full member in the EU. In order to achieve our aims we have used the descriptive analytical method. The results of our study reveal that the main reasons behind delaying Turkey's prospects to join the European Union are ideological ones, particularly the different religious and cultural dimension of Turkey from the European Bloc. Turkey's large population and Islamic identity are additional reasons behind furthering the dream of EU membership for a distant prospect.

### **Key Words:**

Turkey's accession to the EU – Major obstacles – Ideological obstructions.

## ملخص

انضمام تركيا الى الاتحاد الاوروبي موضوع مثير لجدل لكلا الطرفين سواءا لتركيا او لأوروبا. محاولة تركيا لانضمام للاتحاد الاوروبي بدأت بعد تقديمها طلب رسمي منذ 60 سنة وبالرغم من هذا فهي تعتبر الدولة المترشحة الوحيدة التي لم تستطع ضمان مكانة رسمية لها على خريطة الاتحاد وهذا لتعدد المعوقات. الهدف الاساسي لهذه الدراسة هو تحليل اهم العوائق التي تمنع تركيا من الانضمام الرسمي للاتحاد الاوروبي مركزين على الاسباب الايديولوجية. لتحقيق اهدافنا استعملنا المنهجية الوصفية التحليلية. اظهرت نتائج هذه الدراسة ان الاسباب الي تعطل من امكانية انضمام تركيا للاتحاد الأوروبي متعددة ولكن العوائق الايديولوجية تعتبر من المسببات الرئيسية لتأجيل الحلم التركي بالانضمام.

### الكلمات المفتاحية

انضمام تركيا للاتحاد الاوروبي- العوائق العامة – الاسباب الايديولوجية

## **Declaration**

We hereby declare that this thesis “Turkey’s accession to the European Union: Major obstructions” is entirely our own work and that where any material could be construed as the work of others, it is fully cited and referenced, and or with an appropriate acknowledgement given.

Chetouah Rima

Tebbal Roumaissa

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## Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation work to my family and many friends. A special feeling of gratitude to my lovely parents, *Ramdane* and *Akila*, whose words and encouragement push me up in every hard situation in my life.

My sisters *Wissam*, *Faiza*, and *Roumaïssa* who have never let me alone.

To my beloved little brother *Wail*. To the angels *Assil* and *Mohamed*.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my lovely friends who have always supported me, *Mounira*, *Zahra*, *Ilham*, *Nadjet*, *fouzia*, *Halima* and *Imane*.

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Tebbal Roumaïssa

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# **General Introduction**

# General Introduction

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## General Introduction:

The European Union is not a federation of states, but simply is a unique international organization which allows countries to co-operate between each others. After the end of the Second World War the European leaders agreed on “Never Again War”. And from this idea Robert Schuman the French Foreign Minister declared on 09 May 1950 that if the countries share the resources and the key materials they would less able to go in war with each other.

After the speech of the French foreign minister the European countries created European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). This organization was created by six founding members: Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands. In 1957 the same six founding members had signed the Treaty of Rome forming the European Economic Community (EEC). This treaty directly led to the creation of a common market between the countries with free transportation of goods and services.

From 1973 to 2013, twenty- two European Countries had accessed the union and became member states and that was after passing the accession process steps and fulfilling the criteria especially the Copenhagen Criteria. The total number of member states before Britain’s withdrawal is twenty eight states.

The creation of the EU was for specific and strategic reasons including strengthen Europe’s position in the world, the full support of the economic development, and promoting democracy in the continent. Thus, EU becomes as a national goal for many European countries and that due to the several advantages, which it offers, to the member states. Turkey is one of the countries who attempts to join this international organization. Turkey’s road into accession was and is full of obstructions especially what has relation with Islam. Turkey’s negotiations accession was described as the longest one from decades. Talks with the EU were all the time stopped for d

The present work aims to investigate the main obstruction prevents Turkey from joining the EU that is the Ideological obstructions. This study aims also to examine Turkish-European relations starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to present day through adopting historical perspective.

# General Introduction

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Identification of Turkey's attempts to join the Union with special attention to the recent development this is another objective of the study in addition to the analysis of the ideological obstructions and EU policies toward Turkey's candidacy. In this research we are going to reveal the indirect reasons of the uncompleted talks.

In this case several questions appear and rise such as:

- How can the Turkish-European relation be described throughout history?
- How was the EU Members reaction towards Turkey's candidacy for membership?
- What are the major obstacles that prevent Turkey from being a member in the European Union?
- What is the future of Turkey-Europe relation, and will Turkey ever be a member in the EU?

Any research process must be guided by an appropriate approach that is chosen by the researcher himself and it is done according to the field of study. There are mainly two types of research methods, which a researcher can follow; descriptive and experimental. The descriptive analytical approach is the method that will be used in this study. This method is very helpful in terms of performing our research, and studying its problems. Descriptive method aimed to describe and report the state of affairs as it exists through a process of data collection that lead to investigate the situation more completely. First we need to describe the nature of Turkey-Europe relations as it is in the factual ground, then we should analyze Turkey's prospects to join the EU, and investigate the reality behind her fruitless efforts.

Consequently, this study will tackle Turkey's attempts to join the EU: major obstructions. The first chapter of this study is untitled "European Union: Historical Background", in this chapter we are going to shed light on the formation of the Union, mentioning the origins and the historical enlargement of the Union; and also we will present its institutions and bodies according to the branches into which they belong to. Accession process and conditions in addition to the Member states would be presented and explained in this first chapter.

The second chapter will discuss the major points of this study including the historical ties and relation between Turkey and Europe and the beginning of the negotiations talks. In this

# General Introduction

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chapter we will present, analyze, and discuss the major obstructions that faces Turkish accession process and in precise the ideological ones and exactly Islam. The inner Turkish debate about the accession would appear in this chapter plus the future predictions about this process and would Turkey be a Member States after the long journey of talks.

**Chapter One:  
European Union:  
Historical Background**

# Chapter One: European Union: Historical Background

## **Introduction:**

The modern- day European Union' is the final result of European Politicians agreement after World War Two. The original aim behind its creation was to secure peace and to stop any future conflict in the continent and also to tie the European countries in one cooperative economic and industrial organization. European Union responsibilities have grown since the creation and that was due to the new challenges and the progressive enlargement.

## **1. European Union formation:**

The European Union was not created with one go by the Maastricht treaty, but was a product of gradual integration since 1945. In the first half of the twentieth century, the European continent was a theatre of conflicts, which brought millions of dead humans and lots of destruction. For many centuries, Europe had a lot of bloody wars. France and Germany only fought three times in the period between 1870- 1945. European leaders came to the conclusion that only economic and political integration can secure the peace between their countries.

The vision of new Europe is highly described by the Italian politician and one of the founding fathers of the EU Altiero Spinelli in 1986, when he declared:

*A major transformation has occurred in the political consciousness of Europeans, something which is completely new in their history. For centuries, neighboring countries were seen as potential enemies against whom it was necessary to be one's guard and ready to fight. Now after the end of the most terrible of wars in Europe, these neighbors are perceived as friendly nations sharing a common destiny (Nugent 8).*

### **1.1. Origins of the EU:**

After the end of the Second World War the European leaders agreed on “never war again”. The bloody and the catastrophic results of World War 2 caused a phobia for the victorious countries that is why on 09 May 1950 the French foreign minister Robert Schuman

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suggested to gather and tie the western European countries under one organization and to force them to share their resources and key materials.

From Robert Schuman suggestion in addition to the idea of ‘Never War Again’ six countries including France, West Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg in 1951 signed a treaty declaring the official creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) as the first step into a peaceful and cooperative future. Six years later, and in 1957 the same six founding states signed the Treaty of Rome forming the European Economic Community (ECC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The creation of these two new organizations removed the trade barriers between the countries and it created the Common Market to allow the easy move and transportation of goods and services (McIver 03).

In February 1992, The Maastricht Treaty was signed and is an international agreement approved by the head of government of the states of the European Community in Maastricht Netherlands. This treaty had formed officially the European Union with new laws and principles. The European Union was officially introduced as the highest responsible body. The creation of the EU introduced new forms of laws, regulations, and instructions. The European Parliament was given further powers because of the Maastricht Treaty and it introduced co-decisions for some areas of policy (ibid).

Maastricht Treaty is considered as the key stage for the European integration to new areas and to the acquirement of more political dimensions (ibid 4).

## **1.2. The EU Enlargement and Member States:**

The European Union enlargement policy aimed to unify the European countries under one common political and economic project guided by the union’s values and strict conditions. The policy of enlargement had proved to be one of the most successful tools to promote political, economic, and social reforms and it helped also to secure peace, stability, and promote democracy across the continent. The enlargement policy also enhanced the EU’s presence on the global stage.

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Denmark, Ireland, and United Kingdom were the three first countries who joined the European Community (EC) after the six founding countries and that was in 1973. After the accession of these three the EC members emerged into nine member states. In 1981 Greece raised the number of states into ten after its accession. Spain and Portugal were the two last countries who joined the European Community and that became true after eight years of negotiations.

In November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1992, the European Community was transformed to be 'The European Union'. This transformation took the European Union toward a greater level of political Union. In 1993 accession negotiations started again and this time was with Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Norway. The talks with those countries were quite easy due to the high economic development of those countries. Negotiations with Norway were entrapped because of its people who refused totally the accession to the EU. On 1 January 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden expanded the Union with their specific characters and opened up further dimensions at the central and northern part of Europe.

In 1999, eleven EU Member States agreed on the use of single currency-the euro- and they formed what's known as the euro zone. Greece in 2001 joined the euro zone and that was after signing the Treaty of Nice which introduces new institutional reforms to prepare the EU for further membership application.

The greatest enlargement of the EU was in 2004 with the accession of 10 countries including the Baltic republics concerning Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in addition to Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta, and Poland. Three years later Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU and became officially Member States in 2007. Croatia was the last country who could gain membership and that was after eight years of negotiations.

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## 1.3. Accession Conditions:

The accession procedure is considered as a political one in the first instance. This process is controlled by Member states (MS) and also by the European Council which is considered as the “predominant political role”. The European Commission occupied the role of an agent because of its great influence at each stage of the enlargement in addition to the influential role of the European parliament in the different aspects of the process (Copland 1).

*“The Union shall be open to all European States which respect its values and are committed to promoting them together” (Turkey in Europe: More than a promise 1).*

The accession process is totally based on Article 49 of the European Constitution which establishes the eligible conditions of the EU membership application. The accession procedure pace differ from one applicant country to another. The candidate countries must pass some steps in order to get the full membership in the Union. Copeland stated that:

*Article 49 provides for an application for membership from a “European State” respecting and committed to promoting the Union’s values set out Article 02 TEU. However Article 49 also establishes that the European Council’s eligibility criteria shall be taken into account (2).*

The application for membership is the first step toward the accession. According to the Article 49 the formal application must be submitted to the country holding the presidency of the European Union Council. After the application the Commission evaluates the applicant country and submits its final opinion to the council. In the light of the European Union the council decides whether to consider the applicant country as a candidate or not. In some cases before the full guarantee of the candidate status the council asks for some reforms before giving the green light to start the accession talks (ibid 2).

The negotiations start with the candidate country. In this step the Commission states its investigations about the country by going into details and this step is known as screening. The Commission during the negotiations publishes an annual progressive report about the candidate

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country. This negotiation process aims to help the candidate countries to fulfill and to cover the obligations of EU membership. The acquis of negotiations is divided into 35 chapters and each one covers a specific and major aspects of EU policy like the free movement of goods, capital, and workers; economic policy, energy, transport, regional policy, foreign policy and much more.

After the end of the political procedure “negotiations” with the candidate country, it comes the turn of the institutional one that is the “accession”. This final step is done after being sure of that the candidate country had fulfilled all the criteria and ended up with every chapter. The accession treaty should be signed by the candidate country and all the EU Member States and then the candidate country becomes an acceding country.

The accession treaty will be ratified by the accessed country and every Member State according to their constitutional rules. The candidate country becomes officially an EU Member State from the specified day in the accession treaty.

Any candidate country must respect some values in addition to the accession conditions in order to join the EU. Those values are first the full respect of human beings dignity, freedom, and equality; second promote democracy and apply the law as it is; third respecting human rights including ethnicities and minorities. Those principles are listed in details in Article 2 and committed any Member States to promote and apply them.

## 2. European Union Institutions:

Many institutions and bodies are working under the Union and the Community flag. Each one of these institutions belongs to one of the three branches whether legislative, executive, or judiciary branch. The EU and EC institutions’ mission, duties, and power are described in details in the foundation treaties.

The EU institutions work and mission differ from one to another and some of them work independently from the others. The highest EU institution is the European Commission, and there is also the EU Parliament, the EU Council, the Council of Ministers, and the Court of Justice, and the European Central Bank. There are many other bodies which work for the EU

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including the Court of First Instance, the Court of Auditors, the Economic and Social Committee, and many others.

## 2.1. The European Commission:

It is a political independent institution that belongs to the executive branch and represents the whole interests of the EU. The Commission remains as the driving force in many fields since it proposes legislation, policies, and new programs. The European Union is represented outside by the Commission with the exception of the common foreign and security policy. Commission is appointed every five years according to four stages process. The first step of the appointment process is the nomination of a new intended president by the council, who must be qualified by the majority; the nomination must be approved by the European Parliament. After the nomination of the president it comes the turn on the Commissioners to be nominated by the council and qualified by the majority "Common Accord". The new nominated president in addition to the commissioners will be later on a subject of vote to get the parliament approval. The final step is the official appointment by the council and is done after gaining the parliament approval (How the EU works 19).

Commission's work is divided on 27 general directors. The following treaties are mentioned in the foundation treaty of the EU, these four treaties organize and clarify the functions and roles of the EU Commission and they are: Treaty of Guardianship, Community Guidance and policy making, Decision-making and legislative functions, and Delegate powers treaty (European Union Institutions and legislation 9).

The European Union Commission has four major roles. The first role is proposing new legislation to the Parliament and Council. Its right of initiative allows it to present new proposals that in the first instance must serve and defend the whole interest of the EU and its citizens and not only specific countries and industries. Before making the new proposals the Commission must take into consideration the new situations and problems (ibid).

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Managing and implementing EU policies and budget is the second role or function of the Commission. In that case the Commission is the responsible for supervising the actual work and the spending that is done by national and local authorities. The commission's aim is to ensure a good financial management (How the European Union works20).

The Commission plays the role of the "Treaty Guardian" that is, it enforces the European law. In that case the Commission has the right to evaluate member states work and to bring proceedings against it in front of the Court of Justice in case of mal-administration and the abuse of power. The commission has also the right to initiate proceedings against companies and industries (ibid 21).

The fourth function of the Commission is to represent the EU on international stage. This representation is the Commission's vice president mission. It requires a high representation of the Union and particularly in the trade policy and humanitarian aid areas. It enables the 27 members to speak with one voice in international conferences and meetings such as in the World Trade Organization.

## **2.2.European Parliament:**

In 1951 the EU Parliament was a weak powerless Assembly, but it has evolved to be one of the most powerful institutions nowadays; that Assembly referred to itself as a parliament in the early 1962.

The European Parliament Members are directly elected by the EU citizens every five years. All the EU citizens over 18 years (16 in Austria) must elect to present their interests. The full number seats are 754 MEPs from all 27 Member States. The Commission's article about how the European Institutions work explained that:

*Parliament elects its own President for a two-and-a half-year term. The President represents the parliament to the other institutions as well as to the outside world and is assisted by 14 Vice- Presidents. The President of the*

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*European Parliament all together with President of the Council signs all legislative acts once they are adopted (How the European Union Work 11).*

The official place of the EU Parliament is in France but it has other three places of work: Strasbourg, Brussels, and Luxemburg. The Parliament meets 12 years per year in plenary sessions that take place in Strasbourg (ibid 9).

The European Parliament seats distributed according to the population size of the member states. The EU members are associated with a national political party in their home country. The national parties are grouped into EU-wide political groupings and most MEPS belong to one of these.

The European Parliament as any EU institution has its specific roles. EU parliament has three main functions; the first is the power to legislate that is to pass laws and help to guarantee the democratic legitimacy of European law. Parliament approval is required in important political and institutional decisions. The Parliament also provides the impetus for new legislation and it examines the commission's annual program (ibid 11-12).

The second role of the EU Parliament is to exercise and apply the democratic supervision over the European institutions. The new Commission cannot be appointed without the parliament's approval. The parliament also monitors the work of the council and proposes written and oral questions.

The Parliament exercises the democratic control and examines petitions and set up special committees of inquiry. The power of purse is the third function of the EU parliament. Parliament's Committee controls the spent of the budget. Granting a discharge is the technical process of approval.

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## 2.3. European Council:

It is one of the institutions which work under the union flag. This organ consists of the Head of the States or the Government of the member states and the president of the Commission. The European Council meets at least twice a year and each meeting should be under the chairman of the Head of State who holds the presidency of the council. During the meeting the council discusses pressing issues that needs urgent attention, interfere, and solution (ibid 12).

Members of the council define and discuss some policies and see to what extent it suits the union and also it clarifies the objectives of each policy before the application. After each meeting the council should submit a report to the European Parliament and this process is a yearly one and the aim behind is to see the progress achieved by the Union.

The highest level of political cooperation between the member states is represented by the European Council. EU Council president is elected by the council members for once- renewable term of two and half years. Council president together with the high Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security policy represent the Union outside the world in foreign affairs and security matters.

## 2.4. Council of Ministers:

It is an institution which consists of ministerial representatives of the governments of the Member States. Council of Ministers is the principle legislative and decision-making body of the Union.

Council's composition differs according to the matter discussed. The business usually is arranged and dealt by a council attended by ministers who have corresponding responsibility in their national governments. The Council meetings are private discounting some exceptions unlike the European Parliament (EU Institutions and Legislation 6).

Council's work is assisted by Committee of Permanent Representatives, which consists of the Member States' Permanent Representatives to the European Union. This (COPRER) is divided into two configurations. The first one consists of the Deputy Permanent Representatives

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which deal with technical matters. The second configuration consists of the Permanent Representatives which deals with political commercial and institutional matters.

The preparation for the Council's work is the COREPER responsibility in addition to the tasks assigned to it by the council itself. The conduct of the community business differs from the conduct of second and third pillar business in the council. For example, the activities of the council under the second pillar are generally not subject to judicial review by the European Court of Justice and the European Parliament has only a limited role in respect of the second and third pillars (ibid).

## 2.5. The Court of Justice:

The ECJ is a law institution that works for the European Union. It consists of 27 judges appointed by member states assisted by eight advocates-general who provide in each case a non-binding written opinion to assist the court.

Unlike any other European institution, the EU Court of Justice duty is to ensure the complete and well interpretation and application of the EU laws. This institution checks the legality of other EU institution actions. The EU Institutions and legislation article presented by the European Commission stated that:

*The Court's general duty is to ensure that in the interpretation and application of the Treaties the law is observed. Its jurisdiction has two main strands: the first relating to actions initiated directly before the court, either challenging the legality of the acts of community institutions or alleging a breach of a Treaty obligation by a Member States. The second involving references from the courts of Member States for preliminary ruling on the interpretation of the Treaties and on the validity and interpretation of Acts of the institution (13).*

The European Court is divided into two main bodies; the first is the Court of Justice which deals with actions for annulment and appeals recommended by the national courts. The

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General Court is the second body which deals with actions for annulment asked by private individuals and companies and in other times by the member states.

The court deals most of the time with four common genres of cases. The national court is the responsible for the well application of EU law in each member state so in case of any doubt about the validity of any EU law the national court asks advice from the ECJ. This advice is given in form of “Preliminary Ruling”. Infringement Proceedings is another case dealt with by the EU Court. In this case the proceedings are initiated by the Commission against a member state if it believes that it is failing to fulfill the obligations of EU law. And here the court investigates and if it found the member state to be fault, it must correct and set things right to avoid the fines (How the European Union works 24).

If any law is seen to be illegal by the member states, the council, the commission, or the parliament the court may be asked to annul it. This case is known as “proceedings for annulment” and this can be asked by the private sector too.

Under some circumstances the European Parliament, Council, and Commission are obliged to make some decisions, but in case they fail to do so Member States, EU institutions and even individuals with the court will ask to record the violation officially under “Proceeding for Failure to Act” (ibid).

## **2.6. The European Central Bank:**

The European Central Bank (ECB) is an independent institution its decisions are not revised by the other European institutions. The ECB does not take any instructions from the national governments. This institution was set up in 1998 and that was exactly when the euro was officially introduced to manage monetary policy in the euro area (How the European Union Works 26).

ECB primary objective and purpose is to maintain monetary stability in the euro zone and this is done by ensuring low and stable consumer price inflation. Stable prices and low price inflation is very necessary to keep the economic growth and to gain more changes to encourage

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the investigations and creation of jobs an addition it helps in raising living standards for the Europeans (ibid).

The interests' rates are set by the European Central Bank. The rates are generally added in case of lending money for the commercial banks; these interests' rates directly affect the price and amount of money in the plentiful supply. In some cases the consumer price inflation rate may raise and that draw directly to the high rise of goods and services (European Union Institutions and Legislation 12).

### 3. European Union future Expansion:

Twenty seven European Country could gain the EU membership and the last one was Croatia in 2013. In these last years many European countries are waiting for the chance to join the EU including those candidate countries which are waiting for the opening of the negotiations.

The question that rises is: Would really the EU open its doors for further enlargement in the near future?

#### 3.1.Candidate for Accession:

The European Union's primary goal was to strengthen Europe's position in the world. The power that Europe has nowadays is the great and best evidence to the goals success. Many European countries are looking for the membership in the union in order to gain some advantages and Britain's withdrawal is seen by those candidate countries as the best chance to gain the membership. The creation of the EU has a clear reason as it is described by Hallstein, *"One reason for creating the European Community was to enable Europe to play its full part in the World Affairs"* (3).

Candidate countries are classified into two types. The first one are countries still in negotiation process or waiting to start the negotiations such as Albania, the former Yugoslav, Republic of Macedonia, Iceland, Montenegro, and Turkey. The second type is "potential candidates" and those countries which are promised to access when they are ready, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

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The European Commission has provided over eleven billion euro to support the EU enlargement. The Commission's help is directed to countries and their reform process and that through the instruments for Pre-Accession Assistance over period 2007-2013 (EU Enlargement Factsheet 2).

Another 11.7 billion have been allocated for the 2014-2020 periods (IPA) which will help first of all to increase good governance and capacity building to align with EU laws and standards. Second, to support socio-economic development in line with the EU targets for smart sustainable and inclusive growth (ibid).

The EU Accession process has steps that any candidate country should pass. This procedure period differs from candidate to another. Croatia was the last country that could gain EU membership. The application of Croatia was in 2003 and that was the first step. A year after 2004 the commission gave its opinion and in the same year the candidate status was taken into consideration and discussed. In 2005 the accession negotiations and talks started and it took eight years. In 2013 Croatia could finally gain membership and was officially a "Member State".

After nearly six decades of evolution marked by five successive waves of enlargement, the European Union today is a successful model based on values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law and respect for human rights. Values were common to the Member States in a society characterized by pluralism, nondiscrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men.

As a result, the transition to the next stages of the accession process will be achieved when the countries concerned will meet established standards, including those related to democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms. From the countries which attempt to join the EU there are:

**Montenegro:** the Black Mountain as it was known. A sovereign State situated in southern east of Europe. It is bordered by Croatia from the west, Bosnia and Herzegovina from northwest, Serbia to the northeast, Kosovo to the east, and Albania to the southeast. Montenegro's capital is

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Podgorica and is the largest city. It used to belong to Yugoslav republic but it broke up in 1992 and they established together with Serbia the Federal Republic of Yugoslav. This status was rejected by the other republics and denied by the United Nations. In 2006 Montenegro declared its independence from the federation.

This country is classified as an upper middle –income country by the World Bank this in addition to its membership in some important organizations such as the UN, the World Trade Organization, the Security and Co-operation in Europe and in the Council of Europe. On December 2015 it received an invitation to join officially the NATO.

**Macedonia:** A republic belongs to the Balkan Peninsula in the southern east of Europe. It declared its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991 and two years later it became a member of the United Nation. Macedonia is bordered by Kosovo northwest, Serbia from the north, and Bulgaria to the east, Greece to the south, and Albania to the west.

Skopje is the capital and the largest city where the quarter of the inhabitation live there. Macedonia is an UN and Council of Europe member and it applied for NATO membership. It is one of the poorest countries in Europe, but it made a significant progress in their economic market development.

**Yugoslavia:** this country was formed after the end of the First World War under the name of “The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes”. Many changes occurred on the name from its foundation until 1946 they were named “the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia” and it was after the establishment of the communist government.

Yugoslavia was composed of six socialist republics the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, SR Croatia, SR Macedonia, SR Montenegro, SR Serbia, and SR Slovenia. A lot of political and economic crisis emerged in 1980 in addition to the rise of nationalism led to the separation into five countries and after it to the Yugoslav War. Yugoslavia after the broke up remained as an independent country.

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**Bosnia and Herzegovina:** is known in short as Bosnia a southern eastern European country which belongs to the Balkan Peninsula. Bosnia was one of the Yugoslav republics and it broke up in March 1992. It is bordered by Croatia from the northwest and south, Serbia to the east, Montenegro to the southeast, and Adriatic Sea to the south.

Sarajevo is the capital and the largest city. Bosnia has a rich history in politics, culture, and social structure. This country is one of the most frequently visited places in Europe and maintains a high level of literacy, and education. Its economy is evolved because of the high incomes of tourism and there are supposed to be the third touristic country in Europe in 2020.

**The Republic of Turkey:** is a transcontinental country in Eurasia or in Anatolia in western Asia. Turkey is the legitimate successor of the Ottoman Empire; nowadays is a democratic, secular, unitary, parliamentary republic.

Turkey is bordered by eight countries two of them are Arabic Muslim countries. This country is encircled by the sea from three parts: the Aegean Sea to the west, Black Sea to the north, and Bosphorus, Marmara Sea, and Dardanelles form what is called “Turkish Strait” which divides Thrace and Anatolia and separate Europe and Asia. Ankara is the country’s capital and Istanbul represents the largest city and is the main cultural and commercial city. The majority of inhabitation is ethnic Turks and the rest represent some minorities from the old provinces of the empire.

Turkey is a charter member of the UN, early member of NATO, and a founding member of different organizations in addition to its membership in the Council of Europe. Turkey’s location has given it a geopolitical and strategic importance and that helped in its economic growth and the diplomatic initiatives that led to regional power.

## 3.2. Turkey’s Case:

In 2002 after the end of the Copenhagen Council the president of the EU concluded that *“if the European Council in December 2004, on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission decides that Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria, the European*

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*Union will open negotiation with Turkey without delay*” (Turkey in Europe: More than a promise 6).

In autumn 2003 the Turkish prime minister and the current Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared “*the European Union is our national goal*” (Hatice 1). From the moment of Erdogan’s declaration till nowadays the Turkish government adopted many reforms and changed a lot of policies concerning their political, economic, and social system and they excluded their religious life.

Turkey remains as one of the important countries for the European Union for different reasons starting with its strong and deep relation with Russia, in addition to the historic ties between the two sides going back of course to the Ottoman Empire times. This relation was characterized by cooperation in addition to the deep different and various exchanges like the economic, cultural, artistic, and social ones during the old fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

Turkey’s attempt for accession is a “long journey”. In 1987 turkey submitted its formal request for EU membership; but this request was rejected and refused by the European Commission in 1989.

In 1996 after Turkey’s accession to EU Customs Unions, Ankara was quite sure of gaining a full membership. However, the European Council after its meeting in Luxemburg in 1997 declared that Turkey did not fulfill the conditions of the EU candidacy.

The European Union asked the Turkish government to fulfill the “Copenhagen Political Criteria” for membership. The Commission recommended from Turkey some reforms in different domains starting with the economic field and human rights especially the case of the Kurdish minority. The EU had also updated its financial assistance and redirected its aid to provide Turkey with more support. “Silent Revolution” in the country, this was the name given to the several reforms adopted by the Turkish government since 2001 to accelerate Turkey’s EU Accession process (ibid).

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After the Copenhagen European Council in December 2002, they determined whether to open accession talks with Turkey in 2004 or not. In December 2004, the European Union was convinced that Turkey fulfilled the political criteria and the accession negotiations may begin in October 2005, and this conclusion was a result of the reform's progress adopted by the Justice and Development Party government elected in November 2002.

The momentum Turkey's Accession was lost after the opening of negotiations in 2005. Nathaniel Tocci in his article *Turkey and the European Union* stated that "*Turkey's accession negotiations preceded at snail's pace in their early times*"; Turkey's accession process paths were full of obstacles "*its membership has been fraught with road blocks and hurdles, making the final destination uncertain at best*" (Tocci 6).

By going back to the history of the negotiations we notice that the Turkish process of accession was considered as the longest one in the European Union history in addition to the different obstacles and the several obstructions that appear each time and block the process.

Regarding regional issues and international obligations, Turkey has continued to publicly express their support to the negotiations taking place under the UN between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot community leaders to address global Cyprus problem, however, there have not been achieved progress in the normalization of bilateral relations with Cyprus.

Semin Suvarierol in the second chapter of his book: *The Cyprus Obstacle on Turkey's Road to Membership in the European Union* declared that:

*The link between the Cyprus issue and the accession of Turkey to the EU has become especially pronounced since Cyprus and Turkey both became candidates for EU membership. As a result of the European Council's 1999 Helsinki summit decision, the resolution of the Cyprus problem is not precondition to the accession of the Republic of Cyprus or Turkey to the EU. Nevertheless Ankara is expected to play an active role about a settlement in*

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*Cyprus as all parties concerned perceive it as having a key part in achieving the resolution of this imbroglio (55).*

Despite calls launched by the Council and the Commission, Turkey has not complied with their obligation to implement fully and without discrimination to the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement and has not removed all obstacles to free movement of goods, including restrictions on direct links transport to Cyprus. For this reason, the Commission recommended continuation of the measures adopted in December 2006 the EU Council, which decided not to open eight relevant negotiating chapters<sup>12</sup>, and not to close temporarily any other chapter, so long as Turkey will not meet their commitment.

Turkey's case of an accession process represents the longest and the most complex case over decade. The table below is a comparative perspective Turkey's Accession process versus other countries.

Jean- Claude Juncker the president of the European Commission had presented to the European Parliament in July 2014; that the talks with candidate countries will continue. But no word was spelled about Turkey's case, *“under my presidency of the Commission ongoing negotiations will continue, and notably the western Balkans will need to keep a European perspective, but no further enlargement will take place over the next five years”* (Tocci 12). Turkey's situation was not mentioned in the president's speech although the progressive reforms and the several changes and challenges the country went through. Turkey's accession process to the EU still unknown.

**Chapter Two:  
Turkey's Attempts to Join the EU**

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## Introduction:

Centuries ago Turkey or as it was known at that time the Ottoman Empire was one of the most powerful countries in Europe as well as in the world especially in the period between the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Empire was seen as a source of threat and great danger therefore peace and diplomatic relations was the only available solution for the European leaders to keep the empire's danger away from their territories. Turkey's position in the European map was described by Nathaniel Tocci, *"Turkey has always been, is, and will likely remain one of the most important countries for the European Union"* (01).

Despite the diplomatic relations nowadays, Europeans still considering the Turks as a clear picture of what has totally rejected and refused by the European Identity, especially religion and culture. Muftuler-Bac in his article stated that Europeans see the Turks as *"savage, barbarian, despotic, oppressive, violent, and a threat to European civilization"* (26)

## 1. Turkey's Long Journey to the EU:

### 1.1. Turkish- European Historical Ties:

Turkey is a part in the Creation of European Identity whether geographically, economically, or diplomatically. Since identity is a project of shared heritage between the countries, Turkey is one of the countries who participated in building this identity. European Identity constructed upon common cultural heritage with foundation in ancient Greece, Christianity, and Europe of Enlightenment (ibid).

#### 1.1.1. Europe and the Ottoman Caliphate:

Turkey is a European and Asian country in the same time. The Ottoman Empire at the time was one of Europe's most powerful leaders. The relation between the two was characterized by *"cooperation and convergence, for instance the deep economic, cultural, artistic, and social exchanges between the Ottoman Empire and European powers and states"*(Tocci 1). By going back to this quotation, we find that the Ottoman-European relations were somehow diplomatic and based on commercial and cultural exchanges.

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The Ottoman Empire started its enlargement in Europe after entering Anatolia in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This led to the automatic conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The Turks became the Byzantine, Roman, and Greco-Latin empires heir (Turkey in Europe: More than Promise 10).

Turkey's geographical situation remained as one of the historical regions in Europe the European Commission in its report in 2004 stated "*the region which today is the heart of Turkey was one of the cradles of European civilization*" (3). The Turks were acting like conquerors just like the other European powers in case of wars. Ottoman Empire in 1856 was accepted as a European power after its presence in the Concert of Europe attended by France and Britain during the Criman War (Erdogdu 3).

Therefore, France and England had a close alliance with Empire since it was an important factor of European politics. The French influence started in the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century and it led to huge and noticeable change in the level of institutions, modernization of the army, centralization of the administration, establishment of an Ottoman Bank, and the printing of paper money for the first time. The French influence was seen in education too with the establishment of Galatasary French School and compulsory education. After the defeat of France by Persia in 1871, those reforms were "petered" (Turkey in Europe: More than a promise 10-11).

Religion has been always an obstacle for the Christian Europe. In fact, the Islamic Empire was a "Safe Heaven" for the oppressed Europeans who were persecuted. In 1492, thousands of Jewish refugees from Spain were welcomed in the empire and given shelter. The Empire reflected Islamic tolerance with "People of The Book" and it represented the well-organized religious communities lived together side by side (ibid 9-10).

After each period of peace and political-economic cooperation between the two powerful sides, time of war appears. The Ottoman Sultans gave themselves the right to spread and promote Islam and in the same time to enlarge their territories and gain more provinces to have the full control on the Mediterranean region.

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Years after France's defeat the European- Ottoman relations came into light again and this time with Britain. England had inspired the young ottomans to create a movement in order to propose some changes including the establishment of a Constitutional Government, and to ask for more liberty and for political rights and for citizenship.

Despite the diplomatic relations, the Ottoman Empire has never been considered as a European country. After the collapse of the empire and the death of "The Sick Man", of Europe in 1918 new era of relations had begun. Turkey-Europe relations started with the Ankara Agreement and the opening of Custom Union. Turkish elites saw Europe at that time as "a political and economic model of modernization" (Zilidis 07).

### 1.1.2. Turkish Secular Republic and Europe:

The establishment of the Secular Republic of Turkey at the early 1920s was the second turning point of the Euro-Turkish relations. Mustapha Kemal Ataturk, and many other educated elites and intellectuals believed that westernization of Turkey is a process of civilizing it. Ataturk in order to convince the public opinion said: *"people who are not civilized are condemned under the domination of those who are, and civilization is the west and modern world of which Turkey must be part if she wishes to survive"* (Turkey in Europe: More than a Promise 11-12).

The Turkish desire to be part of the modernized world was always rejected by the Europeans. Kemal Ataturk stated, *"the west has always been prejudiced against the Turks... but we Turks always consistently moved towards the west... In order to be a civilized nation, there is no alternative"* (Erdogdu 1).

Ataturk's utterances were clear. The European nations had always that black point of view about the Turks no matter what they would do. The Turkish remained always to be Muslims and Islam in their perspective is a dark dangerous ideology and hostile crowd, but the Turks in the other side Europe represent for them the modern and civilized part of the world that should be followed.

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Treaty of Rome and Turkey's application for European Community membership was the third turning point in the Euro-Turco relations. Until that time, the relations were conducted at state-to a state level with intergovernmental framework, the two events took those relations into a new level since it was no more relation between Turkish state and European state, but between Turkish society and European ones.

In the late of 1940s, the Soviet power was greatly emerged and it became a threat on Europe. Many Europeans welcomed the Turkish inclusion to the western part since it would not create many problems for them especially the broader issues of culture.

Turkish application for EC membership in 1959 was in the same time of Greece's one that is why the EC was obliged to be neutral. Unfortunately, the Turkish were unlucky since the EC was under the Gaullist pressure and France had presented many reservations about Turkey's European Identity and cultural issues.

After the end of Cold War in 1990, the Turkish European relations entered a turbulent era because of "*the restructuring of global and regional balances of power, a reformulation of international institutions and redefinition of security risks*" (ibid 8).

### 1.1.3 Erdogan's Turkey and Europe:

Europe- Turkish relations had changed with the evolution of the religious political parties, the changing position of military, and Turkey's new energy politics. The Development and Justice Party under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdogan came into power in 2002. A noticeable progress toward Europeanization, but with preserving the Islamic Identity was achieved by the Justice and Development Party (JDP). The progress was achieved by two anti-EU leaders Erdogan and Abdullah Gul. Justice and development Party was able to take Army's role as the sole secular-modernizing power.

Years before the official creation of the JDP, its leaders were totally against the Turkish membership to the "Christian Club", in addition to their strong belief that Turkey will never be accepted as a full member of the EU (Akusu 4).

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Therefore, European Politicians in addition to the Turkish secular republicans believed that the Islamists leaders are using the EU support to quiet the generals, but secretly they are working toward the Islamization of Turkey. This idea upraised the fear of Europeans and shackled the EU- Turkish relations (ibid).

Another turning point in the European-Turkish relations was the Attacks of September 11, 2001. These attacks changed the definition of security risks and entered the world into “antagonism era”. The European states in addition to USA faced unclear targets and non-specific threats. Turkey’s good relations with the west and its membership in the NATO allowed her to be a bridge between the western world and the Asian and Islamic states.

The transatlantic division of NATO European members had a great impact on Turkey’s position in Europe. Atlantists and Europeanists are two conflicted sides in Europe who had serious differences about the transatlantic cooperation (Erdogdu 36).

Nowadays Turkey-Europe relations became more complicated than it was before. The new serious events in different areas of the Middle East and Erdogan’s position toward Syria’s case raised the tension between EU and Turkey. The evolution of the terrorist groups especially ISIS and the several attacks in different states of Turkey and the murder of the Russian Ambassador in Ankara caused a huge hesitation for the European Union Members to approve Turkey’s application.

### **1.2. Snail Pace Negotiations:**

In 1963, Turkey and European Commission signed Ankara Agreement, which aimed to ameliorate and develop the economic ties. That agreement was a preparatory stage for the establishment of Customs Union to which Turkey committed to apply for it.

#### **1.2.1 The First Round of Negotiations “2005-2011”:**

Turkey’s first path toward the European Union Accession was in 1987 with the first application for membership. The application was postponed because the Commission was not considering new members at that time, but in 1989, the application was rejected.

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European Union recognized Turkey as a candidate at Helsinki in 1999 with no officially beginning of the accession talks because Turkey missed some economic and political criteria including the Copenhagen Criteria (Morelli 05).

Particularly in the late 2001, Turkey had adopted some reforms in order to accelerate its accession process; those reforms have been defined as “Silent Revolution”. After the annual meeting at Copenhagen in December 2002, the European Council concluded when to open negotiations with Turkey. European council’s approval came two years later when they stated that Turkey fulfilled the political criteria and the accession talks will start in October 2005 (Tocci 6).

2006 was a difficult year for Turkey although the formal negotiations between Ankara and Brussels began. Turkey’s rejection for any deal with the Greek Cypriot government about Cyprus issue was the beginning of attitudes change between Turkey and EU. In July 2006, the EU president, in implicit speech to Turkey, issued a statement in which he expressed EU’s total refusal for Turkey’s position toward Greek Cyprus. He added that this refusal would have an impact on the negotiation process.

Many Turks believed that Europeans interests in Turkey changed and they will discourage the EU from promoting necessary reforms in Turkey and that issue became later on a condition. In September 2006, the Committee of foreign affairs issued a progress report on Turkey’s Accession. The parliament found that Turkey had showed a noticeable advance in its reforms and noticeably freedom of expression, protection of religious and minority groups, reforms in law enforcement, and support for the independence of the judiciary. The parliament was in need for the recognition of all member states including Cyprus, whose prime minister suggested that without Turkey’s compliance with its obligation Cyprus will object any further talks (Morelli 07).

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Turkey's accession process entered France's 2007 presidential electoral campaign speech.

The conservative candidate Nicholas Sarkozy stated, "*Turkey should never become member of the Union*" (ibid).

In the same year, the EU Commission and Council during their annual accession progress reports agreed on the progress of the political reforms, but in the same time, they pointed out some areas that must be reformed such as freedom of expression, the fight against corruption, cultural rights, and civilian oversight of the security force. The EU report warned Turkey because of the Turkish- Cypriots relations and the non-noticeable progress (ibid).

For the Turkish government and public Cyprus, issue ended in 2011 after the withdrawal of Turkey's military forces from the Cypriot island. That step was kind of proof for the EU about the Turkish progress in the political reforms. The three institutions of the EU Commission, Council, and Parliament this time regretted turkey's refusal to fulfill the Additional Protocols and its obligations to normalize its relation with Cyprus.

In 2009 with the Spanish news media interview, the French Secretary of State for European Matters Pierre Lellouche said, "*we wonder whether it is not the time to begin reflecting on alternative paths for Turkey without interrupting the negotiations*". This speech means that in case Turkey does not fulfill the criteria it will be altered, that statement reflected the continuous opposition of the French government towards Turkey's membership, and their total support for what they call "privilege partnership".

The EU-Turkey Association Council led by EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule and Turkey's chief negotiator for EU Affairs Egemen Bagis met in Brussels to discuss EU-Turkey relations. After the end of the meeting, Fule declared that EU's 2010 report would be more positive concerning the huge steps taken by the Turkish government. The 2010 report was a complete contradiction for Fule's promise. The report was a total criticism for the Turkish government accusing them of the lack of dialogue among the various political parties in addition to their failure to implement the Additional Protocol. All those statements provoked Erdogan's

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anger and he stated, *“there was no balance in this report, and the resolution was written by people who did not know Turkey”* (ibid).

Not very different from before Turkey's Accession process had continued in snail's pace in 2011. Many issues occurred starting with Turkey's deterioration relations with Israel in addition to AKPs party victory again in the elections. Erdogan complained that France and Germany among others are determined to have Turkey give up its interests in joining the EU.

During 2011 the Cyprus issue had emerged again and the Turkish government still on the same old position, no deal with the Greek Cypriot government.

### 1.2.2. The 2012 New Agenda of Talks:

New Agenda was designed in 2012 for Turkey's Accession. Egemen Bagis once again in March 2012 stated, *“Turkey has 52 years of relationship with the EU. Thus, six months is not a long time for Turkey”* (Morelli 5). The Ministers statement is a clear ignorance for Cyprus presidency of the EU. During the Republic Presidency, no progress in the talks was achieved. The EU commission was quite sure about turkey's position that is why it put into place the initiative of 2011 accession progress report. The New Agenda presented by the EU commissioner promised to be a positive one that would bring dynamic and fresh relations between EU and Turkey. New legislations, political reforms, fight against terrorism and many other things were listed in the New Positive Agenda. Turkey and EU during 2012 achieved a new level in their relations and they developed stronger political, economic, and social relations but away from the ultimate goal of membership (ibid).

Turkey was counting on the close relations with EU in 2012 to accelerate their accession, unfortunately, the Commission report of 2012 was a total disappointment for Turkey and they considered it as “unbalanced report”.

New round of negotiations started in June 2013 with the suggestion of opening the Chapter 22 concerning the Regional Policy. This step was taken after the suggestion of the French Foreign Minister Laurant Fabuis in early 2013. In the annual report of 2013, the

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European Parliament issued the same points of each progress report including the judicial reforms; freedom of expression...etc. 2013 report focused more on turkey ignorance of the republic of Cyprus EU presidency and the aggressive reaction of the Turkish government toward the protestors of June 2013. EU members threatened Turkey to postpone the opening of the Chapter 22 and to delay the accession talks. Ankara's reply was presented in Erdogan's declaration "*Ankara did not recognize decisions made by the European Parliament*" (Morelli 16). The EU Minister Bagis added that some European countries get lost.

Ankara declared that if the EU decides not to open the Chapter 22 and to delay the negotiations, turkey in its turn would freeze the relations with EU. European Parliament found itself obliged to save the situation and decided to open Chapter 22, but the negotiations were delayed to October 2013 (Morelli 13).

### **1.2.3 Member States Debate Toward the Accession:**

Turkey's accession to the European Union created a debate between the member states. The majority of EU members had no clear position toward the accession process unlike Germany, France, United Kingdom, Greece, and Austria. Those five countries had declared their positions whether as supporters or opponents.

#### **1.2.3.1 Germany, France, and Austria's opponent position:**

Germany under the SPD government was one of turkey's supporters, but everything had changed with the new elected Chancellor Angela Merkel the CDU candidate. In 2005 Germany opposed the membership on both sides political and cultural but they became fervent to what's called "Privileged Partnership". Merkel declared that there is no accession in the present day with the continuity of the Accession talks. In 2004, in a poll about people's opinion about the accession, 12 percent of the Germans who were with and 66 were against (2008 5).

France had an obscure position toward Turkish accession under the rule of Jacques Chirac. The President Chirac was a supporter of Turkish EU membership, but the over pressure of the French public opinion remained to oppose the membership. The president Nicholas Sarkozy

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unlike Chirac declared explicitly his strong opponent toward Turkish membership and made the French position clearer. French fear of large influx of Turkish workers is another reason that solidified the opponent. Sarkozy proposed to establish a Mediterranean Union that would include Turkey and to appoint “wise men’s committee” that would research the boundaries of the EU (ibid).

Austrian government and public were and are from the most opponents of the Turkish membership. The chancellor Wolfgang Schussel declared their opponent in the European council in 2004. The current Chancellor Alfred Gusenbauer is also with the idea of “Turkey in the EU would mean the end of the EU”. When the accession negotiations started, Austria announced that it would reserve the right to hold a referendum on Turkish membership (ibid 7).

### **1.2.3.2 United Kingdom and Greece’s supportive position:**

Tony Blair the British prime minister was one of the proponents of Turkish EU membership. Gordon Brown, Blair’s successor, was one of the key advocates for membership. Britain’s position is a reflection of its political and strategic general alignment with US. Widening the scope of EU membership rather than widening the level of political integration within the EU is what Britain’s suggestion. The British conservative party remained as a strong supporter to the Turkish government and that due to their support for the transatlantic alliance. Blair underlined the importance he gave to Turkey and made the first visit to Turkey from 14 years. Gordon Brown walked on Blair’s path and visited the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan in 2007. Britain has kept its supportive position until nowadays (ibid 6).

Another EU member who showed a clear position toward Turkish accession to the Union is Greece. Years ago, Greece was one of strong opponents of Turkish EU membership because of the well-known problem of Cyprus. Under the pressure of the EU and US Greek were obliged to shift their position toward supporter’s side; in addition to the belief of the Greek government that the Cyprus problem will be easier to solve if Turkey becomes an EU member. Unlike the political opinion the public opinion remain deeply averse o Turkish accession, an opinion poll

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showed that only 25 percent who agree on the Turkish membership versus more than 45 who disagreed (ibid).

### 2. Accession Obstructions and Challenges:

#### 2.1. Institutional Challenges:

In its slow steps towards a European Union membership, Turkey faced various obstructions and challenges, which lie on the question of what would happen to the EU if it admits for membership Turkey.

On the institutional level, Turkey's accession possibility introduces the EU with the biggest institutional challenge it has ever faced. With every wave of enlargement, the European Union provides the institutional regime with the required reforms that would guarantee the EU's functioning without major troubles. However, in case of Turkey the task is quiet difficult.

European Union institutional structure based on three major dichotomies, big states' interests versus small states' interests; federalist versus inter-governmentalist, and poor members versus rich members. These are the main areas where conflict becomes inevitable when any institutional reforms are on the table. EU function then is to promote balance and corporate constancy between those major axes. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Turkey as a large populous country poses a serious threat to the stability of the European institutional structure as well as to the future of the integration process (Muftuler-Bac 33).

In other words, the institutional impact of Turkey's digestion in the EU can be viewed from two different angles. First, since in EU institutions voting and decision making powers were determined according to individual member's population, turkey's incorporation as a populous country would put the EU institutions and member states in a serious problem. As Baldwin and Widgrén concluded, "*Turkey's accession to the EU would have implications for EU decision making. As a large country Turkey would play a relatively a bigger role in the EU than any other entrants*" (Hoekman and Togan 333).

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Second, the rapid economic growth of Turkey would create a sense of competition in European Union as well as it would rise the fear of European countries about the increasing strength of the Turkish economy after Turkey's accession to the Union.

This is particularly why it is crucial to evaluate Turkey's institutional impact on EU. One should note that the possible institutional impact of Turkey's membership in the EU increased the hesitancy of certain member states towards Turkey. Meltem Muftuler- Bac the professor of International Relations at Sabanci university in Istanbul explained this idea, "*Turkey was deemed to be too large for accession into the EU.(...)Thus if it were included, finding a formula for institutional reform, with which all member states agreed, would have been impossible*" (Muftuler8 Bac 34). In this sense, Muftuler revealed that the real reason behind excluding Turkey from the future forecasting of institutional reforms in Nice Summit of 2000 is due to certain member states refusal (ibid).

As mentioned previously Turkey's population and size would represent a serious challenge in terms of European parliament structure and voting in the council of the EU. Turkey's membership would bring another concern to the European parliament. In which it should find a formula of containing the new integrated turkey as a populous country, along with protecting the existing member states representations, as well as preserving EU's efficiency and capacity to act. In this concern Richard Baldwin and Mika Widgén during their investigation on Turkey's membership impact on EU voting, concluded that, there are three main areas where Turkey's inclusion could influence EU voting; distribution of power, future enlargement of the EU and capacity to act, interestingly they stated, "*Turkey's large population means that efficiency suffers a little*" (Hoekman and Togan 334).

That means if Turkey accedes to the European Union it would take the lion portion in Parliamentary representation and particularly decision making, and this directly disturbs the EU institutional structure and balances of power. For instance Mat Rosenberg stated, "*Turkey would be the second largest country* (and perhaps eventually the largest with its much higher growth

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rate) in the EU and would considerably alter the balance of power in the European Union”

(2014).

In addition, under Double Majority Voting system, Turkey would be an important partner to have on one side in coalition building and in block formation, for instance it would make the formation of blocking minorities harder for large EU members. It is likely that small states will benefit from Turkey's value as a coalition partner, as it is expected that Turkey would take the side of the small, poor states on Council decisions. It is therefore no surprise that the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and British Chancellor George Osborne have openly rejected the prospect. In that sense, the inclusion of Turkey would be an institutional challenge in the European Council for the large states, and a valuable partner for the small and poor states (Muftuler Bac 35).

Anticipating the position of Turkey in the EU, Giscard Déstaing claimed: *“This is rule we can't change, with accession, Turkey would become the most populous country in the EU with the greatest voting power in the council”* (ibid), and this is therefore the major obstacle to Turkey's accession.

### 2.2. Security Challenges:

In the aftermath of the cold war Turkey-EU relations have witnessed an unsettled era. Different institutional reforms were held to cope with the new situation, as well as redefinitions of security risks, especially after the manifestation of terrorism in the Islamic world and 11 September attacks against the USA. Therefore, Turkey's probable EU membership might introduce some new security challenges to the Union.

The main concern is about the illegal human immigration that cross the Turkish borders to the western world. It is argued that when Turkey becomes a member in the EU human smuggling will rise and then pose a serious risk to the security of Europe and the West in general. As a result, many politicians in Europe frequently speak of the “invasion” of migrants from Turkey, when they publicly debate Turkish EU membership (Demir 16).

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Additionally Turkey's unstable relations with some states and its neighbors can be seen as a security challenge for the EU as well. As a nation built upon the ashes of an empire, Turkey's history was full of enemies and competitors in different scales, some unstable foreign relations remains from the past and needs to be resolved with patience and cooperative agreement based on fair resolution and international order. As a result, Turkey has begun to follow a policy of "Zero Problem" with its neighbors. This policy also should help to resolve any issues that can influence relations with the EU (ibid).

Cyprus is another source of security risk that needs to be overcome. Actually, the EU has made the Cyprus issue more difficult by granting the Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus (GASC) EU membership in 2004 and formalizing a division of the island. Turkish non-recognition of the state of Cyprus threatens its prospects to join the EU. Therefore, the Cyprus issue can continue to be security risk to the EU if Turkey continues to remain outside the EU (Demir 16). In his article, "the Issue of Cyprus in the EU Accession of Turkey" Melike Basturk emphasizes the impact of Cyprus problem in the issue of Turkish accession in which he stated, "*the membership of the republic of Cyprus constitutes an important obstacle for EU accession of Turkey. This is because Turkey cannot become a member of the EU without recognizing the republic of Cyprus*" (15).

Moreover, new perspective of Turkey's accession matter was taken after the 9/11 era, during which terrorism seems to be the major international threat for the 21st century and the fact that many terrorists turn out to be of Middle Eastern Muslim origins (Demir 16). The fact that Turkey is predominantly a Muslim country neighboring Middle Eastern countries, has shaken its prospect to join the EU, and in the same time has posed two different positions lie on the question, will the inclusion of Turkey - into the EU pose a security risk or, will it increase the EU's security?

Some argue that Turkey's location and its neighborhood with unstable nations can be potential source of instability for the EU. Turkey's proximity to countries such as Iraq, Syria and

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Iran can also represent a set of security risks for the Union; the EU will then be neighbor to these countries with the membership of Turkey. Evidentially, these countries can export regional ethnic conflicts, terrorism, weapons of mass, destruction and illegal immigration problems that bound Turkey. However, this is at the same time, an opportunity for the EU, the membership of a Muslim country into the EU would ease some of the escalating tensions between these seemingly different worlds (ibid 16).

Turkey's EU membership might be the answer to the clash of civilization arguments, as its significant character makes it a valuable arm for the European Union as it can act as a bridge between the two different cultures.

### 2.3. Muslim Turkey:

From the perspective of the principles and fundamental rights of the European Union, there is no a priori reason to exclude a country on the grounds of its dominant religion. As Luis Lugo the director of the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life has said, *“we are officially secular, just like Turkey. Excluding any country on the grounds of religion would contravene the EU's fundamental values of tolerance and pluralism. It is not on the agenda to exclude a country on the grounds of religion”* (Does Muslim Turkey belongs in “Christian” Europe? 2005).

However many people wonder if a Muslim country such as Turkey would really fit into the European Union. The central question of this concern, therefore, is whether the fact that the majority of its population is Muslim forms a hindrance to Turkish accession to the European Union. The Turkish president Rəcəp Tayyip Erdoğan has answered at a graduation ceremony in Istanbul in 2016, *“Europe you don't want us, because the majority of our population are Muslim...we knew it but we tried to show our sincerity”* (RT International 2016). By these words, Erdoğan concluded that Europe does not want his country to join the EU, because the majority of the nations' population is Muslim.

The fact that Islam is the major obstacle of Turkey's accession to the European Union, had discussed by the Professor of International Relations at Antalya International University Tarik

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Oguzlu in his book “Turkey and the European Union; Europeanization without Membership”, where he declared:

*The case of Turkey as a candidate country in the EU is the most challenging one. The civilization dimension of Turkish integration into the EU is the most controversial issue. Even if it were to fulfill all the Copenhagen criteria of EU membership, it could not change its Muslim identity. It is important to underline that there is a “logic of inherent identity” inside the EU that sees Turkey as outside the European family of nations, because it does not share Europe’s Christian past (230).*

Oguzlu concluded that nothing could change the reality that Turkey is a Muslim country with totally a different cultural dimension. Even though it would fulfill all membership obligations, for European identity, Turkey remains an exotic element.

Moreover several EU member States reject the presence of a Muslim element among them, and warning from the concept of «clashing cultures”, or as it is described by Samuel Huntington «Clash of Civilization». The concept portrays the state in which a Muslim country be part of a Judeo-Christian secular club. Perceptions of this issue provide two different positions; some argue that Turkey's Islamic identity would represent the EU with inevitable challenges. Whereas others believe in the idea of the inclusion of Muslim element in the EU, would provide the latter, with invaluable opportunity to deal with different pending foreign relations.

In fact, Turkey has already been a secular state in the past as the Ottoman Caliphate was essentially a state of authority above religion. Then the concept of secularism had developed into an ideological core element of the Kemalist state doctrine in the first half of the twentieth century. However, the pro-western secular state of Turkey had no longer exist after the arrival of Recep Tyyib Erdogan, first as a prime minister, and now as president. He has gradually turned Turkey into an ever-growing Democratic-Islamic state. Islam influences all aspects of society, education, family law, women's rights and even politics. This agenda seems to contradict with

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EU secularism principles, freedom of press and human rights. Interestingly, opposition to Turkish accession is coming from secular parties in Europe who worry that bringing a large Muslim country would endanger the continent's tradition of gender equality and tolerance of alternative lifestyles.

Hence, the opponents of Turkish integration into the Union suggest that Turkey's membership will damage "European-ness". They state that Turkey belongs to the East and Islam, not Europe. In 1997, Hans Van Mierlo; the former foreign minister of Holland stated, "*The problem is the huge Muslim state. Do we want it in Europe?*" (Larrabee 60).

In contrast, many Europeans who favor Turkish membership assume that Turkey's Islamic identity does not affect its principles of democracy, but instead it may help the country to act as bridge or intermediary between the west and the east. In addition, it would help Europe to be a model of the world, of civilizations fusion and multiculturalism. These supporters argue that Turkish membership would create a solid shield against terrorism, as German Foreign minister Joschka Fischer states in the BBC, "*to modernize an Islamic country based on the shared values of Europe would be almost a D-Day (an arm) for Europe in the war against terror*".

However, the idea of "cultural bridge" do not enjoy much support in the eye of the European public, in which the majority think that "cultural differences" between Turkey and EU are too significant to allow for this accession. In addition, Islam remains the main point of dispute in Turkey's accession history. As the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy stated, "*we have problem of integration of Muslims that raises the question of Islam in Europe, to say it is not a problem is to hide from reality. If you let 100 million Turkish Muslim come in, what will come of it?*" (Hakura 2006).

To sum up, Turkey's accession process is highly influenced by the constant religious and cultural factor. Albeit it would fulfill all accession conditions and political criteria, Turkey would remain out of the European bloc, because it is a predominantly Muslim country.

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### 3. Turkey-EU Future:

#### 3.1. Common Destiny:

“Revive” is the term used to portray Turkey’s accession process. About 12 years since starting negotiations in 2005, there were no considerable transformations held in the spheres: slow progress in membership obligations fulfillment, uncertain and indecisive attitudes, and frequent quest for terms to break the negotiation deadlocks. However, uncertainty in Turkey’s EU accession process, the perseverance towards this process is equally significant. Neither Turkey nor the EU have the potential to walk out on it, at the ground of shared interests between the two parties, as former president Jacques Chirac claimed, *“the European Union and Turkey share a common destiny”* (Bagis and Michel 2011).

Turkey’s accession to the European Union should not be seen as a dangerous prospect. Instead, Europeans should be aware of positive aspects of integration of Turkey in the EU. In fact, inclusion of Turkey could have a positive impact on European Union. Europe could gain benefits from Turkish membership, as Egemen Bagis and Louis Michel concluded, *“if prejudices and domestic politics are put aside, the emerging picture will reveal that Europe interest in Turkey’s membership is no smaller than Turkey’s interest in joining the bloc”* (2011).

From an economic point of view, Turkish membership could increase the economic potential of the European Union and could make Europe more competitive on the global arena. Turkey is no longer “a sick man of Europe”, as the World Bank argued in 2014 *“Turkey has become the 18<sup>th</sup> most powerful economy in the world”* (Modebadze and Sayin 2). Turkey witnessed a rapid economic growth over the last decades. It is Europe’s sixth largest trading partner. Hence, The European Union needs Turkey in order to create a New Silk Road and establish closer economic, trade and cultural relations with Middle East and Asian countries (ibid).

Moreover, as an EU member Turkey, with its rich historical and cultural heritage, as well as its multi-faceted identity resulting from its geographical position as a bridge between western

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and eastern cultures would bring the EU closer to the Caucasus, central Asia and the Middle East. Turkey's geostrategic location allows her to help to create a more secure and stable environment for the citizens of the EU and for the world as a whole (Bagis and Michel 2011).

Since 2001, Turkey made a considerable progress and profound changes in the term of democracy. Hundreds of policies and reforms were passed in the last decade concerning human rights, freedom, justice and democracy. The EU then is supposed to support these efforts and promote a new deal based on united Europe, in which both sides will benefit and reach their interests, in this concern Egemen Bagis concluded, *“this approach would be a win-win situation. Confidence between the two sides must be re-established (...) the coming years must make integration a reality”* (ibid).

### 3.2. Possible Future Scenarios:

From western perspectives, the state of stagnation in Turkey EU relations is because the desire for membership is less favorable than it was at the beginning, humiliation of the rule of law in Turkey (human right abuses and democracy, especially after 2015 arrest of journalists and political rivals of Erdogan), Cyprus issue and Kurdish minority problem. The European allegations that Turkey is far from reaching the membership obligations of EU and accession conditions make her future in Europe uncertain.

In the other hand, opponents of this claim suggest that Europe and the West in general, are trying to shake and unsettle the image of Turkey as Secular-Democratic country, as well as Erdogan as a democratic leader, although he had shifted Turkey away from a parliamentary republic into a presidential one. Erdogan is the first president in Turkey who was democratically elected, he has steered his country through a period of extraordinary change. Turkey in 2017 is a vastly different country to a decade ago.

Dealing with those controversies left us wondering, will Turkey ever be able to join the EU?

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In fact, finding an answer to this question depends on a profound analysis of the previous challenges, which have faced both sides. As well as examining to what extent Turkey has realized the qualifications of EU membership. However, the previous analysis in this topic provides three possible scenarios to the future of Turkey-EU relations.

The first scenario assumes that the EU will give the green light to Turkey for the completion of accession negotiations. The decision will be taken primarily because of the positive steps taken by Turkey to meet the criticisms of the EU. Particularly, after Turkey and EU reached landmark deal on refugee crises in March 2016. The EU will express its satisfaction both regarding the fulfillment of the Copenhagen Criteria and Turkey's foreign policy towards the Cyprus problem (Guney 306).

In contrast, the second scenario is that of a growing *competition* and conflict between Turkey and the EU. The EU would continue to pretend it is negotiating membership with Turkey. However, even Turkey's supporters in the EU would lose faith in the process. These supporters such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal would continue to be primarily concerned with their recovery from the economic crisis (Tocci 5).

More guarantees for the possibility of this scenario appear on the scene, especially after escalating tension during the last two years, for instance, the recent crisis between Turkey and the Netherlands before the parliamentary elections in March 2017, where Erdogan described the German and Netherlands' government as remnants of fascism. Far from that, the outcomes of this scenario are perceived distinctively according to opponents and supporters of Turkish membership in the EU. Concerning Turkish side, the position was very clear after Erdogan stated, "*the European Union will lose Turkey if it doesn't grant it membership by 2023*" (Coskun 2012). This statement came during a panel discussion in Berlin on 30 October 2012. In this concern, Erdogan reminds the Europeans about the importance of Turkey in the Union.

A third scenario would see the EU and Turkey reaching a new framework for cooperation based on respective complementarities. In this scenario, European Union would give a

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“conditional yes” for Turkey, in another words, the accession will take place only when the international situation allow for it. Therefore, fulfillment of the Copenhagen Criteria will not provide a sufficient motivation for the EU countries to allow Turkey to become a member (ibid 7).

In this scenario both sides would abandon the accession process, but rather they will engaged in a relationship exclusively based on shared interests, «a special relationship instead of full membership”.

In fact No matter which scenario may come true, it is important to note that the 60-year old Turkey–EU relations have come to an important turning point. Despite being overwhelmed by crises, the EU needs to show that it is also ready to take some positive steps and show greater strategic thinking in terms of its Turkey policy than it has done in the past.

The future course of events will be determined by the developments that will take place within the EU, by the degree to which Turkey will be able to meet the EU’s obligations, and by the international context that will frame the future of Turkey in the EU (Guney 314).

In that sense, there are a set of political events in the first half of 2017 that are of great importance for the future development of Turkey-EU relations, such as parliamentary elections in the Netherlands as well as German, French presidential elections in April/May, and parliamentary elections in June. All these events can redefine the perspectives of Turkey-EU future; this mirrors Joost Lagendijk to say, “*the EU-Turkey relations have been put to test on numerous occasions this year. In the first half of 2017 further political events of importance are to be expected which will set the path for future relations*” (2016).

# **General Conclusion**

## General Conclusion:

### General Conclusion:

In the aftermath of Second World War, European leaders including the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman wanted to tie the European countries under one unified organization. In 1952 France, Netherland, Italy, Luxemburg, West Germany, and Austria signed a treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community as a first step towards a European Union. Through which the European countries found themselves obliged to share their resources and key materials, under the aim of easing tensions.

The European Community started to enlarge and to join new member states. From six in 1952 to 27 in 2017 after the Brexit (Britain departure). Nowadays six candidates are waiting for the beginning of the last chapter of accession negotiations, including the Republic of Turkey. Turkey's accession process is one of the most complicated and longest membership project in EU enlargement history over decades, although it has solid historical ties with Europe and the EU.

Through investigating the historical background of Turkey-Europe relations, we came to conclude that they were for most of the time diplomatic. The European cooperation with the Turks started from centuries ago with the Ottoman Empire. Although several wars and conflicts, the two sides remained as cooperative partners in politics, economy, and even in social matters.

Arguably, Turks have been seen as a big source of threat and danger simply because of their civilization and religion. In fact, Europeans had implicit as well as explicit anti-Islamic feelings; the names that were given to the Ottomans "savages, barbarians, non-civilized...etc" proved the European hatred toward the Turks. The Anti-Islamic feeling toward turkey emerged even after the collapse of the Muslim Empire and the emergence of the Secular Republic of Turkey. Many Turkish believe that Europe would never accept Turkey as a European country even if they would burn all Qurans, and destroy all mosques and get rid of any relation with Islam.

## General Conclusion:

The Turkish government since the beginning of the negotiations adopted a large collection of reforms in different fields especially politics and freedom of speech. However, turkey's reforms and policies have done nothing to help its accession to the EU. The EU commissioner Guenther Oettinger said: "turkey will not join the EU this or next decade" (BBC). As a result, the accession process has blocked each time by the European Council and the same reasons and causes are presented in every annual report since 2005. In fact, Turkey's accession process took more than 10 years but no final decision was made.

The European refusal was due to Turkey's religion and to the differences of cultures and traditions. France, Germany and Austria showed an explicit refusal toward Turkey's membership and it was presented by their politician leaders. The previous president of France Nicholas Sarkozy declared his strong opposition, simply because he does not consider Turkey even as European country, for his view it is Asia minor, so there is no reason why Asia minor should be part of Europe, in addition it is a Muslim country, hence there is no possibility of future integration. Whereas the German Chancellor Angela Merkel opposed the accession and supported the privilege partnership.

It is apparent from analyzing the different obstacles of Turkey's accession to the EU that, although political and economic reasons have a role to play in delaying Turkey's bid to join the EU, ideological ones (culture, identity and Islam) are the core reasons behind remaining the dream of EU membership a distant prospect.

At the end of our research, we came out with one result, which is, Turkey's- EU future still unknown and in exact words no future insight. Particularly after escalating tension between Turkey and the European countries in the last Two Years, concerning the popular referendum on expanding Erdogan's powers and its implications in April 2017. This complicated and unsolved situation provoked Erdogan to declare on April 26, 2017 that Turkey would review its application for membership.

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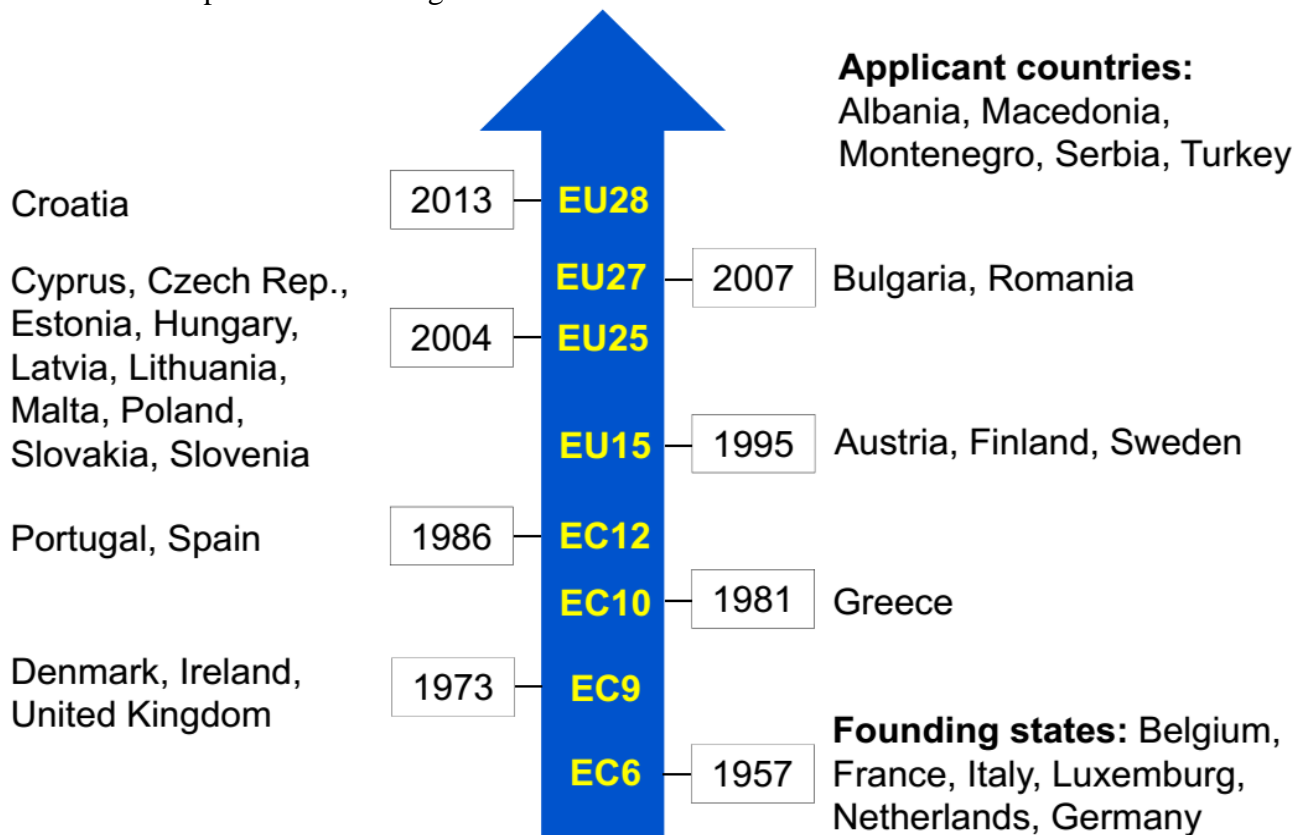
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# Appendices

## Appendix 1 :

EU Enlargement steps diagram from the European Community stage to the European Union level.

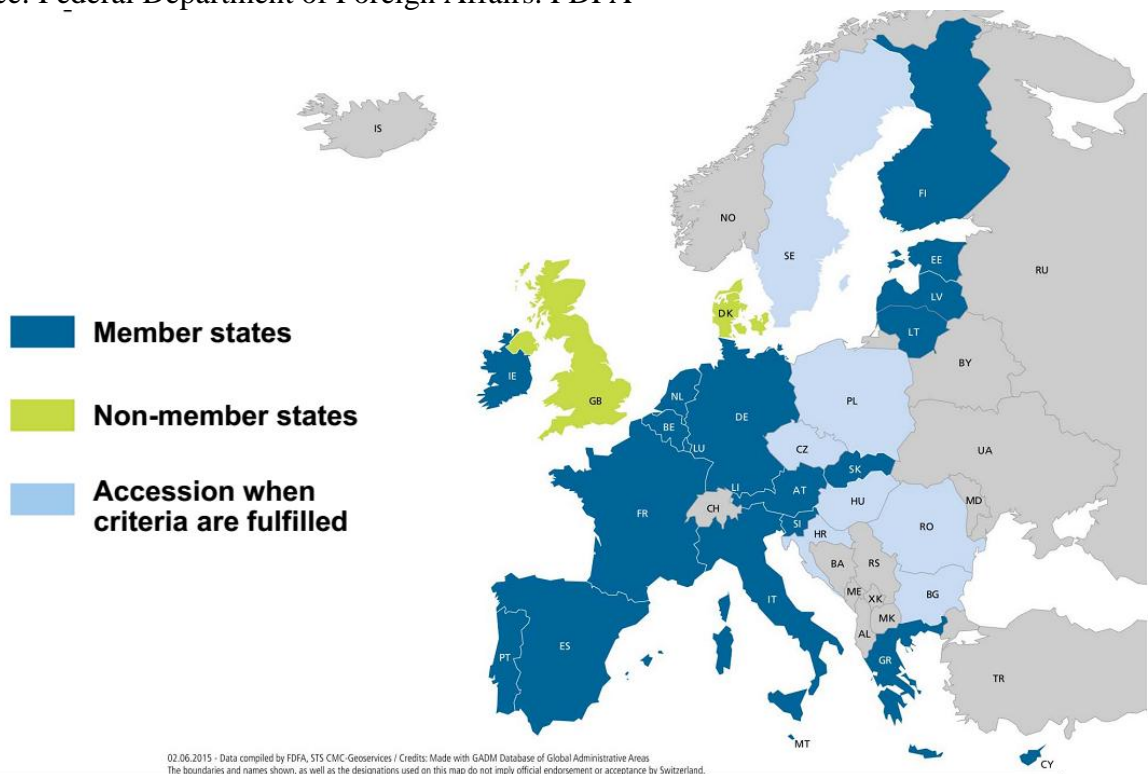
Source: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA.



## Appendix 2

This map presents the EU member states, Non- member states, and accession when criteria are fulfilled.


Source: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. FDFA



### Appendix 3:

The timeline of the main EU Treaties, starting from the treaty of formation to the final treaty of Lisbon.

Source: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. FEDFA



<b>2007</b>	<b>Treaty of Lisbon (in force since 1 Dec 2009)</b>	Reform treaty with institutional innovations
<b>2004</b>	<b>Constitutional Treaty (not entered into force)</b>	Draft treaty on a constitution for the EU, simplification of the agreements
<b>2001</b>	<b>Treaty of Nice</b>	Institutional reform of the EU in view of the enlargement to 25 members
<b>1997</b>	<b>Treaty of Amsterdam</b>	Extension of the Community's competencies (qualified majority voting, co-decision of parliament)
<b>1992</b>	<b>Treaty of Maastricht</b>	Foundation of the European Union, single currency, structure of the three pillars
<b>1986</b>	<b>Single European Act</b>	Completion of single market
<b>1957</b>	<b>Euratom Treaty</b>	Civilian use of nuclear power
<b>1957</b>	<b>EEC Treaty</b>	Creation of the European Economic Community; Single market based on the 'four freedoms'
<b>1951</b>	<b>ECSC Treaty</b>	Common Market for Coal and Steel

#### Appendix 4:

This diagram represents and explains the total number of the member states and clarify how many seats each state own.

Source: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. FDFA

