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## EU-Turkey Relations

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### Abstract

Amid a mosaic complex world characterized at least in the last two or three years a resurgence of the terrorist threat in Europe, the violent manifestations of Euroscepticism that culminated with the favorable vote leaving Britain in the European Union and the worst global crisis refugees from the second world war, solidarity and normative power of the Union are put to the test. It remains a major challenge for the EU and the European community concerns related primarily to Turkey's size, its population, culture, language, religion and its political system, and that a new state involves institutional changes.

In the present paper I analyzed the relations between European Union and Turkey.

**Keywords:** European Union; Turkey; Europeanization

### Introduction

The current era of globalization and interdependence complex, its effects ambivalent highlighted by the global economic crisis and resurgence of nation-states during the crisis migrants confronting Europe, was welcomed enthusiastically by Western political leaders as marking the end of Manichean, bipolar, the Cold War, characterized by the struggle for world supremacy between the two superpowers - the United States (representing the liberal view of the market economy and the world) and the former Soviet Union (representing the socialist vision and centralized economy of the world).

The magnitude, variety and accelerating interconnectivity have become increasingly evident in every sphere of international life, from the military to economic and cultural.

The new global challenges and asymmetrical threats such as those posed by the scourge of terrorism, fragile states or pending failure, climate change or ethnic conflicts have been placed on the political agenda of state actors and key international organizations.

The globalization, although it is not a new phenomenon can be conceptualized as a modification or structural transformation to the spatial scale of the social organization of human connecting remote communities and extends across the relations of power beyond the region and continent, breaking the theoretical barrier physical boundaries classic.

The globalization affects equally large states and small and, although no one at the helm of this process, usually the changes are qualitative and irreversible. "The end of the Cold War marked and overcome the division of Europe specific previous period.

The reunification of the two German states, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet implosion (complete withdrawal of Soviet military forces in Central Europe) has opened new perspectives unification of the continent "one. And although reduced disparities in terms of wealth nations in interstate level, globalization has also created social cleavages by widening income disparities within the same nation in intra plan. And this is reported and exploited by populist politicians who undermine from within liberal world order, arguing that the West is not able to manage fairly successful own development model.

Against this background, the European Union can be considered as an attempt daring to control the centrifugal forces of globalization, rather than fighting it, through regionalization, the part attributes sovereign Member States are delegated to be managed under the spectrum common interests, the EU institutions.

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It is worth mentioning that the EU is the most advanced entity that Type<sup>1</sup>, which is currently at the stage of economic and monetary union incomplete. The final stage would be that of a political union, but recent developments at European level may be seen much reason for optimism in this regard. Establishing a European federation between sovereign states remains difficult, especially because of the contradiction between the depth of integration and rational pragmatism of the nation-state, the main actor of international relations. Engaged in a mosaic complex international and very dynamic, characterized at least in the last two or three years a resurgence of the terrorist threat in Europe, the violent manifestations of Euroscepticism that culminated with the favorable vote leaving Great Britain Union and the worst global crisis of refugees of the second world war<sup>2</sup> one of Juncker Commission's priorities was to make the EU "a stronger global actor."<sup>3</sup> In this respect, the EU as a normative power, aimed, inter alia, contribute to establishing a climate of peace and stability in the European neighborhood by further enlargement negotiations, in particular the Western Balkans, but also Turkey, which began near the European Economic Community in 1959 and signed an Association agreement with this since 1963.

For Turkish leaders at that time, realization prospects of joining the European project can be represented ultimate culmination reforms modernization and secularization promoted by former hero of Gallipoli and founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who abolished the sultanate and proclaimed republic in October 1923.

In 1963 Turkey was a democratic country that have certain features, but the experiment only three years before the first of the four military coups that were to occur interiorl or in the next 35 years. The latest took place in mid-July 2016, when part of the Turkish army tried to change the brutal regime led by President Tayyip Erdoğan and his party AKP (Justice and Development Party).

Although Turkey's case neither party appears, at least at the rhetorical level, to want really to give up the accession negotiations started in 2005, they carried with difficulty, with 16 negotiation chapters opened so far and only one of them provisionally closed. Negotiations were even stopped completely during the Cyprus Presidency of the EU Council in the second half of 2012.

After analyzing proposals for the interpretation of the EU as a military and civil power, Ian Manners suggests an alternative concept, according to the most appropriate to capture the European Union's role on the international stage, namely that of regulatory power, which defines as an "ideational nature characterized by common principles and a willingness to ignore conventions Westphalia type"<sup>4</sup>, translated by a commitment to the principles, values and universal norms governing relations between Member States and between the EU and third countries. This vision has been institutionalized through the so-called criteria to Copenhagen<sup>5</sup> a set of common principles that any aspirant

country must meet to join the European Union. According to Manners, normative foundations of the European Union are concentrated in five central rules: the centrality of peace, the idea of freedom, democracy, rule of law and, not least, the rights and fundamental freedoms. These rules are supplemented by four so-called "minor" social solidarity, anti-discrimination and protection of minorities, sustainable development and good governance.

The 21 capabilities regulations of the EU, which could be said to represent a guide of common foreign policy can be found in policies and practices related to relations with neighbors, the European Neighborhood Policy and its dimensions regional (Eastern Partnership, Union for the Mediterranean and Black Sea Synergy) cross-border cooperation and the most potent foreign policy tool at its disposal, the enlargement policy.

The accession conditionality, especially its political vein, has the ability to change the incentive structure for the candidate countries so as to feed the internal structural changes of substance, which Member States want and expect from those hopefuls. Although the correlation between the perspective of accession and modernization of democratic states in the Western Balkans and Turkey attest to the transformative power of political conditionality, there are numerous examples of countries included in the Neighborhood Policy; the EU seemed more interested in stability than strengthening liberal constitutional, hence good governance.

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the loss of momentum of the expansion project but relations between the EU and Turkey, the oldest aspiring to membership of the European community. But in every crisis there is usually an opportunity hidden dramatic situation caused by the migratory waves from the Middle East and North Africa have exerted increasing pressure on the Union for the purposes of reopening negotiations with strategic partners, including Turkey that opportunity. Thus, despite the intransigence message began Juncker's mandate as regards enlargement, the European Council conclusions of 15 October 2015 spoke of a "reenergizing" of the accession process with Turcia<sup>6</sup>. And, at their meeting of November 29, 2015 with former Prime Minister turc Ahmet Davutoğlu, when it held the first EU-Turkey, the 28 EU leaders confirmed defrosting accession negotiations also confirmed the crucial role of Turkey in finding a solution perspective migration crisis.

Atatürk abolished western clothing styles, often with religious significance, promoted giving up the veil among Muslim women, created a secular education system and closed all the institutions that were based on Islamic canon law.

Moreover, he encouraged the organization of various forms of entertainment with Western flair in Turkey because he was convinced that Western lifestyles would be the cornerstone of the country's transformation into a centralized national state secular.<sup>7</sup>

In 1928, the constitution of formally acquired a secular character by removing the reference to the fact that the Turkish state religion is Islam and secularism has been

<sup>1</sup> George Anghitoiu (coord.), *Europenizarea: studii de guvernare și securitate*, Ed. C.H. Beck, București, 2015 pp. 18-29.

<sup>2</sup> [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_SPEECH-15-5498\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-15-5498_en.htm).

<sup>3</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/priorities/global-actor/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/priorities/global-actor/index_en.htm).

<sup>4</sup> Ian Manners, *Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms*, în *JCMS*, vol. 40, nr. 2 (2002), p. 239

<sup>5</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/accessioncriteria\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/accessioncriteria_en.htm)

<sup>6</sup> <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/60805ef1dc514199ac2bfd9257a0401f/eu-turkey-seek-better-relationship-emergency-refugee-summit>

<sup>7</sup> Ian Buruma, Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalismul: Războiul împotriva Occidentului*, Humanitas, București, 2016, p. 131

recognized as one of the six fundamental principles of the state. Based on the Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic script in Ottoman Turkey, and in 1935 adopted the surname modeled European.<sup>8</sup>

Although Atatürk's death in 1938 renounced radical secularism, and the influence of Islam in public life was partially restored, political leaders Turks who introduced multiparty democracy in 1950 were advocates of modernization of political, social and economic Western mind, in order to redefine and strengthen the place of the state, with an undeniable value geopolitical basin expanded Sea Black, on the global scene. Situated on two continents and historical heritage of the Ottoman Empire irrefutably linked to that of Europe, Turkey's relations with the precursor of the current European Union dates back officially from July 31, 1959, when Ankara asked the status of an associated country to the European Economic Community (EEC), the which was granted on September 12, 1963 (entered into force on December 1, 1964).

The Ankara Agreement of 1963, together with the Additional Protocol signed on 23 November 1970, it has been the foundation of relations between Turkey and the EEC and provided it was concluded Customs Union Agreement in force since 1 January 1996.

On the other hand, during the 70s, Turkey's economic development strategy, focused on import substitution industrialization and came into conflict with Ankara's commitment to liberalize trade with CEE. Moreover, the military intervention of Turkey in Cyprus in 1974 (after a coup Greek Cypriot) and the military coup of 1980 that removed the civilian government led to a significant deterioration of relations between the EEC and Turkey until 1983, when they resumed multiparty elections.

According to the Constitution adopted in 1982, after the coup of 1980, Turkey is a secular parliamentary republic. Although the country has made progress towards liberal democracy earlier than various other new democracies, Turkish democracy has not been consolidated and fragility was not fully eliminated, as proved and the latest coup attempt state.

Luxembourg European Council<sup>9</sup> of December 1997 confirmed Turkey's ability to join the EU and, consequently, its eligibility as a member in the medium term. "Since the term was still considered ineligible (...) The European Council of December 1997 has placed Turkey among the group PECOS2 + Cyprus states that had the status of candidates began or were in preparation to start accession negotiations, and the group of other states that had different cooperation agreements with the EU, but not negotiating accession, nor trained for this purpose."

An important moment for the dynamic relations between the EU and Turkey has marked European Council Helsinki<sup>10</sup> 1999, which designated Turkey as "candidate state destined to join the Union on the same criteria as the other candidate states"<sup>11</sup>, not including but between states negotiating their accession to the EU.

However, the EU gave Turkey so clear perspective of accession, provided that it conforms to the Copenhagen

criteria. The formally created during post Helsinki including Partnership Agreement signed in 2001, has enhanced the Union on the political regime Turkish and compliance has proven to be, at least until the opening of formal negotiations, a powerful catalyst that allowed Turkey to engage in an ambitious process of constitutional and legislative reforms.

In 2002, the Turkish Parliament adopted three packages of "harmonization" that brought significant changes Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code and the anti-terrorist legislation. In line with these aspirations, Turkey abandoned the death sentence for crimes in peacetime in 2002, and later, in 2004, to completely abandon capital punishment. Calling into question of the death penalty by Erdoğan regime after the coup attempt in July 2016 and the prospect of performance of some of the alleged responsible were shocked and indignant gift to Western capitals.

Finally, the European Council in December 2004 Bruxelles<sup>12</sup> was he who gave the green light to Turkey and Croatia to start negotiations.

In June 2005 the Commission presented a proposal for a framework for accession negotiations, the negotiating methods and principles in accordance with the Council in Brussels in October 2005 and hosts the first meeting of the EU-Turkey intergovernmental.

After the official opening of negotiations, the agenda was dominated by the issue still unresolved, extending by the Turkish customs union with the EU and the countries that joined in 2004 and particularly in relation to Cyprus.

Relatively recently, relations between Turkey and the European Union have received new impetus, breaking the vicious circle of routine and inertia recent years.

Forced by circumstances, now the two actors seem to put a number of common questions, including one related to the so-called Islamic State and the threat of terrorism on the one hand, and efficient management of the refugee crisis, on the other hand. Amid these concerns pressing and following the first summit EU - Turkey of November 29, 2015, EU leaders decided to allocate Ankara additional funds for managing the flow of migrants, strengthening cooperation through Europol and Frontex, and the opening of two new negotiating chapters for Turkey's accession to the EU (Chapter 17 in December 2015 and Chapter 33 in June 2016).

Also, the conclusions that were mentioned regular high-level meetings, broader dialogue on energy cooperation and strengthening the Customs Union. All this led to the signing on 18 March 2016 an agreement between the EU and Turkey aimed at reducing the number of asylum seekers arriving in Europe.

The most important provision of the agreement covers the return to Turkey of all migrants leaving the country towards Greece and over by Member bloc to an equivalent number of migrants live in Turkey. According to the latest progress report on implementation of the Agreement in December 2016, it produces results and despite the many challenges remaining, led to a "reduction in the number of attempts to cross the Aegean and death at sea" after signing it.<sup>13</sup> Under the agreement, the EU has pledged to double its

<sup>8</sup> Peter Mansfield, O istorie a Orientului Mijlociu, Humanitas, București, 2016 p.185.

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lux1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lux1_en.htm)

<sup>10</sup> [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/hel1\\_en.htm#](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/hel1_en.htm#)

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/83201.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/83201.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhoodenlargement/sites/near/files/20161208->

aid package, to 6 billion euros for the approximately three million refugees already in Turkey.

### Conclusion

All elements described above draws a reality and a very complicated, strewn with paradoxes of contemporary Turkey, on the one hand, and the dilemma Europeanization of the country, on the other hand. From the EU perspective, further enlargement with Turkey is not going to have a purpose fully happy unless Ankara would take and would fully implement European norms and standards in the process of moving towards the European community started back half century. At the same time, it is undeniable that the fight against the common enemy of terrorism and transnational cooperation migrants' strategic crisis presents opportunities to strengthen the partnership.

The refugee crisis and fight against ISIS reoriented EU to Turkey and that forced European leaders to opt for a functional pragmatism rather than idealism proverbial legislation. But these files, rooted in political realism, will not outweigh decisively concerns European leaders about drifting authoritarian regime Erdoğan, recorded in evaluation Commission reports, and reluctance to fund the media Christian Democrat in accepting a Muslim in a large Christian club.

Although the pivotal position of Turkey as a bridge between the Balkans, Middle East and Central Asia has the potential to reduce energy dependency of the European Union to Russia, few European leaders seem willing currently have a border facing real sense and import a new problem breakaway.

The motto of the official Turkish diplomacy led by former Foreign Minister and Prime Minister Davutoğlu zero problems with neighbors failed to confer legitimacy desired external actions of the regime Erdoğan and the Cyprus issue and the relationship ambivalent with the United States in recent years remain examples diplomatic inconsistency.

Although it would be risky to anticipate about a precise timetable of negotiations, the two main scenarios for the future, almost dichotomous, aims to be fleshing out the strategic goal to join the European community of Ankara or failure of negotiations. Intermediate versions of evolution can only revolve around a deferred indefinitely to strengthen the relationship between the two entities as only medium-term accession would fundamentally alter the current course of Ankara.

At stake is not represented so during the alleged long accession, as the absorption capacity of the European Union this pivotal geopolitical Eurasian without compromising in great extent the status of regulatory power eroded already euroscepticism, nationalism and populism Member States.

A possible collapse of negotiations would be likely to push the regime Erdoğan to Russia, a development which could prove very problematic for the EU. Great historical rivalry between the former imperial powers, but also misunderstandings about the fate of Syrian President Bashar al Assad but will continue to hinder the Russian-Turkish proximity.

A deepening of economic cooperation could be another variant of development of relations between the two sides,

extending the Customs Union Agreement, which is currently restricted to trade in goods and a few horizontal disciplines.

A possible way forward could be the liberalization of trade in services and possibly certain agricultural products. But now the European Union lacks a collaborative model that can meet Turkey's desire to gain access to the single market without political conditionality dependence. And no doubt that getting a similar arrangement is concerned and British negotiators post-Brexit.

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