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**THE CURRENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EU AND
TURKEY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE REFUGEE
CRISIS, CULTURE, HISTORY AND
RELIGION**

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Associated Professor David Ramiro Troitino

Tallinn 2016

I declare I have written the master's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
MIT	Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı (National Intelligence Organization)
UN	United Nations
IS	Islamic State
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
FSA	Free Syrian Army
PYD	Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat (Democratic Union Party)
YPG	Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (People's Protection Units)
PKK	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (Kurdistan Workers' Party)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

ABSTRACT

The title of this Master Thesis is The Current Relationship between the EU and Turkey from the Perspective of the Refugee Crisis, Culture, History and Religion and the name of the supervisor is Associated Professor Mr. David Ramiro Troitino.

The main aim of this Master's Thesis is to state the current relation the European Union and Turkey from the perspective of the Syrian refugee crisis and the hypothesis is the strategy the EU follows in terms of the crisis.

The relationship between both parties was examined from the point of view of the influential notions such as history, economics, religion, and culture. The agreements and the negotiations which were conducted between the EU and Republic of Turkey were reviewed.

In this Master's Thesis, the methods that were followed are analyzing the historical and current official documents and examining the occurrences which affect the relations between the parties.

As the main result of the thesis, these can be stated that, Turkey's accession to the EU does not seem possible in the near future and considering the refugee crisis the EU desires to benefit from Turkey to solve this problem.

Keywords: Acquis Communautaire, Integration, Free Movement, Syrian Refugee Crisis, Agreement

INTRODUCTION

The main aim of a state is to achieve a safe, wealthy, free and peaceful environment for its citizens. These notions can be stated as the duties of a state. A state achieves these notions with multiple factors. These factors can be defined as the economic, political and cultural status of a nation. A strong economic and political relation with other states attains a state enough power to sustain its position within the system. States desire to be the ultimate power within the international system. This notion can be achieved with the states' own power and/or by a union which multiple states are a part of. The union which states form achieve a political and economic power that assists the states on the international arena.

The European Union (EU) can be suggested as an example to this notion. With a union, states reach the certain level of economic and politic power. The European Union has its roots on the basis of a more peaceful Europe and relations which are accomplished through economic interdependence and free trade. Turkey has been a part of Customs Union agreement and directed its aim towards being a member of the European Union. The journey of Turkey and the EU has been on the agenda of both entities since 1987.

The European Union is a political and economic organization which was founded to build a common ground in Europe. This notion includes human rights, freedoms of individuals, press, the movement of goods and people and building a common market for trade purposes.

There are also common monetary policies, foreign relations, culture-related issues, languages within the union, the common agricultural policy, energy and global warming issues included in the targets of the EU.

The Union was mainly established as a European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 and after that with further integration and enlargement, the European Union was established on 1 October 1993.

Turkey has been in relations with the EU for a rather long period of time. The first step Turkey had taken in this journey was its application to European Economic Community in 1959

which was made official by the Ankara Agreement signed in 1963. After this development and the formation of the EU, Turkey has become a candidate for membership in 1999 and accession negotiations started in 2005. The negotiation process has been going on with too much effort from the perspective of Turkey, regarding many issues such as Judiciary & Fundamental Rights, Justice, Freedom, and Security.

Research Problem and Background

Turkey has been continuing its efforts for joining the EU with the opening of negotiations in 2005. Therefore, this research will observe what steps Turkey has taken regarding the process, *acquis communautaire*, the continuing process between the EU and Turkey from the perspective of the current refugee crisis concerning both Turkey and Syria.

Research Statement

This research aims to present the relation the EU and Turkey have built when the refugee crisis is considered. There are also the contributing factors such as religion and culture which form the society. The main point this research will address are going to be the new agreement made between Turkey and the EU regarding the matter of refugees and determine whether the EU has been using Turkey as a mediator to solve the refugee problem they have currently.

Main Research Question

What is the EU's strategy in terms of refugees towards Turkey?

Sub-Questions

- What components does the *Acquis Communautaire* have for Turkey's membership?
How many of them have been accomplished and/or blocked due to other reasons?
- What does the new agreement Turkey and the EU made include?

- What is the perspective of The EU and Europe as a society to Turkey?

Methodology

In this research, mainly theoretical methods will be used. The official data of The European Union and Ministry for EU Affairs of Republic of Turkey will be examined. The analysis of the certain material and the perspectives of the societies will be included in this research.

With the assistance of certain theories such as Realism and Liberalism; the description of the current situation of the international system was made, and the effects of the Nationalistic approach to the history of the relation Europe and the Ottoman Empire were examined. The historical documents were examined to have a better comprehension of the historical facts and their possible effects on the situation and relation Turkey and the EU has.

As stated, the main focus point of the thesis is the situation in Syria and the situation's effects on both Europe and Turkey and the strategy the EU follows regarding this issue. To have a better understanding, the action both of these entities had/has taken were discussed and the current relations are indicated within the chapters. Also, the most important notion the thesis suggests is the new agreement between the EU and Turkey, which allows Turkish citizens to have free passage to Schengen member states. The regulations in the agreement are discussed thoroughly and the upcoming result is stated from the point of view of Turkey. Another very significant aspect the thesis emphasizes is the new report the European Parliament has published regarding the reforms and the current situation in Turkey. The report carries great importance in terms of understanding the point of view of the European Parliament, therefore, the greater public and politic opinion, while stating the points Turkey needs to develop in terms of accession to the EU.

All of these crucial points are stated with the aid of legal documents, theories of international relations and historical facts along with the possible assumption of the following process and its results.

1. THEORETICAL PART OF THE THESIS

The title of the thesis will be as follows as the first step; The Relationship between the EU and Turkey and the recent developments due to the refugee crisis. The main focus of the thesis would be the interaction between EU and Turkey from the perspective of the new agreement regarding refugees. Turkey has been in relation with the EU in many ways and has been conducting negotiations for a rather long time. The effort Turkey has been trying to comply with the necessary Acquis to accomplish its journey for membership. The EU has been requesting certain notions to be changed within the country and its dynamics, however, there is also the aspect and point of view of Turkey when it comes to a great amount of change. When it comes to bringing certain notions such as Judiciary & Fundamental Rights, Justice, Freedom and Security to the standards of Europe the change has been understandable and possible to follow from the aspect of Turkey. At the moment of speaking, there are 35 Acquis Communautaire and Turkey is expected to comply with at least 33 of them (Hartwell 2013). The Ministry for EU Affairs in Turkey has been in a constant negotiation and development process through this duration. However, the expected result has not been achieved yet.

There is also the factors of culture, history, and religion which play a tremendous part in the process. These notions actually effect every decision which has been made during conferences and negotiations. The relationship between Turkey and Europe as a whole dates back to a very long time. The wars in between those two forces had been playing an important role from the aspect of the relations. For all these years, the dynamics constantly changed. Also, there is the aspect of culture. When their positions are considered, Turkey stands close to Europe. The interaction is inevitable however there is no strong bond when it comes to culture. Religion obviously plays a very important role in this matter. Since Turkey is a Muslim country, the common points regarding culture are rather poor. This is also a problem for both societies. There is a certain bias coming from the societies and this is not contributing to the process. In the thesis, the necessary steps Turkey needs to take to join the EU will be mentioned.

The main questions this thesis will try to answer are;

- What components does the Acquis Communautaire have for Turkey's membership?

How many of them have been accomplished and/or blocked due to other reasons?

- What does the new agreement Turkey and the EU made include?
- What is the perspective of The EU and Europe as a society to Turkey?

To reach these answers official documents of the EU and Turkey are going to be considered.

The perspectives of both the EU and Turkey will be evaluated to get the main idea regarding how they see each other. The expectations of the EU from Turkey will be examined by the *acquis communautaires* that has been presented to Turkey.

The economy and business related aspect of the process is also going to be put in consideration. Turkey's economic power, development and the benefits of these will be argued.

Another key point in the process is the visa problem. Turkish citizens are requested and required to have visas to enter any European country. This situation causes obstacles in the process, from the point of view of Turkish society, since it makes them feel unwanted.

There is also another important issue which the EU considers as a problem. It is the population of Turkey. Turkey with its population of 78.741.053 is a very crowded and big country (Provincial in-migration, out-migration, net migration, rate of net migration, 1980-2015 2015). This causes a problem for the EU side due to various reasons.

The geographical position of Turkey is very important for the EU too, considering the resources it has however since Turkey is not quite in Europe this in some ways causes debates in political environments.

This thesis will be examining all the points mentioned very thoroughly without bias and try to propose solutions and make relative deductions.

2. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE EU AND TURKEY

Europe as a whole and as the European Union is multicultural. This is coming from the variety of the existing countries within the boundaries of Europe, however, the cultures mentioned have the same roots and mentality. The greatest examples for the union of culture in Europe can be stated as; the cultural legacy of Renaissance, Enlightenment, and the devastations which followed World Wars. Turkey was not present at these important historical developments other than 1st World War, however, that experience was not enough to prove part in the history of the cultural existence of Europe. This is one of the major distinctions between Europe and Turkey. The era of Enlightenment was a philosophical movement which had changed the way Europe and Europeans think. According to this mentality, the role of science, reasoning and rationality were key features in the way of thinking. Considering the dark, oppressive Middle Ages, Europe went through this new philosophical movement provided people with a “not religiously dominated” view. This view gave people freedom in various fields such as freedom of thought and speech. With this developments, new political movements were born and the notions freedom and good governance became significantly important.

The above-argued notions in the Europe mentality cause obstacles in the perception of Turkey and Turkish people. For instance, in 2007 Austria made a referendum stating the differences of values and standards between Europe and Turkey. This referendum suggests the fear that arises from the integration from two different cultures and religions.

Also, the EU have the opinion that such integration would cause a “clash of civilizations.” This view mainly comes from the fear of Islam and Muslims, not specifically from Turkish people but a misperception of religion which results in a culture fear.

Another key factor which results in this culture fear is that Turkey is a very big and crowded country with the population of 78.741.053 people according to the Turkish Statistical Institute by the year 2015 (Provincial in-migration, out-migration, net migration, rate of net migration, 1980-2015 2015).

With a great population comes a great cultural value. This is a major factor for the European people considering their under population.

A number of Europeans also believe that Turkey will bring more religiosity or a number in contrast to the previous belief, believe that Turkey will pose a threat to their own faith.

The reason underlying this view is that Europe up to this date has not yet formed its own European identity. The table below suggests the opinions of European people for Turkey’s accession starting from the year 1992 to 2005.

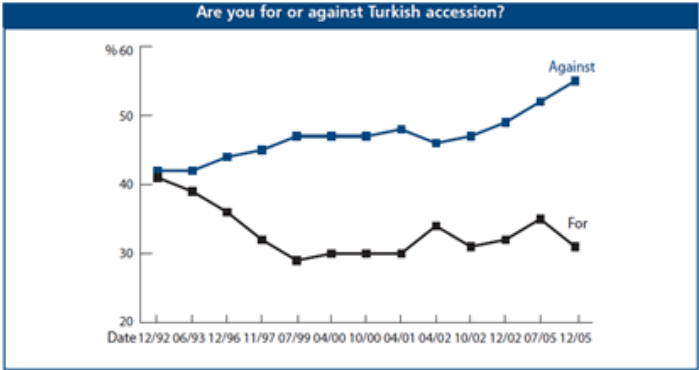


Figure 1. Public opinion on Turkey’s accession (Barysch 2007)

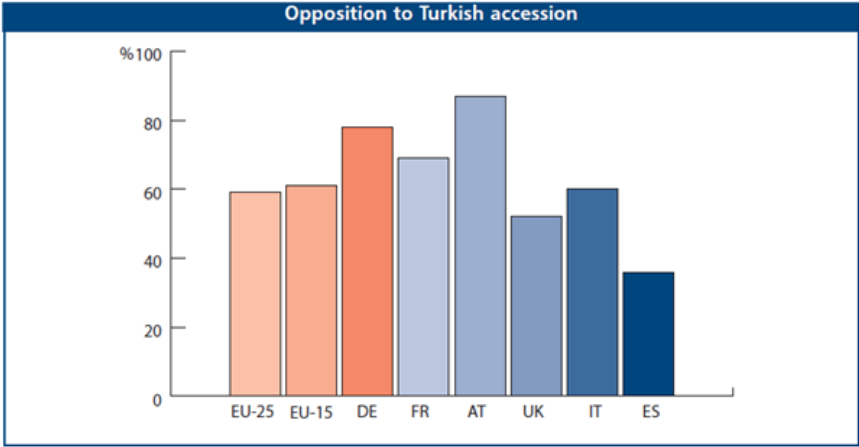


Figure 2. Opposition level against Turkey (Barysch 2007)

As can be seen from the Figure 1. Public opinion on Turkey’s accession, the public opinion on Turkey’s accession within the range of 13 years indicates a negative approach. This attitude

mostly derives from cultural hesitations, however, there are also the fears of the loss of jobs, the threat of terrorism, the weakening of national culture.

The following Figure 2. Opposition level against Turkey suggests the opposition level towards Turkey in 2006. The table shows the strong level of opposition to Turkey in the previous years.

2.1.The Relation between the Ottoman Empire and Europe

The interaction of the Ottoman Empire and Europe dates back to 1451. Mehmed II's preparations started in late 1451 by strengthening the Ottoman navy to conquer Constantinople. At that time being, the fortress Anadolu Hisarı which is located on the Asian side of Istanbul had already been built by his great-grandfather Bayezid I (Inalcik 1954). Mehmed II, then built an even stronger fortress Rumeli Hisarı on the European side to narrow the Bosphorus straits (Nicolle and Hook 2000). With having had more control over the Bosphorus, Mehmed II levied a toll on ships passing by. In 1453, the siege of Constantinople had begun. With continuous attacks coming from both the sea and land, about a month later after the siege began Constantinople fell on 29 May 1453. The siege lasted 57 days (Koçu 2004). The Ottoman capital had been moved from Adrianople to Constantinople. Following the conquest, Mehmed II claimed the title "Caesar of the Roman Empire", due to the fact that Constantinople had been the capital of the Roman Empire since 330 AD (Aktürk 2013). After the fall of Constantinople, Mehmed II also conquered the Despotate of Morea in Peloponnese in 1460 and the Empire of Trebizond in northeastern Anatolia in 1461 (Mehmed the Conqueror 2004). With these conquests, the last two vestiges of the Byzantine rule were demolished by the Ottoman Empire. This conquest was the most important step which can be seen as the milestone in the relations Europe and the Ottoman Empire in general Turks have had.

Following the conquest, Mehmed II decided to move forward towards Serbia. The Ottoman movement towards Europe and the Balkans had begun in 1389 with the Battle of Kosovo (Emmert n.d.) and the Empire continued its wars and conquests in the Balkans with Bulgarian Empire, Serbian Empire, Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, central parts of Hungarian Kingdom. The Ottoman rule on the area lasted over 400 years (Timeline: The Ottomans and the Balkans 2010). The Balkans were

free to exercise their religion and they were allowed to preserve their culture, in other words not assimilated and/or exploited by the Ottoman Empire.

2.1.1. Relations with the other European States

The Ottoman Empire was expanding at a great pace and even Spain could feel the existence of the Ottoman Empire within the territory. With a greater Turkish fleet, the Empire was able to conquer Egypt which posed a threat towards Spain. After Egypt, Tunis and Algiers were both lost along with a number of North African settlements in the 1500s (Houtsma 1993) (Moalla 2010). The expansion of the Ottoman Empire was becoming more a threat towards Spain and Europe in general.

In 1571, one of the most important battle, the Lepanto Battle occurred. The battle was a complete defeat for the Ottoman Empire and the damage sustained by the Ottomans were major. With the victory, Catholic Christians were able to have their distance from a Muslim society. Secondly, with the defeat the Ottoman Empire's expansion into the Mediterranean had come to an end since the Empire was not able to move forward with a great loss (Yildirim 2007).

The Venetians recognized that Cyprus was possessed by the Ottoman Empire by treaty. From the point of view of the Ottoman Empire, the loss of Lepanto had not great significance, however, in fact, the victory of Cyprus had had greater importance. The Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokullu, who is Sultan Selim II's Chief Minister, quoted as "You come to see how we bear our misfortune. But I would have you know the difference between your loss and ours. In wresting Cyprus from you, we deprived you of an arm; in defeating our fleet, you have only shaved our beard. An arm, when cut off, cannot grow again; but a shorn beard will grow all the better for the razor" (Wheatcroft 2004) The matter of Cyprus will be further discussed in the following chapters, however, Cyprus has always had great significance to the Ottoman Empire and Europe.

There are also the relations with Venice; the loss of Cyprus, which was a great source of wine and grain, made a deep impact on Venice's trade. In 1573, Venice dispensed with Cyprus and Dalmatians, and, returned to Albania. Besides, Venice needed to recover her commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire, therefore, they accepted to pay large indemnities to the Turks (Brummett

1993). After the loss of Cyprus, which was the turning point for Venice, the second great damage they sustained was the “capitulations” which were given to French and English merchants by the Ottoman Empire (Encyclopedia n.d.).

The siege of Vienna is also significant; Europe was not united against the Ottoman Empire in the siege of Vienna, however, bad weather conditions and lack of big weapons deeply affected the result of the siege, the loss of Ottoman Empire (Oman 1989).

After 150 years, in 1683, Mehmed IV sieged the city of Vienna, however, Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom forces came to help defend Vienna, and Vienna was salvaged from the Ottoman occupation once more. The war ended in 1699 and the Ottoman Empire lost the chance to conquer the most critical location to reach to Western Europe (Stoye 2008).

3. RELIGION FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF TURKEY AND THE EU

Religion has been a conflict during the accession process of Turkey to the EU. The fact that Turkey is a Muslim country intimidates European people. There is the fear of being exposed to religion, and the fear of losing their own faith from the point of view of European people. The EU consists of Christian countries with minorities of people from different religion. As per the research which was conducted by European Commission in 2012, the 75% of the participants described themselves as Christian (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and other Christian) while the ratio of Muslims is 2%. (Special Eurobarometer 393 - Discrimination in the EU in 2012 2012)

When this is considered, the fear European citizens have is understandable, however, at some points, the different religion and Muslim country notions go to the extremes. Turkey is quite often related to terrorism due to Islam, even if there is no sign of any terrorist attack. This is a misconception of the religion Islam and the biased attitude towards the religion itself.

However, even if the case for Islam is as mentioned above, there is a decline in the number of believers of God in Europe. According to The Eurobarometer Poll 2010, on an average basis, 51% of the citizens of EU member states state that they have faith in a God, 26% state that they believe there is some sort of spirit or life force, while 20% do not believe or have faith in any sort of spirit, God or life force. The 3% declined to answer. (Eurobarometer 73.1 - Biotechnology 2010)

The statistical data above suggests that religion does not have a great impact on the European society, however, it also does not mean that it does not have any effect. Today, Europe has a secular structure and this structure has its roots from the Enlightenment Era of Europe. Turkey was not present at the significant changes Europe had gone through at that specific time, however, the country itself has changed at a significant rate and it has been a constitutionally secular country for 93 years. On the other hand, European citizens still have their doubts on Turkey accession regarding the problems of the traditions of gender equality and tolerance of alternative lifestyles. The situation with the traditionalists is more severe, according to their point of view Turkish accession threatens the idea of Europe as a Christian civilization due to the cultural and religious differences.

Unfortunately, this fear and Islamophobia is growing more and more with current actions of ISIS. This is causing further fear in the minds of European citizens because every Muslim person is now being seen as a threat to the society. After the Paris attacks on November 2015 in Paris, the prejudice towards Muslim people became more visible. This is a negative notion for Turkey in terms of joining the EU.

This mentality causes strong oppositions to Turkey's accession as can be seen in Tables 2 and 3. Turkey has a negative image in the eyes of many Europeans. The Turks are "wicked barbarians" as stated by Erasmus and unfortunately, many people share the same point of view today, still. Gender equality, freedom of speech and religion are not considered to be present in Turkey. This notion is related to the current government and the image they draw in the public sphere. Unfortunately, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is a strict leader who does not support the people of Turkish Republic to have the right and freedom of speech. Gezi Parkı Protests in 2013 has been one of the major proofs of this situation.

Even though the strict ruling of Erdoğan still has its impact on the country, there is no clergy, religious leader or an institution which rules with divine laws in the Republic of Turkey. In 1924, Presidency of Religious Affairs was founded by the founder of the modern and secular Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. After the denouncement of Ottoman Caliphate on 1 November 1922, the institution was founded as the successor of Sheikh-ul-Islam. The foundation aim of the institution was to enlighten the public concerning religion since Atatürk wanted the public to learn and understand Islam which is the major believed religion in the country well, even he was a leader with secular vision. The institution also opened the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs in Germany with the same goal.

The above-mentioned issue is attached to the government of the Turkish Republic, not the country itself or the religion Islam. European attitude towards Islam quite negative in general, with this perspective Islam is seen and reflected as an oppressive religion which would and/or could affect the status of women in society or the society's basic right. However, even if Turkey is a Muslim country, the status of women in society is still equal with men. In Turkey, it is possible to encounter with women in every aspect of the everyday life. Besides, even the majority of the public in Turkey is Muslim, there are different people from different cultures who believes in different religions and live together. For instance, in Midyat town of the city Mardin, there are more than

100.000 people who live together and from different cultures. The population of Midyat consists of Assyrians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Kurds, Turks, Arabs, Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Christians, Yazidis and Muslims and these people live together for hundreds of years without any conflicts. The structure of Midyat is one of the biggest examples of that the religious view does not affect the daily life and the structure of society in Turkey. Differently from the other Muslim states in the Middle East, people of Turkey have free rights to choose their own live styles independently from their religious view. The declarations of Islamic Extremists, like ISIS, against Turkey which states and considers the Turkish People as infidels can be considered as a proof for the secular life in Turkey.

However, Europe needs to have a further understanding of Islam instead of the current misconceptions.

Turkey has many valuable resources for the EU which could contribute in future and further developments, yet, the current attitude towards Turkey causes Turkish people and also the government to be reluctant to go further with the negotiations, resulting in Europe losing a valuable partner for future.

Turkey also has a very important role in the process. The negative image on the European mind should be changed with the help of tourism and cultural bonding via building tighter relations.

4. SCHUMAN DECLARATION AND THEORY OF NEO-FUNCTIONALISM

Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Robert Schumann was born in Luxemburg 1886 and was a French statesman, lawyer and French Foreign Minister between 1948 and 1952 and he is regarded to be the one of the founding fathers of European Unity. Had a background in the French-German border region. Therefore, reconciliation with Germany could help founding the base for a united Europe. With the cooperation of Jean Monnet, Schumann prepared the Schumann plan which was published on 9 May 1950. His idea was to have joint control over coal and steel production which had extreme importance for the industries at that time being. Schumann informed the German Chancellor Adenauer about the ideas he had formed. The Chancellor welcomed the idea of a peaceful Europe. After this step; Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands also had a positive reaction towards the idea. With these developments, the 6 states signed the agreement which led to the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community in April 1951 in Paris. (Ichijo and Smith 2004) With the agreement, Europe gained its peaceful status. Most important point here is that, with the Union of the materials, both of the states (France and Germany) would have control over the production and therefore a war between these two states would be mutually impossible since the materials are controlled by multiple parties.

The declaration states that any state who desires can take part in it and have the same production level which constitutes a foundation for the further economic unification. With this agreement, Europe had had a peaceful state and had the opportunity to raise the living standards of its people. Also, this development led to the concrete foundation of the European Federation. The aim of this High Authority is to modernize the production process improve it, apart from this restore and equalize the living standards of workers within the industry, the movement of the mentioned products between member states were to be freed from all customs duties.

4.1.The Theory of Neo-functionalism

The theory of neo-functionalism emerged in the middle 1950s; it is a theory of regional integration in a process by which countries remove barriers to free trade. Neo-functionalism helps to explain the integration theory of the Western Europe. (Ganeshalingam 2011) This theory is the basis of the idea for the Schumann declaration. Neo-functionalism is considered to be one of the integration theories which had had great importance in the foundation of the EU. This theory was implemented by Schumann to the Schumann Declaration. The main emphasis point in the mentioned theory is the economic aims. The economic goals are engraved in the political, industrial and pluralistic aspects within the Union. The integration process should be improved within time starting with “Low Politics”. However, the including factors which are Coal and Steel were key features. As mentioned before, there was to be a High Authority without disregarding the national interests of the member states without disrupting the integration process. These developments were to result in functional aspects of the process, with the economic aspect involved in the integration procedure. With slowly uniting economies and implementing free trade without customs, the integration process had become gradually easier. These aspects are followed by the social interest, the authority of the nations involved, and also sustaining supranational entity of the Union. With further economic integration, the need of institutionalization was to arise which would eventually bring more integration.

The thought and philosophy behind this declaration and the theory of Neo-functionalism has been that political and cultural integration are inevitable outcomes of the economic integration. The idea of Neo-functionalism also brings the notion of the supranational entity. With this notion, the member states, while preserving their national interests, act beyond the bodies of their own governments, without borders to achieve common policies.

There is also the matter of the spillover effect in Neo-functionalism. As defined by Haas; the spillover effect occurs when an integration on a certain economic field triggers further economic integration on certain levels. He suggests the coal and steel production sets an example to integration. With the integration on this field, substantial benefits occurred for the member states, however, according to Haas, the full integration would not be completed without further integration on other fields of economy. (Rosamond 2000)

5. EUROPEAN IDENTITY

With the technological developments, in today's world, globalization is inevitable. People can travel where ever they like or reach whatever information they like within an instant. These notions are all the result of globalization which results in people being freer in every sense. The national identity has been fading away. However, even with these developments, Europe is facing an identity crisis. With the EU's enlargement policies, currently, there are many different cultures and identities living under a roof. Even though the people of these states are named as Europeans, at the end each person would act in favor of their own country.

Besides these discussions, this also can be stated that European Identity is a notion which is more than an official identity. European civilizations have been identifying themselves with the notions of secularism and democracy. The common concern and necessities regarding the European societies, European Union, and European People have always been ensuring these basic concepts within the Union. The common rules have always been created around these notions and these notions have been the base of European Identity. Feeling European and meeting the requirements these basic notions could be adequate enough to be a part of the European structure.

When it is considered from the point of view of Turkey, the country still keeps its secular structure as mentioned in previous chapters. This situation can be clearly observed when the lifestyle and structure of the society are examined. It is a clear notion that current government and Erdoğan has religious and Islamic discourses, the influence of extreme Islam is not possible to be encountered within the Turkish society, thanks to the principals that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had followed while shaping the new and modern Republic of Turkey.

Besides secularism, democracy is an important notion for European identity. Democracy might be one of the weakest dynamics of Turkey when especially the liberty of the press in Turkey in last a few years is considered. However, despite some anti-democratic executions of the current government, Turkey proceeded much regarding democracy especially when it is considered that there were 2 military coups and 2 military memorandums in a time shorter than 40 years. Since the

military coups are considered as the biggest threat to democracy in all countries, obviating the possibility of an occurrence of a military coup could be considered as a democratic improvement.

On the other hand, the biggest misconception Europe has regarding democracy in Turkey is that the treatment of the government towards ethnic minorities, especially Kurds, is considered to be anti-democratic and this misconception arises from the mistake which Europe makes while distinguishing the Kurds and the terrorist organizations such as PKK. When it comes to the major ethnic majority in Turkey, the Kurds, they have the same right with the other people in the society. They can benefit from the social state equally. Besides these natural right, they also have the right to express their language, religious beliefs, and culture. There are many different bachelor's and master's degree programs in particular universities of Turkey regarding Kurdish language and culture. The state television, TRT has a separate TV Channel which broadcasts in Kurdish 24/7. Also, Kurdish people had many important roles in the administration of the country when it is considered that İsmet İnönü, the comrade in arms or Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, commander of western front during Turkish War of Independence the first Prime Minister and second President of the Republic of Turkey, and Turgut Özal, the 8. President of the Republic of Turkey were Kurdish. (Pope and Pope 2000)

As can be seen from the examples above, the Turkish state does not have a bias towards Kurdish people. However, the terrorist organizations such as PKK name themselves as the representative of “downtrodden” Kurdish people. As mentioned before, Kurdish people are not in a situation which can be defined as downtrodden. Thus, PKK, which was recognized as a terrorist organization by many developed countries and institutions including EU and USA, cannot be the representative of Kurds. Europe and other developed countries must recognize that PKK and its derivatives such as YPG are threats against the sovereignty, national unity and border security of the Republic of Turkey.

As stated above, the problems Turkey has are against these terrorist organizations and threats which assume themselves as the representative of Kurdish people, not against the Kurdish people themselves. Even in this conditions and circumstances, Turkey manages to treat the ethnic minorities which include Kurds as well, equally. This situation can also be considered as a democratic development which Turkey has shown progress in.

These developments Turkey achieved and the secular structure Turkey has in its natural structure should be put into consideration by Europe. As stated before, being European is related to the structure of the society, specifically on democracy and secularism, and having the concern for ensuring these notions while ruling and creating common rules. In the light of these statements, it can be stated that Turkey also is in the process of fulfilling the requirements to have the real European identity.

Apart from these developments, Europe has also started to see immigrants as threats. According to this view, “newcomers” could pose a threat to their national security, culture and/or identity. However, when Europe’s aging demography is considered, the above-mentioned immigrants are at a great value since they provide the country with new workforce and resources. Another important fact of the immigrant people is that they travel to Europe due to brain drain. Therefore, these people contribute to Europe’s development in various avenues. Casting immigrants out in the name of European identity would be an unfortunate decision for the future of Europe.

On the other hand, the concern European citizens have regarding immigrants can be understandable. Since these newcomers are completely dissimilar, the cultural corruption could be a possible threat against Europe and its cultural structure. Immigrants and their low age average might be a solution to the aging demography of Europe, however, this would highly be a temporary solution. Besides, deep cultural diversity can affect the structure of Europe negatively, like Turkey has been affected during this period. Europe, when it is compared with its neighbors especially, has a stable and integrated structure within the Union. The newcomers can provide a workforce, but their effect on the stability of the Union and integration of them within this cultural and ethnic structure would cause problems in long term.

From this point of view, as mentioned above, the concerns Europeans have are apprehensible. Aging demography is one of the biggest problems of Europe, however, looking for another cure for this problem than adapting the immigrants to the society could be more beneficial for Europe. For instance, promoting maternity and providing incentives for this purpose might be a better solution. At this point, the social security system of the states must have an important role to achieve this goal. As it is known, the Scandinavian welfare system is one of the best welfare systems in the world. As per this system, the position of women in the society and especially in the business world is ensured and after the birth, the state is responsible for the children’s welfare. This

system has been continuing almost for 60 years in one of the member states of the Union, Sweden. The other member states of the Union can take this welfare system as an example and develop a more stable and secure system to avoid aging demography and lack of qualified workforce.

As mentioned above, the role of the women has great importance in the structure of the society of Europe. Giving birth to a child could be an obstacle in front of women especially when it comes to the independence of them. Due to these notions, European women are generally not willing to be a mother. This situation leads to the age average of Europe increase, and the ratio of qualified workforce decreases. With the benefits of the welfare system and the measures which mentioned above, the fear European women have regarding giving birth and being kept away from the society can be overcome.

There is also the notion of Pan-European Identity. It is an important term when it comes to forming a common European identity. It can be described as a personal identification with Europe in the sense of a common ground. The word “Europe” is currently widely used to describe the EU as a whole with 500 Million Europeans whose 70% are EU citizens.

With the globalization of the world, it is common for citizens to form secondary identities other than their nationalities. The notion arises from European citizens and states having different politic, social and economic norms within the continent. These distinctive features which are attributed to the “European Identity” are causing nationalistic views to fall into secondary position. With the formation of the EU, common politics regarding various matters were developed. Also, it is evident that Europe as a whole gives great importance to democracy and human rights which form a different type of understanding and view to the world.

There is also the notion of common culture and history regarding the European Identity. This common historical background dates back to the Ancient Rome, Feudalism in the Middle Ages, The Renaissance, Liberalism of the 19th Century, Secularism, Colonialism and, last but not least, The World Wars. The World Wars also are very important to the recent history of Europe since they resulted in the major destruction of the states involved. After The World Wars, European States decided to join forces together, having their strengths in their geographical positions and, common heritage and history. Especially, after the decisive victory USSR got against Germany, USSR and The US have become the two main superpowers of the world. This situation has shown its effect during the Cold War. Both countries had nuclear weapons and this was an escalating

threat against the whole world. Besides, both countries were in a race in space research as well during this time period. Contrary to the situation of these countries, Europe and especially Germany was heavily wounded after the 2nd World War. Their solidarity was broken down. Especially Germany was the state which was in the worst situation. When this condition of Europe in that time being is considered, it was a necessity for Europe to get up and unity to have a voice again, against these two superpowers. Up to this day, the established Union has gained more and more strength enough to be one of the major powers in the world with Russia and especially the United States.

This position against the US also has major importance for the EU. In today's globalized world, it is highly important to form an alliance towards other world powers to be able to protect the interests of the states. The system of international relations is anarchic, therefore, there is no one ruling government which makes the relationship dynamic between states. So, states in constant rivalry to protect their position. This also has effects within the Union which can be seen in Germany, being the hegemon of the EU.

There are also power dynamics within the EU, and currently, Germany can be seen as a hegemon due to her growing economic power. This situation affects each member state within the Union. On the other hand, this is an inevitable notion when a system this anarchic is considered. Even though the formation of the existence of a union such as the EU is very important, there are other factors that affect the relations and policies.

However, even if Germany can be considered as the hegemon of the EU, there is still the existence of common laws, policies, and practices. Therefore, the notion of common European Identity is very important, and existent within the member states and their citizens. For instance, this can be an example for this situation that the suggestion of Angela Merkel regarding the sharing of immigrants and forcing an immigration quota to each European state was rejected by many European states. (Traynor, Europe set for bruising battle over sharing refugee burden 2015) (Immigration: Hungary Rejects Refugee Quota System as EU Leaders Press for "Fair Sharing of Crisis Burdens" 2015) (Traynor, Germany to push for compulsory EU quotas to tackle refugee crisis 2015)

There is also a division between the states regarding the European identity. The table below suggests further statistical data regarding the identity issue.

As can be seen from the Figure 3. European identity survey results, there is a difference in opinions regarding the European identity. The vast majority of people consider themselves as EU citizens, however, 38% percent is not an insignificant percentage according to the survey in 2012.

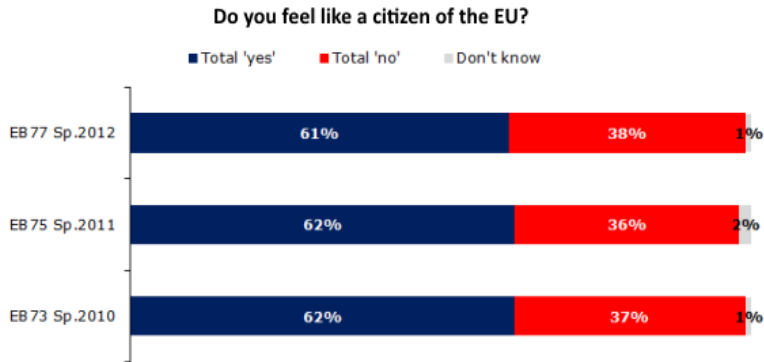


Figure 3. European identity survey results(Social 2012)

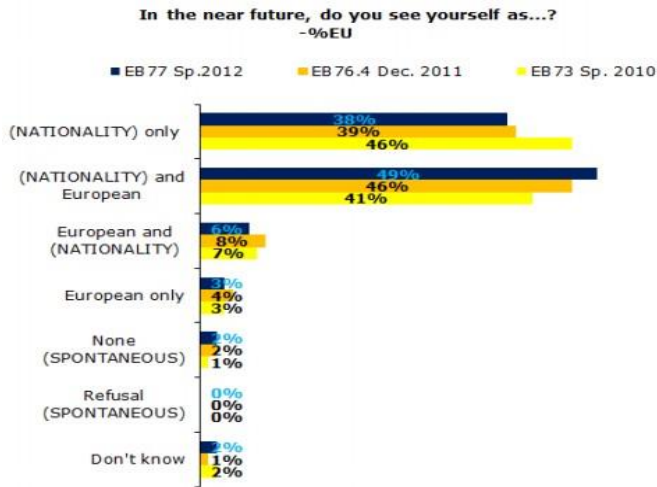


Figure 4. Percentages of nationality and EU citizenship (Social 2012)

As can be seen from the Figure 4. Percentages of nationality and EU citizenship , the attachment towards Nationality has shown a slight decline, however, 38% according to the year 2012 has a significant importance. With this information, it can be concluded that European people are

still attached to their countries at a certain level and the problem of a common European identity seems to be an ongoing debate.

6. ACQUIS COMMUNAUTAIRE

To join the EU, Turkey must follow and complete the negotiation process. According to the process, Turkey must fulfill the requirements of the European Commission on 33 of the 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire*. The requirements which are asked from Turkey can be seen in the Table1.

The notion of *Acquis Communautaire* has great importance within the EU since it covers all treaties, legislation, standards, rights and principles which can be generalized in the sense of EU law. The complete body of the EU *Acquis Communautaire* is 108.000 documents. There are various chapters of the *Acquis*. The chapters include sections to make implying policies easier for the EU member states.

The Turkish Republic is built on the notions of secularism, peaceful foreign policy, and the rule of law. It also has a democratic system and has respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms.

In this context, it is also necessary for Turkey to build more peaceful relations and foreign policies with the states she has had conflicts with, such as Greece. It is a must for Turkey to solve the disputes she has had with Greece from the point of view of the EU since Greece is also of a member of the Union.

There is also a Political Criteria on the matter of *acquis*. Turkey must have the goal of developing further international commitments. It is also necessary for Turkey to improve democracy and bring it to a more participatory level.

Another key component EU states for Turkey is the Enhancement of the Rule of law.

There are various chapters of the *acquis communautaire* for Turkey. One of the most important one of these chapters is the free movement of goods. When it comes to the free movement of goods, Turkey is required to imply the technical *acquis* of the EU which is related to industrial products.

Another very important of the *acquis* is the free movement of persons. This is very important for Turkey since Turkey citizens are required to have visas when they desire to travel to the

EU Member States. This issue will be dealt after the full membership of Turkey, according to the EU. This is a highly sensitive topic and for the recent years, it is one of the most important notions' that has cost Turkish citizens' reluctance to joining the EU. From the point of view of Turkish Citizens, there is the feeling of being unwanted in the EU Member States due to the fact that the bureaucratic procedures are extremely strict when it comes to obtaining visas, especially for states such as Germany. The reluctance in joining the EU has decreased the level of negotiations at certain points, however, currently, they are gaining pace again.

Surely, there are some countries who had not had the right of free movement until recently, such as Bulgaria and Romania. The negotiations between the EU and Bulgaria started after the terms of accession for Central and Eastern Europe countries was set out by the EU 1993 and the Essen meeting in 1994. (Alexandrov and Petkov 1997) By the year 2007, Bulgaria was a full member of the EU and by 1 January 2014, the country gained the right of free movement of workers. (Press Release Database 2014) Romania also started negotiations with the EU by the year 1995, and the country became a full member on the same date with Bulgaria, on the fifth enlargement wave, and gained the right of free movement of workers on 1 January 2014, as well. Both countries are good examples to explain the free movement right policy of the EU since both countries got this right 7 years later than their full membership and neither of the countries are a member of Schengen Area.

However, when looked from the point of view of Turkey, the country is struggling with the negotiations and desires to be a full member since 1987, which is the longest time spent as a candidate among other candidates and members and it can be stated that obtaining no rights regarding the free movement, Schengen Area membership or visa exemption after almost 30 years, discourages the Turkish people and it is natural that the country feels as unwanted by the EU and European society. Even there are different commercial treaties between the EU and Turkey, only the ones who have a special Turkish passport which is only provided to bureaucrats and state official has the right to enter to EU without any visa. From this point of view, it can be stated that this situation also affects the commercial bonds between the country and the EU.

There is also another matter that has great importance in the *acquis* which is the Common Agricultural Policy. Turkey needs to harmonize its agriculture policy with the standards of the Common Agricultural Policy. The key factor in this matter is to build the necessary infrastructure.

6.1. Turkey's Position and Situation

Currently, there are 3 candidate states to the EU who are in the negotiation process. The 3 states are as follows; Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey. Turkey is a candidate state whose negotiation process has been ongoing for a rather long time. The application date of Turkey is 14 April 1987, and since this date, Turkey's EU journey has been continuing. Turkey was and has been an important factor for The EU Politics. When looked at the historical aspect, Turkey has always been involved in the political issues due to its strategic and geopolitical position considering the fact that it represents a bridge between Europe and Asia. When looked at the current situation in the Middle East, it is not possible to this regard, the involvement of Turkey alongside with The EU. The desire Turkey has had for joining The EU is understandable. As mentioned before, there are various steps of the accession process. From the perspective of the European Commission, there are 3 major pillars for Turkey's accession process. The first one being the cooperation Turkey shows while reinforcing the reforms suggested by The EU. The second pillar is the proposal of conditions necessary for accession negotiations. The last but not the least, the third pillar is an important aspect which concerns the enhancement of the cultural and political interaction between Turkey and the EU.

The notion of European integration has an important role during this process. As mentioned in the previous chapters, there is a formed European identity which needs to be emphasized when the membership of a Muslim country is being discussed. The adaptation process for Turkey is rather difficult when the different culture and religion is considered.

The accession of Turkey has various benefits for both sides, however, it is not an easy process since there are too many chapters of the Acquis that Turkey needs to comply with. The benefits for the EU, Turkey offers, are that Turkey is a big country in terms of size, geopolitical importance, the military and security service and the developing economy. These are obvious reasons for the EU's desire to have Turkey in the union, however, at some point these features can cause drawbacks in the process.

In 2004, the European Commission stated that a Muslim Country like Turkey should improve in the fields such as; liberty, human rights, women's rights. There was also the question stating that whether Turkey was a free country or not. At certain points, the report emphasizes the

accurate deficiency of these notions, however, this was also a biased view due to the religion of Turkish people and the general belief that a Muslim country cannot be free. (Communication From the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession 2004)

However, Turkey is the opposite example of the current Muslim states. There are problems with the freedom that arise due to the stand of the government, yet, these are internal affairs of Turkey which can easily be eliminated within time. Therefore, pointing out a view this direct towards Turkey was not an equal treatment that caused a public reaction. There is also the minority rights which also was emphasized in the report. Every individual in Turkey has the equal right, they can speak the language they desire alongside with the official language which is Turkish. They share the same human rights with every Turkish citizen. However, this notion is extremely sensitive and terrorism-related which also attracts public rage at some points. Currently, terrorism is a greatly sensitive issue in Turkey which the EU relates to human rights despite the fact that almost two hundred people died in the attacks in the capital city Ankara within 6 months in 3 separate explosions.

The common view is that it is hard for Turkey to join the EU for both parties. Turkey needs to change radically according to the provided EU Law. The *acquis* is very important for that matter. In the 2004 Report of The Commission, it is stated that Turkey needs to grow more economically to join the EU. (Communication From the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession 2004) The GDP needs to grow close to The EU average and more investments should be made to enhance social development. Turkey needs to integrate to be international market, fight corruption and enhance government and frameworks. Another economic aspect is related to the Customs Union. Customs Union is a very important part of relation Turkey has with the EU. This agreement entered into force on 1 January 1996 and has made the ties the EU and Turkey have stronger. It constitutes one of the main parts the relation the EU and Turkey has. However, with the globalized economy, bilateral free trade agreements have become more widespread and at some point is expected to cover most dimensions of trade. Currently, the EU is also partners with South Korea, Singapore and other states under the provisions of the mentioned treaties.

6.2.The Current Economic Status of Turkey

The GDP of Turkey is \$799.54 Billion and it is the 17th largest economy in the world. In this decade, the income per capita became \$10.500 and has almost triple. (Turkey Overview 2016) Turkey is also an important member of the G20. Also, within this decade, poverty rates decreased. These are clear indicators that the economic grew and has become a more suitable and desirable partner and a member of the EU when compared to the notions pointed out in the 2004 Commission Report. The EU is the largest economic partner that Turkey has with a ratio of 40% of the trade. Integration contributed to the economies of both parties. Yet, there are more issues to overcome in the Acquis. The economic aspect has great importance especially when the Customs Union considered. With fully integrated parties, the economy and trade would develop further. However, the growth of Turkey slowed down between 2012 and 2014 with the corruption accusations towards the government. (World DataBank - World Development Indicators n.d.) These are important dimensions in the accession process of turkey. Turkey needs to enhance its progress on these aspects to fit into the regulations and Acquis. Nonetheless, turkey is still a growing economy and the further benefits turkey would bring to the EU are obvious. The new market turkey would provide the Union with free trade in accordance with the Customs Union are great and undeniable part of the advantages turkey would provide the EU if it is to join. However, there is also the common view that states turkey is currently not rich enough to join the EU. In this case, turkey being a member would cause a further burden on the citizens of the EU. This view is rather understandable since the economic balance of the Union has great significance, however, Greece, which is a member of the EU, has been fighting with an economic crisis for almost 7 years and currently is in need of financial assistance, specifically from Germany due to the fact that Germany is the strongest economy within the Union, therefore, in the position of a hegemon. The EU will provide Greece with the financial aid of € 86 Billion within 3 years and therefore aims to restore the economy of Greece.

When these points are considered, it is possible to come to the conclusion that the EU does not desire to have Turkey as a member of the Union.

The Acquis is also a clear evidence of the hard procedure for joining the EU and Turkey has not yet accomplished them. In the table, below it is possible to see the current status of the acquis for Turkey. Currently, there are 15 chapters which are open, there are 8 chapters that require

opening a benchmark and additional protocol, 6 chapters without political blockage and finally 6 chapters which are unilaterally blocked by Cyprus. Apart from the unilateral blockage, 14 chapters are also blocked due to the Cyprus issue. As mentioned in the previous chapters, 33 chapters are screened, yet, 9 of them have not been approved and therefore, the benchmark issue is not discussed yet. 7 chapter of that matter has been discussed for benchmark issues. (Current Situation in Accession Negotiations 2015)


 REPUBLIC OF TURKEY MINISTRY FOR EU AFFAIRS CURRENT SITUATION IN ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS (14 December 2015)			
OPENED CHAPTERS		8 CHAPTERS OF WHICH OPENING BENCHMARK IS ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL	
25	SCIENCE AND RESEARCH (Provisionally closed)	1	FREE MOVEMENT OF GOODS
20	ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY	3	RIGHT OF ESTABLISHMENT AND FREEDOM TO PROVIDE SERVICES
18	STATISTICS	9	FINANCIAL SERVICES
32	FINANCIAL CONTROL	11	AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
21	TRANS-EUROPEAN NETWORKS	13	FISHERIES
28	CONSUMER AND HEALTH PROTECTION	14	TRANSPORT POLICY
6	COMPANY LAW	29	CUSTOMS UNION
7	INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW	30	EXTERNAL RELATIONS
10	INFORMATION SOCIETY AND MEDIA	CHAPTERS BLOCKED BY SOUTHERN CYPRUS UNILATERALLY	
4	FREE MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL		
16	TAXATION		
27	ENVIRONMENT		
12	FOOD SAFETY, VETERINARY AND PHYTOSANITARY POLICY	2	FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR WORKERS
22	REGIONAL POLICY AND COORDINATION OF STRUCTURAL INSTRUMENTS	15	ENERGY
17	ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY	23	JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS
		24	JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY
		26	EDUCATION AND CULTURE
		31	FOREIGN, SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY
CHAPTERS WITHOUT POLITICAL BLOCKAGES			
5	PUBLIC PROCUREMENT	33	FINANCIAL AND BUDGETARY PROVISIONS
8	COMPETITION POLICY	34	INSTITUTIONS (At the end of negotiations)
19	SOCIAL POLICY AND EMPLOYMENT	35	OTHER ISSUES (At the end of negotiations)

Figure 5. Negotiation table (Current Situation in Accession Negotiations 2015)

Turkey has been struggling with the issues of the Acquis since 2006 and considering the fact that Turkey cannot get approval due to the Cyprus issue is a major drawback. Cyprus is considered to be under the invasion of Turkey by EU and UN. However, it is necessary to put the historic evidence into consideration. An international agreement was signed between Turkey, Greece and British Governments as well as the Turkish and Greek Cypriots in 1960 for the establishment of Cyprus as an independent state. Both sides on the island were living peacefully until

1963 when Turkish Cypriots became victim to the unrighteous treatment of Greek Cypriots despite the fact that it is against the international agreement. Furthermore, Greek Cypriots became more and more violent during that time being and started invading villages and murdering innocent people. 364 Turkish Cypriots were murdered, 103 Turkish villages, inhabited by 8667 people, were abandoned as a result of these inhumane attacks.

The most devastating and striking assault made on Turkish Cypriots is the Bloody Christmas attacks by the extremist organization EOKA. During the Bloody Christmas attacks (Kumsal Baskını) the family of the Doctor Lt. Nihat İlhan was brutally murdered. His wife and 3 small children were massacred in the family's bathtub. Today, it is possible to see the house they died in, which was turned into the museum (The Museum of Barbarism) in Nicosia. When all the raids and murders are put into consideration, the military coup of Turkey is clearly justified. At the time being, it was not possible to make peace with the Greek Cypriots and with the murders they had committed, Turkey had to control the situation before it had deteriorated furthermore. A state's duty is to protect its citizens, in this case, Turkey committed an action which was necessary, especially when the breach of the international agreement is considered. The EU or UN sees the right to intervene in a situation in which foreign citizens in a state are being killed or subjected to mistreatment, however, when it comes to Turkey, the salvation of Turkish citizens are unrighteous and considered to be an invasion from the points of view of the EU and UN. This treatment towards turkey is biased and the fact that Turkey is considered to be an invader makes Turkish citizens uncomfortable and less accepting towards the EU.

7. NEGOTIATION AND ACCESSION PROCESS

Turkey's relations with the EU has had various drawbacks since the first time it had been established. As of December 1999, The European Council in Helsinki granted Turkey the status of candidate country. After this ruling, in 2004, The European Council stated that Turkey had fulfilled the Copenhagen Criteria which is necessary if any state desires to open an accession negotiation. (Schimmelfennig 2007)

With the adoption of "Negotiation Framework Document" negotiations began. The Negotiation Framework Document includes; (Accession Negotiations 2016)

- Fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria with no exceptions and assimilating and speeding up the political reforms,
- Undertaking and applying the EU acquis,
- Establishing and strengthening the dialogue with civil society and in this regard undertake a communication strategy aimed at both the European and the Turkish public.

As mentioned before, the negotiation process has 35 components to it, of which Turkey has successfully accomplished a number of. However, to this day, there are still some components which have not been satisfied.

When all of these are put into consideration, Turkey has been showing a lot of effort to the accession process. Yet, due to the unwilling nature of The EU for accepting Turkey, the negotiation process had stopped. Turkey drew back from the process and the negotiations stopped for two years.

There is also another very important aspect of the accession process which is "Screening". The aim of this process is to speed up the accession process with the contributions and involvement of Turkish bureaucrats and the EU Commission Members.

With this screening process, further information for the acquis is provided and therefore the differences between the EU legislation and candidate state is examined. Thus, within the light of gained information, the obstacles are determined. For Turkey, the screening process had begun on 3 October 2005 and was completed on 13 October 2006.

The following procedure after the screening process is the screening report in which the Commission evaluates the information given by the candidate states for the opening of the chapter. (History of Turkey - EU Relations 2012)

8. CURRENT STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS

The negotiation and accession process for Turkey has been going on for several years. As known, the accession process is a long procedure which has a number of stages. In each of these stages, the candidate state should comply with the necessities which are determined by the EU Council. The adaption of The EU Law is necessary for the candidate state in order to move forward to the “Formal Membership Negotiations”.

The negotiation process takes place between the candidate state’s ministers and ambassadors and bureaucrats of The EU who are in the same status.

As mentioned above, the negotiations have further steps within them. Apart from screening process, there is also the matter of negotiation positioning in which the candidate state submits its position and also the EU is obliged to take a common position. The accession of the state may vary due to the process of the states’ compliance pace with The EU Law and Regulations and The Acquis Communautaire. There are 35 policy fields in The Acquis which vary from monetary policies to energy and environment. The non-negotiable notions in the process are how and when the candidate state implements the policies.

8.1.The Conclusion of Negotiations

The closure of the chapters cannot be done unless the candidate state complies with The EU Law and The Acquis. The next important procedure is the Accession Treaty with which the state’s membership to the EU is accepted. The treaty includes further terms and conditions and deadlines for various agreements and arrangements. Yet, it is not considered binding and final until the state gains the support of the EU Commission, Council and European Parliament. It is also necessary for the candidate state and the European Parliament the sign the Treaty. The final step is the ratification of the Treaty by the candidate state and each EU Member State. After signing the Treaty and the ratification process, the candidate state achieves the status of an acceding country.

The status of an acceding country suggests that the state is expected to be a full member of the EU on the specific date which was declared in the treaty. Yet, the acceding country has the opportunity to benefit from various special arrangements.

After this procedure, the candidate state achieves the status of a full member. However, the fulfillment and satisfaction of the *acquis* bear difficulties within, which makes the full membership journey rather challenging. (European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations - Conditions for Membership 2015)

9. THE EU'S POSITION TOWARDS TURKEY'S ACCESSION

The EU has both positive and negative positions towards Turkey's accession to the Union. These negative and positive views can be examined under different issues. A number of issues have both advantages and disadvantages within itself and the issue of migration and workforce can be seen as an example.

Turkey is a populated state and the population is very young when compared to other EU member states. In this sense, Turkey can be the work source provider for the EU, however, at the same time, the abundance in the workforce would cause the migration percentage to grow more and more, which can cause problems within other European states due to their migration policies. Also, the migration would cause overpopulation and this is not desired by many states in Europe.

Another factor is the economy. As mentioned before, Turkey is not yet rich enough but, at the same time, it is also an important trade partner. This is a pro and con at the same time for the EU.

Another very important point is the culture. The cultures of both parties are very different from each other. But, it is undeniable that Turkey constitutes a bridge between Europe and Asia.

Turkey's adherence to the Acquis and EU Law are very important too. As mentioned by the Commission, Turkey should achieve a certain level of democracy and human rights to join the EU. All of these notions arise the issue of integration and the question is whether Turkey would fit in and whether Turkey can adopt to the different cultural values of Europe.

Security is also a problem from the point of view of Europe. The geopolitical position of Turkey also arises the issue of being closer to the Middle East which is currently unstable. Turkey's size and power also causes hesitation due to the fact that more people from Turkey would be in the European Council and Parliament which could result in nationalistic views and decision. There is also the matter of refugees which will be further discussed in the upcoming chapters.

10. SYRIAN CIVIL WAR

Currently, the most important notion which occupies the agenda of both the EU and Turkey is the Syrian Civil War and the crisis of refugees. The refugees who are escaping Syria are asylum seekers, however, due to the high number of people that are in search of safer grounds, this has been a rather great concern of both the EU and Turkey, especially Europe since the refugees' main goal is to travel to Europe. This crisis is a global concern in which, specifically the involved states, should take part in solving.

There are obvious concerns regarding religion, culture, level of education and migration from the point of view of Europe since it is possible to have the conclusion that the profile of refugees, when looked at the features mentioned, have their difference from European citizens. However, the fact that the refugees are people who are trying to escape to safer grounds should not be disregarded.

Turkey also has a role in both the crisis and the civil war along with the EU and the United States of America. In contrast to Europe, Turkey shares the same religion with the Syrian refugees and due to the fact that both states are neighbors would make cultural integration easier than it would have been in Europe. However, it is important to note that Turkey and Syria do not share common grounds on the education level or living standards which also arise problems within Turkey due to various reasons such as the lack of jobs, economic problems, and the different cultural background.

This notion led to further negotiation between Turkey and EU, even though the negotiations had stopped for two years. Turkey and the EU tried to agree on mutual grounds regarding the matter of refugees and reached an agreement. The beginning of the Syrian Civil War has significant importance on the relation between the two entities as well since it affected the crisis in various aspects.

10.1. The Beginning of the Syrian Civil War

The starting point of the Syrian Civil War is a minor incident which led to major protests and uprising through the state. The incident erupted after the arrest and torture of teenagers who had written revolutionary slogans on school walls in the city of Daraa. The security forces responded to the demonstrations with an open fire, killing a number of demonstrators. This caused more public reaction towards the government and triggered more protestors to do demonstrations.

The demand of the people of Syria was the resignation of President Assad. The protest took great pace all across the state causing outrage and the government's security forces were not enough to build the pressure to oppress the protests.

The protests have its roots from the Arab Spring, which is a movement towards freedom and a governance without pressure. The desire of the Syrian people was to bring the nearly five-decade rule of the Ba'ath Party.

As mentioned before, the government gave authority to the security forces to open fire on civilians, however, the oppression of the security forces did not succeed and therefore, the incident evolved into an armed rebellion. The opposing forces to the Syrian government are composed of defected soldiers and armed civilians who receive military aid from several different states. The groups are referred as "armed terrorist groups" by the Syrian government.

The fact that the Syrian government gave the order of opening fire on civilians raised an international reaction from states such as the Arab League, the EU, and the United States. The main concerns of the EU and the United States were the humanitarian law and breaches of human rights based on Liberal grounds. On the other hands, a UN resolution was not accepted by Russia and China due to the fact that this venue could have brought the necessity to a foreign military intervention.

Both the Syrian government and the anti-government rebellion movements have been mentioned to abuse human rights which include torture, rape, and murder of civilians.

There are both economic and human right related factors which have caused the rebellion movement. The poorer areas of Syria were on the front line at the beginning of the protests specifically conservative Sunnis. Another fact that contributed is the issue of human rights in Syria. This notion has been subjected to global criticism from global organizations. Bashar al-Assad was to bring a more democratic and free environment to Syria, however, as stated in the 2010 report of Human Rights Watch, he had been unsuccessful in sustaining a more democratic and peaceful country. (Oweis 2016)

The rights of assembly, association and free expression were extremely restricted within Syria and breaches of human rights occurred specifically in prisons against activists. Another contributing factor to the uprising is the mistreatment of Syrian Kurds. The Syrian Kurds were labeled as “foreigners” within the state and denied citizenship among with facing oppression due to their nationality.

The incident took a serious turning point with the formation of the terrorist organization the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, ISIS. ISIS is a Salafi jihadist military group which has its foundation upon the Wahhabi doctrine of Sunni Islam. The Wahhabi doctrine has been identified as fundamentalist, ultra-conservative, puritanical and an Islamic reform movement to correct and restore the pure monotheistic worship of Allah (tawhid) in the Islamic world. The movement was named after Muhammed ibn Abd al-Wallah who is an 18th-century scholar and preacher. His views relied on the fact that the visitation of tombs and shrines and appraisal of pseudo-saints in the Muslim world caused corruption to Islam. These practices were considered to be a betrayal towards Allah which can be identified as “Shirk” in Islam.

The organization showed its existence in Syria in August 2011, with the occurrence of the civil war, delegating a mission to the area. The experienced members of the group went to Syria for the purposes of establishing the organization in the area. The main goal of the organization is to found an Islamic emirate that includes Syria and Iraq. The group has been significantly successful in Syria taking control over Raqqa which is the first provincial city to fall under the authority of rebellious forces. The seizing of cities continued with Fallujah and large sections of Ramadi which is very close to the Turkish border with Syria. However, the most important and internationally surprising one was the conquest of Mosul in June 2014.

The IS has major control over the oil fields in eastern Syria, meanwhile already maintaining control over the oil fields in northern Iraq. On the other hand, the terrorist organization does not have mutual bonds with al-Nusra even though Baghdadi has sought to merge with the organization, the offer was declined. Furthermore, the hostile nature of the organization towards fellow groups' in the area and civilians causes tension. As also been mentioned, the most important incomes of IS, are the confiscated oil fields in the areas and taxes and property confiscation both in Iraq and Syria.

10.2. Demolishing of the Ancient Artifacts

Another very important incident related to IS is the demolishing of cultural heritage. Since 2014, IS has been destructing cultural heritage in Iraq, Syria and to a smaller extent in Libya. The targets of IS are ancient historical artifacts and places in which people worship. The retrieved valuable items are smuggled in order to provide the organization with income. In contrast to The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which was ratified by Libya, Iraq and Syria, IS continued to demolish the ancient artifacts.

The core idea regarding the demolishing of ancient artifacts is Tawhid and the harm they cause to Shirk. Besides from only being acts of vandalism, there are roots to these incidents.

IS considers the existence of these religious artifacts as an insult towards Allah and elimination of Shirk which is a major sin. Apart from the monetary aspect of the situation, these two notions are extremely important in comprehending the mindset and the danger they pose to the world. With the demolishing of artifacts, the organization prepared itself an empty canvas to build their own desired culture and society, while erasing any pre-existent culture. One of the most significant destruction sites was Palmyra, with the location being listed in the World's Heritage Site.

When all of these points are put into consideration, it is possible to conclude that IS is an extreme danger to the world peace due to its violent nature and the support of international entities at the beginning of Syria's unrest caused an extremist terrorist organization's formation within the area.

10.3. The Effect of Liberalism in Syrian Civil War

Considering the fact that, the Assad government is an authoritarian regime, Western states considered this as a threat to their own entities based on liberal grounds. Therefore, the Western states and other Arabian countries aided and supported opposition side in Syria. The support Western and Sunni Arab countries would provide was announced at a conference in Paris in 2012. Furthermore, in 2012, the United States, United Kingdom and France supported the opposition forces with non-lethal military aid. This aid included communication equipment and medical supplies. The UK was also said to provide intelligence support from its Southern Cyprus bases regarding Syrian military movements. This intelligence was later given to Turkish officials who passed it on to the FSA (Free Syrian Army). In late August 2013, the European Union lifted its embargo on Syrian oil. This action was taken to import barrels directly from rebel groups. The French President François Hollande implicitly stated that France was ready to supply lethal aid to FSA, during a press conference on 19 September 2013.

The theory of Liberalism plays a significant role in the mentality the Western states had had towards the incidents in Syria. The power politics, international organizations and international cooperation have great significance in Liberalism. Another significantly important aspect of Liberalism is that it values human rights and freedom profoundly. The theory is opposed to authoritarian regimes as mentioned and therefore, the Assad regime was unacceptable from this point of view. The violations against human rights, the breaches of the right of assembly, and the lack of free press all contributed in the support of Syrian unrest. Liberalism aims to have a peaceful environment and the welfare of humans within the state, therefore, the situation in Syria enhanced the supports of Western states. The rule of law, democracy and transparency are to be in the system of the government which was all lacking opponents in the Assad regime. Even though, the Assad regime clearly required to have reformed, the loss of the power the government had triggered extremist organizations to be founded within the area, posing a further threat on an international level.

10.4. The Current Status in Syria and Iraq

Different regions of Iraq and Syria are under the control of different organizations. In Iraq, one of the biggest and closest cities to the border of Turkey, Mosul is under the control of ISIS, Jama Ansar al-Islam, and Naqshbandi Army, while Kirkuk is under the control of Peshmerga and PKK. Besides, other regions which are close to the Turkish border, such as Zaxo, Rewandiz, Dihok, and Hewlêr are under the control of Peshmerga and this situation of Iraq is enough to be a big threat for Turkey. When it comes to Syria, the situation in this country is more complicated. There are various organizations which control different regions of the country, especially in the North, along the Turkish border. For instance, one of the biggest cities of Syria, which is just a few kilometers far from the Turkish border, Aleppo is under the control of almost all the groups in Syria and there is pure chaos in this city. The city is invaded by Jabhat al-Akrad, YPG, Hezbollah, rebels and Islamic State. Besides, Free Syrian Army, one of the rebel groups in Syria controls the cities, such as Azaz and Sawran, while another rebel group, Syria Revolutionaries Front controls Armanaz on the Turkish border. Some other cities such as Salqin, Darkush, Janudiyah, Salma, and Atmeh are under the control of rebels, YPG, and ISIS. Besides these cities, Rajo, Bulbul, Efrin, Kobane, Serekaniye, Dirbesiye, Qamishli, Ain Diwar are under the control of YPG and these cities are on the Turkish border.

In the same region, there is a city named Asakah which is under the control of YPG, Syria Union Party and IS. The biggest area in Syria is controlled by IS and the cities, Akhtareen, Al-Ra'I, Jarabulus, Tall Abyad, Mabroukah are rather close to Turkey and these cities are also under control of IS. Besides, the headquarter city of IS, Al-Raqqah is close to the Turkish border as well. When looked at the situation in these two countries, it can be stated that there are too many terrorist groups and Turkey is just on the blink of this complexity. In Iraq, especially the existence of PKK has been putting Turkey at great risk, obviously. After Iraq, especially with the instability in Syria and the lack of governmental force, Syria also has become a threat against Turkey, as much as it is a threat to the whole world. First and the foremost of these threats is IS and they have the control almost all over the country and they are extremely close to Turkey. Besides the attacks in Paris and Brussels, IS also is the responsible of the bombing in Ankara, Suruç, Diyarbakır and İstanbul Sultanahmet and İstanbul Taksim, in Turkey.

From this point of view, this can be stated that IS recognizes Turkey as an infidel and a threat to its policies, and Turkey also suffers from IS terror.

Besides IS, YPG, the military wing of PYD, also controls most of the regions along the Turkish border. That can be stated that there is no evidence that YPG has a link with PKK and other terrorist groups, however, after the invasion of Minagh Military Airbase by YPG, Turkish Military struck YPG in the city of Azaz, with its *Firtina* Howitzers. (Coskun and Butler 2016) Since PYD is not recognized by US, Russia or the EU, this strike drew a rebuff. Turkish Government explained this attack as a measure to avoid the interception between Turkey and Moderate Oppositions in Syria. (Butler 2016) Besides, as Turkey claims, there is no IS existence on the region PYD has invaded and the government refuses the assertions that this strike was done to strengthen IS against Kurds. Turkey, as the government claims, is afraid of a new immigration wave due to the invasion of PYD. These are the reasons which Turkey represented regarding the strike against PYD.

Turkey desires stability along its borders since the existence of stability since they had many different clashes in their borders in recent years. For example, an F4 Military Jet of Turkey was shot down in 2012 by Syria and two pilots had died in this incident. (Assad regrets downing of Turkish jet, says won't allow open combat with Ankara 2012) (Bodies of Turkish jet crew shot down by Syria found 2012) In another incident, 2 adults, 3 children, 5 people were killed by a missile which was fired from Syrian side on 3 October 2012, (Sliter and Owen 2012) and, a missile again struck Turkey which was fired from Syria on 5 October 2012, hopefully, no one was injured in this explosion. (Shelling resumes at Turkish-Syrian border - reports 2012) On 11 February 2013, there was another explosion. This explosion was caused by a bus with bombs, and 14 people died in this event, in Cilvegözü town of Turkey. (Deadly bus blast hits Turkey's Syria border 2013) In Akçakale where the missile hit on 3 October 2012, a fight between Turkish border guards and Syrian anti-government insurgents who want to cross the border resulted in a death of one of the Turkish border guards. (Mourtada 2013) On 11 May 2013, two car bombs were exploded in Reyhanlı, one of the towns of Turkey on the Syrian border. In this attack, there were at least 40 people dying and injuries more than 100. (Blasts kill dozens in Turkish town Reyhanli on Syria border 2013)

As can be seen from the examples above, the instability in Syria brings more casualties and difficulties to Turkey and this is why Turkey wants to take measures and protect the borders. When looked from the point of view of the founder of Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, “Peace at home, peace in the world” motto has always been one of the most important notions in the history and policies of modern Turkey and the foreign policies the current government follows can be seen far from peace, however, it is a must for a country to protect and not to let terrorist or problematic organizations along its borders and look out for its interests to ensure peace. As mentioned before, peace has always been one of the base notions of Republic of Turkey, however, any country can follow offensive policies to ensure security and protect their people. When looked at the history, many leaders have implemented the same strategy for the independence, peace and welfare of their citizens, such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Dersim.

However, at this point, this can be considered as a fault of the Turkish government that they had taken some different maneuvers to make the Bashar Al-Assad government to be fallen in Syria. Following this policy regarding Syria and the Syrian government has escalated the instability and opened a road to the occurrence of immigration crisis and terrorist organization such as IS. Even Turkey was not the only country who had responsibility for this problematic situation in Syria, the Turkish government had to be more careful while determining its foreign policy, especially when it comes to one of the neighbors.

11. THE INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN SYRIA

11.1. Turkey

As stated before, it is claimed that Turkey had also made major mistakes during the occurrences in Syria. The most discussed and criticized issue was the claims regarding the help and assistance Turkey provided to ISIS. Many European and Turkish journalists and politicians asserted this claim.

On 19 January 2014, 3 lorries were stopped by gendarmeries and police officers with the order of office of the attorney general in Hatay, the city of Turkey on the Syrian border. The governor of Hatay, on the same day, stated that the lorries belonged to Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT). Nevertheless, the attorney general wanted to search the lorries, however, MIT agents used their authority and the lorries crossed the border into Syria. (MIT Lorries Investigation: What has happened? 2015) On 14 October 2014, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu who is the leader of CHP, the leader of the main opposition party presented a document in the regular caucus. This document, as he claims, was the proof of that there were some Lorries which were carrying ammunition to ISIS within the knowledge of Turkish Government and also was containing the statements of the drivers of the lorries. As he stated, Turkish Government claimed these lorries were carrying aid to Turkmens in Northern Syria. (Kilicdaroglu Claims He Has the Necessary Documents 2014) This claim also was discussed in the Netherlands Parliament. However, the Dutch Government has stated before that they had had no proof regarding the help of Turkey to ISIS. (Özkan 2014) On 29 May 2015, one of the journalists of the opponent newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, Can Dündar, and the Ankara Representative of the newspaper and Erdem Gül published the story regarding these lorries. (The weapons that are denied by Erdogan 2015) In this story, there was a video which shows that there are ammunition and guns under medication packets in the lorries and this video was represented as the proof of the help of Turkey to ISIS. After this news, Dündar and Gül were both

arrested and they were blamed with treason. After 92 days of imprisonment, both journalists were released according to the decision of Supreme Court.

On 27 March 2014, a voice record which, as claimed, belonged to the Undersecretary of Turkish National Intelligence Organization was leaked. As per this voice record, the Undersecretary, Hakan Fidan was making a telephone conversation with The Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time being, Ahmet Davutoğlu, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at that time being, Feridun Sinirlioğlu, Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces of that time being, General Yaşar Güler, and he was stating that he could send four of his men and to Syria and command them to fire eight missiles to Turkey, so, Turkish Government could use this occurrence as *Casus Belli* to declare war against Syria. (Tattersall 2014) On 13 September 2014, the news article which was published by New York Times, it was claimed that Obama was forcing Turkey to make them abolish the petrol trade which was conducted by ISIS. However, as James Phillips, one of the senior members of Heritage Organization stated, Turkey could not abolish this commerce network completely since there were some Turks and government authorities who profits from this trade. (Sanger and Davis 2014)

These claims show that there are great suspicions regarding Turkey's help towards ISIS. Most of this information are only claims while there is hard evidence for a number of them. Even though most of these claims are not true, it is a fact that Turkey took steps with the purpose of ensuring its interests, however, some of these steps escalated instability in Syria and caused to the emergence of a dangerous environment and different terrorist groups. These results were actually the main reasons of the immigration crisis because of which millions of people suffers.

11.2. The EU

It can be stated that Turkey was not the only party who intervened in Syria. The European Union has always been an actor in the Syrian Civil War. In 2011, European Union decided to suspend its relations with the Assad Government due to the pressure and the brute force the government used on the protestors and opposition parties. (Council conclusions on Syria 2011) Besides, the EU decided to apply strict measures of embargo over Syria. (Restrictive measures

(sanctions) in force 2016) This can be seen as a rational maneuver of Europe from the point of view of Liberalism, however, going overboard on this might result in undesired situations for Europe and escalate the case in Syria.

Considering the fact that, the Assad government is an authoritarian regime, the West saw this as a threat to themselves based on liberal grounds. Therefore, the West and some other Arabian countries aided and supported opposition side in Syria. The support Western and Sunni Arab countries would provide was announced at a conference in Paris in 2012. Also, in 2012, the United States, United Kingdom and France supported the opposition forces with non-lethal military aid. This aid included communication equipment and medical supplies. The UK was also said to provide intelligence support from its Southern Cyprus bases regarding Syrian military movements. This intelligence was later given to Turkish officials who passed it on to the FSA (Free Syrian Army). In late August 2013, the European Union lifted its embargo on Syrian oil. This action was taken to import barrels directly from rebel groups. The French President François Hollande implicitly stated that France was ready to supply lethal aid to FSA, during a press conference on 19 September 2013.

Surely, with these interventions of the EU and European Countries towards Syria, the Syrian authorities were liverish. On 22 June 2011, as Walid Al-Moallem, The Syrian Minister of Foreign Affairs of that time being and current Deputy Prime Minister of Syria stated, the measures the EU took against the government escalates the war in Syria. Moallem also accused the EU of trying to "plant strife and chaos" in Syria. Besides, he individualized France in his speech as France's ambition over Syria comes from the history since France was the colonial ruler of Syria. And also, he added that almost 300 soldiers of Syria were killed by Al-Qaida and suggested Europe to focus on these terrorist organizations instead of the government. However, after this statement, British Foreign Office spokesman declared that the statements of Moallem were not acceptable and the pressure on the governance of their authorities will be increased. (Hassan 2011) On 21 February 2016, in an interview, The Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad stated that he has the concern of terrorism, terrorists and foreign meddling in Syria in the case of the ceasefire. He also indicates that his priority is taking the whole country back and win the war against rebels, especially against ISIS and vanish the organization from Al-Raqqah permanently. According to Assad, 80 countries

support terrorists in Syria and, All European Union countries should be against “adventurist solutions” just like Spain is and the embargo that the EU implements on Syria affects the Syrian people mostly and therefore, it must be removed. (Al-Assad 2016) In another interview, on 15 March 2016, Bachar Al-Jaafari, Head of Syrian government delegation at the Geneva peace talks stated that Europe should avoid interfering with the internal affairs of Syria, remove the embargo and reopen the embassies in Damascus to witness the realities in Syria and also claimed that Europe made strategic mistakes in this case. (Al-Jaafari 2016) When looked from this perspective, it can be clearly seen that the most official authorities in Syria and the regime itself are disturbed by the intervention of Europe into the Civil War and they claim that this intervention does not aid in ending the war, contrarily, the attitude the EU presents, escalates the case and increases the tension in the country. Obviously, West defends the freedom and human rights of individuals, and they desire to remove the oppression that the Assad government puts on the opposition parties in Syria. However, the way that has been chosen to ensure a peaceful environment in Syria, to help the organizations like FSA or other oppositions, has not been a remedy for neither Syria itself nor the Syrian people, obviously. The EU had had good intentions while meddling in Syria, however, it is almost impossible to state that the methods and policies which were followed, solved the problems in Syria. From this point of view, the EU also can be considered a responsible of the situation in Syria, along with Turkey.

12. THE NEW EU – TURKEY AGREEMENT

The most recent development regarding the relations between the EU and Republic of Turkey is the agreement which was signed by both parties on 19 March 2016. After the signing of the agreement, it came into force on the next day, 20 March 2016.

As per this agreement, the new refugees who illegally crosses the Aegean Sea from Turkey and reaches to Greek Islands will be returned back to Turkey. For each illegal refugee who is returned back, Turkey will send a refugee to Greece and these refugees will be legally accepted by Greece. This agreement and exchange of refugees are planned to be valid until the number of the refugees is 72.000. Additionally, according to this agreement Turkey is supposed to take necessary measures to prevent refugees from crossing the border of Greece illegally. (EU-Turkey Agreement: Questions and Answers 2016) There are more than 2.7 Million refugees in Turkey currently. (Syria Regional Refugee Response 2016) This great number of refugees also brings the responsibility of providing acceptable living conditions and shelter to the Turkish Republic. In the light of this responsibility, Turkey constructed 22 different camps in 10 different cities along the Syrian border. (Turkey 2016) However, the refugees who fled their homes due to the Civil War generally do not desire to stay in the camps and they leave the camps with the hope of providing better living conditions for themselves and it is possible to see too many Syrian refugees who leave the camps to seek for a job and a way to go to Europe, living on the corners of streets and under the bridges in big cities like Izmir, Ankara and Istanbul and only 10% of the refugees prefer to live in the camps. (Webb 2016) (Turkey: Refugee Crisis 2016) Even, the suicide bomber who is the responsible for the bombing in Istanbul on 19 March 2016 had entered Turkey as a refugee and had left the camp. (Nissenbaum and Albayrak 2016) With this agreement, the EU is to avoid the intense migration of refugees and it is planned to control and noticeably reduce the number of illegal refugees. This is a measure which would reduce the worries and fears of the European society. Turkish citizens have their own concerns as well. One of the problems Turkey faces regarding refugees is a pecuniary resource. It is estimated that the amount of the cost of refugees to Turkey since the beginning of

the crisis is over 7 Billion Euros. Total funding that has been provided by EU to Turkey in this period has been only 445 Million Euros and additionally, 95 Million Euros of an aid pack was also announced on 4 March 2016. (Turkey: Refugee Crisis 2016) Besides these aids, with the agreement which was signed on 19 March 2016 between EU and Turkey, a 3 Billion Euro of aid pack will be given to Turkey for refugees in the short term. After Turkey used these resources and ensured the measures were taken, another 3 Billion Euros of aid will be given by the EU to Turkey by the end of 2018. (EU and Turkey agree European response to refugee crisis 2016)

Another point of the agreement which aims to satisfy the Turkish side is accelerating the negotiations regarding the visa exemption to Turkish citizens within the EU. This visa exemption is planned to enter into force by the end of June 2016, however, Turkey is supposed to fulfill the requirement until the end of April 2016. Besides, the EU agreed to open a new *acquis communautaire*, the 33rd one, within this agreement. (EU and Turkey agree European response to refugee crisis 2016)

As can be seen from the developments the EU and Turkey achieved, the EU has strict policies in terms of accepting refugees. These policies can be seen right from the point of view of that refugees are possible threats to the cultural structure of the European society since Syrian refugees come from a completely different culture, an Arab country. However, it must be considered that neither Turkey is an Arabic country, and has its own cultural aspect and structure which is significantly different from Arabic culture and society. This means that the refugees are also a threat to the cultural and demographic structure of Turkish society as well. At this point, it can be stated that the EU accepts a very small number of refugees than its capacity when its total population and resources are compared with Turkey's alone. Besides, bargains which the EU and Turkey made can be questioned from the point of view of ethics and morality since the subject of these negotiations are simply human beings. At this point, both Turkey and the EU can be seen equally justifiable. While the wealthy and rich member states of the Arab League are inactive in this matter just due to the difference of sectarian, the other wealthy pole of the world, the Liberal European states also take the same action in the matter of refugees. (MacEoin 2015) As stated before, Turkey is also one of the parties who is responsible for the Syria case. As Turkish Government welcomes a huge number of refugees and provides better living conditions than Syria, the EU, and its member states should fairly share this burden with Turkey.

13. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION OF 14 APRIL 2016 ON THE 2015 REPORT ON TURKEY

The European Parliament report on Turkey, Turkey's status, and the current relations include various notions from democracy to human rights. The report was accepted by the European Parliament with 375 votes against 133. The report is considered to be one of the most straightforward reports which have ever been prepared by the European Parliament, by Volkan Bozkır; the Minister for EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator.

There are five main chapters to the reports which can be stated as; the relations between the EU and Turkey, the rule of law and democracy, the status of minorities in the Southeastern region in Turkey, the refugee crisis and the Cyprus Issue and the Armenian issue.

According to the report, the Parliament has great concerns for democracy and rule of law. The reforms are stated to be slowed down specifically in the fields of, freedom of assembly, independence of the judiciary, freedom of expression, human rights and rule of law. Currently, there are many journalists that are under arrest due to their opposite views towards the current government which is a clear violation of freedom of the press. There are also television channels that are under strict governmental control such as "*Halk TV*" which is against the government's actions. The government prohibits the channels from receiving commercial from brands with the fear of taxes and other consequences. These are all clear indicators of the pressure the Justice and Development Party implies upon the press. When this is considered, the report has accurate points and all of these notions need revision.

The report also states the importance of peace in the Southeastern region of Turkey. PKK is on the terrorist organization list of the EU and, currently, is responsible for various civilian, military and law enforcement deaths. It is stated in the report that there should be peaceful resolutions in the area. This is a very important point for Turkey since the tension has been great at the area for the past months.

Another very important aspect of the report is the refugee crisis. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the EU and Turkey has signed a new agreement for the refugees, in which 3 Billion Euros will be granted to Turkey in return of the asylum of the refugees. As mentioned before, the EU does not desire to provide housing to refugees do the various reasons and therefore, requires Turkey's assistance, which can be suggested as the reason why the negotiations have started after a two-year pause.

The report is refused by the Turkish government due to the fact that the Armenian issue was specifically mentioned in the report, which is denied by Turkey. This issue is rather irrelevant with the relations Turkey and the EU has had. Therefore, any implication towards a so-called genocide will not be tolerated by Turkey.

CONCLUSION

The journey between Turkey and the EU has been ongoing since 1987. The relations date back to the era of the Ottoman Empire, specifically to the conquest of İstanbul. With the conquest, a new era had begun, with which the effects can be seen today.

The mentality behind the establishment of the EU has its roots upon the Schuman Declaration. The Declaration is based on the theory of Neo-functionalism which describes the importance of economic goals in the integration process. With the economy being in continuous relations, institutions are to be established and political and industrial goals can be achieved. The notion of free trade has great importance in Neo-functionalism since it provides the basis for the integration of Europe. These notions also contribute to the notion of a supranational identity, with which, while states can preserve their own national interests, they also have a Higher Authority to act beyond their own national governments. The existence of a Higher Authority has great importance within the EU.

There are also very important aspects of the relations which are cultural and religion related aspects. The cultural foundations of the two entities are very different and named as the “clash of civilizations”. It is a rather long journey to achieve a certain level of integration between both entities. The cultural aspect also has its roots in the history of the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The Ottoman Empire at that time being was very strong and decisive regarding its integration policy which had been aimed towards Europe. The expansion had caused discomfort in Europe and the Balkans. The Balkans had been a part of the Ottoman Empire up until the rise of Nationalism. With Nationalism, the people of Balkans desired their independence from the Ottoman Empire resulting in bloodshed and their separation from the Empire. There have always been relations between Turkey and the Balkans which can provide an easier integration process in terms of Turkey.

There is also the aspect of religion which is a critical factor. The EU is a Christian community with no Muslim members and the fact that Turkey is a Muslim country adds more problems both in the cultural aspect and religion as well. The fear of Islam is a very important issue in today's

world and Turkey's Muslim identity causes panic within the Union due to the differences and security issues. Another fear that arises is the current status in Turkey due to the government's actions. Turkey is a secular state, however, the Justice and Development Party's actions upon the state have deep effects, and currently the reforms are slowing down with deteriorating relations with neighbors.

Turkey needs to follow the regulations of the EU and the *Acquis Communautaire* in order to become a full member of the European Union. However, there are chapters which are blocked due to the Cyprus issue, with other various incomplete chapters. Turkey has put effort into completing the regulations stated in the *Acquis Communautaire*, however, with the current government's actions, such as violation of human rights, the obstruction of freedom of the press, it is not possible for Turkey to move any further at his point. Yet, the European Union has biased views towards Turkey with the Cyprus issue and especially the so-called Armenian genocide. It is also possible to discuss the intervention of European countries in the name of democracy and the actions of colonization, to set an example France in Algeria. These issues are not related to the European Union, rather they are considered by Turkey as obstacles to prevent the state from being a member of the EU.

Currently, Turkey has no strong desire to join the EU since the negotiations had stopped for two years. However, there is a refugee crisis, in which Europe does not want a part of and Turkey will take responsibility in order for the monetary aid and the clauses in the new agreement, specifically free movement for Turkish citizens. It is extremely difficult for a Turkish person to receive a visa from a Schengen member state and with the new agreement, it will be possible for Turkish citizens to travel freely.

When all of this information is considered, it is possible to come to the conclusion that the EU is making a move towards Turkey in order to solve the refugee problem, since there will be no accession for the name of Turkey into the European Union, with the current European Parliament report, which was refused by Turkey. The reason the government has agreed to the new agreement and the replacement of refugees in Turkey is in the name of their own interest. With the free movement clause, the Justice and Development Party hopes to sustain or raise the percentage of votes it receives in the election. It possible to deduct that both parties are in the effort of protecting their own interests, and Turkey, in fact, is not very avid in joining the EU.

With the security issues, the dropping rates of incomes and the possibility of a coalition in the early elections, the main driving point of the government is to achieve a higher vote percentage. Therefore, any integration or accession for Turkey in the near future does not seem like a realistic expectation.

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