

RESEARCH ARTICLE/ ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP PROCESS IN A MULTI-SPEED EUROPEAN UNION

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Received Date/Geliş Tarihi: 07.03.2020 Accepted Date/Kabul Tarihi: 20.05.2020

Abstract

The European Union, established after World War II, has strengthened the revival of Europe, which has suffered greatly due to the war in many areas, including economic, political and socio-cultural. At the same time, the European Union overtook the conflicts between states. The European Union, which has occasionally passed through major breaks since its foundation, has recently begun to evolve into a new structure called multi-speed Europe. On the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome, the member states, for the first time, have mentioned this new structure in an official publication. This structure has led to disagreements 13 among EU member states. On the other hand, it is also a matter of curiosity how the candidate countries will follow once this structure is created. This study assesses the potential effects of a multi-speed European Union on Turkey-EU relations. In addition, it tries to evaluate whether the EU's new structure will be an advantage for Turkey or not. In other words, this study aims to explore the possibility of Turkey's EU full membership in the EU's new model.

Keywords: European Union, Turkey, Multi-Speed Europe, Future of the European Union.**ÇOK VİTESLİ AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ'NDE TÜRKİYE'NİN ÜYELİK SÜRECİ****Öz**

II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra kurulan Avrupa Birliği ekonomik, politik ve sosyo-kültürel alanlarda sorun yaşayan Avrupa'nın dirilişini sağlamıştır. Aynı zamanda Avrupa Birliği devletler arasındaki çatışmaları önlemiştir. Kuruluşundan bu yana Avrupa Birliği ana kırılmalar geçirmiş ve çok vitesli Avrupa halini almıştır. Roma Andlaşması'nın imzalanmasının 60. yıldönümünde, ilk kez resmi yayınlarında bu yeni yapıdan bahsetmişlerdir. AB üyesi devletler arasında bu yapı anlaşmazlıklara yol açmıştır. Diğer yandan yeni üye devletlerin bu yeni yapıya nasıl uyum sağlayacakları merak konusu olmuştur. Bu çalışma çok vitesli Avrupa Birliği gibi bir yapıyı ve Türkiye-AB ilişkilerine etkisini inceleyecektir. Buna ek olarak, bu çalışma AB'nin yeni yapısının Türkiye için avantaj mı yoksa dezavantaj mı olacağına dair cevaplar arayacaktır. Bir başka deyişle bu çalışma AB'nin yeni modelinde Türkiye'nin AB'ye tam üyelik ihtimalini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Birliği, Türkiye, Çok Vitesli Avrupa, Avrupa Birliği'nin Geleceği.

1. INTRODUCTION

The European Union, which was established after the Second World War, caused the revitalization and strengthening of Europe, which suffered economically, socially and politically, after the war. The European Union has been experiencing many crises until today (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2018). Especially, these crises arising from institutional structure have started to appear every time. For example, the process of the adoption of the EU Constitution has been unsuccessful because of the French and the Dutch veto, and so the idea of the United States of Europe has fallen into a dream (Council on Foreign Relations, 2018). However, the EU has continued its path by accepting the Lisbon Treaty on December 13, 2007.

The EU, which has been seriously affected by the global economic crisis in 2008, has not been able to do the desired success in trying to get rid of this crisis. EU, which has realized that the current institutional structure cannot solve the global economic crisis, has begun to work towards a new structure (European Commission, 2018a). In fact, this structure, which has been discussed for a long time and is known as Multi-speed Europe, has appeared in an EU document for the first time. It is thought that the EU will relax in the Rome Declaration, which was prepared on March 25, 2017, the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome (Council of European Union, 2018).

With this new structure of the EU, Turkey's EU membership process has started to be discussed. Turkey trying to become an EU member since 1959, has not been successful so far (Kuneralp, 2018). Moreover, the negative developments between the EU and Turkey, such as Cyprus problem, global economic crisis, coup attempt on July 15, 2016, have led to disappointment and trust issues between the two sides. Turkey's EU membership seems unlikely in the current EU structures. However, the discussions began that took an opportunity for Turkey with Multi-speed Europe. On the other hand, the changes in this structure are directed towards the member countries than the candidate countries (Seyrek, 2018). In fact, the reason for such a study is that the EU has not been able to find solutions to recent crises. The EU projected to go into a new structure, which countries and how to begin the enlargement process as well as that of Turkey's EU membership has been one of the priority issues to be curious about what will result. Therefore, this study will evaluate whether Turkey's EU membership will be possible in EU's this new structure (Sungur, Keskin and Dulupçu, 2013). The basic problem of the study is to find out what is the possibility of Turkey's full membership in the EU's new structure. That is to say when the troubling issues were also taken into account, will Turkey become an EU member in the EU's new structure? Alternatively, if there is an opportunity for Turkey it will make recommendations about what should be done by Turkey.

2. MULTI-SPEED EUROPE

The concept of the Multi-speed Europe, one of the controversial issues of European integration, was first used by the former German Prime Minister Willy Brandt in the 1970s (Eylemler, 2015). In 1975, Tindemans, in this report, foresees that member states that fulfill their obligations early should reach a level of further cooperation (Cvce, 2018). Later, the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union (CDU / CSU) of the German Parliament issued a policy paper in September 1994 entitled Reflections on European Politics. With this document, the debate about differentiated integration has been revived. It was called

to realize a Multi-speed or variable geometry models. Within this structure, it is envisaged to create a core structure consisting of Germany, France and Benelux countries in this document (Kahraman, 1997). It is foreseen that the common aims of the integration in the Multi-speed European model are to reach member countries at different times. Member states don't need to transfer developed programs and policies at the same time, and simultaneous implementation is often not possible. Member countries need to act according to their capacities (Ulger, 2014).

A group within the European Union argues that the EU will be unique and heterogeneous in the future. In this context, as nation-states have different aims and interests in integration, they will likely come from different approaches in future European integration. For this reason, there will be a European integration at different times in different future periods (Stubbs, 1996). This heterogeneous structure, designed for Europe, allows member states to adopt the EU policies at different times. But member states will adopt EU policies in absolute terms, even at different times (Akgül-Açıkmeşe, 2004). The idea of a Multi-speed Europe, which has begun to be debated in this way, is to find a group of countries that define common goals, pioneer integration and carry it forward. Although the other members who follow the country group share the common goals, there are differences in the schedule (Ozdemir, 2012).

The main aim of a Multi-speed European approach is to create a monolithic EU architecture. Flexibility for integration is provided in the time variable (Zervakis, 2018). This approach is based on the assumption that countries within the EU will not be able to reach common goals at the same time as their capacities and organizational structures are different (Oğurlu, 2018). It is foreseen that some countries will progress on the path of others, except for the integration, when some countries are allowed to integrate faster than others and to deepen integration. Member countries will adapt to the policy developed by the EU at different times and common goals will be achieved in a gradual way (Soyaltın, 2015).

In the Multi-Speed European model, it is imperative that member states make common integration levels. States will be able to reach foreseen goals at different dates. It is not possible for slow-moving states to avoid inclusion in certain policies of integration (Giardoni, D'Odorico and Carrillo, 2015). Provide a temporary exemption for certain countries in the arrangements for the common market proposed by the Single European Act and providing the transitional period and safeguard measures in some areas for the newly participating countries can also be applied in the Multi-speed European model (Arsava, 2011). What matters in this model is that all member states adopt the same policies and aims. But it is not possible for them to go into practice at the same time. The transition to the monetary union introduced by the Maastricht Criteria is also compatible with the Multi-Speed European approach. Although countries such as Britain and Denmark have recorded that they will not take part in integration in this area, it is possible to change this depending on the conjuncture (Kutlay, 2011).

It acts on the ground that not all countries in the EU have the same request and capacity to reach common aims. In this framework, the Multi-speed Europe foresees gradual attainment of common aims to prevent EU integration. Thus, while common policies are advanced by a group of leading countries, other members follow it over time (Oniç ve Kutlay, 2012). Economic and monetary harmonization, tax harmonization and accession agreements have been important policy and practice areas adopted by the Multi-speed European approach. In the recent rhetoric of European leaders, especially the Chancellor Angela Merkel

of Germany, the Multi-speed European approach has come to the forefront, with the different needs in the region not to overlook the different policy options approach for countries (Karahan and Ozsöz, 2017).

The complete disintegration of the EU as a possible scenario is beyond the scope of this study. Considering the achievements of the European Union over half a century and especially the level of economic integration achieved, it can be said that this is not likely to happen soon. But it is also clear that the group will not be able to continue in this way (European Commission, 2018b). First, it is necessary for economic integration to be supported by political integration so that structural measures can be taken quickly. On the other hand, in the case of the Common Foreign and Common Security Policy, the move needs even greater. Including the EU as a serious actor in world politics is as vital to the Community and its members as it is vital to achieving world peace and international political and economic balances. The European question has come to the end of the soft power has become anxiously questioned (Eren, 2014). The number of members has increased and the European Union, which will be increased further, has begun to become difficult or even unsuccessful to deepen integration with supranational regimes and to develop homogeneous policies (Larsen, 2010).

The method of integration implemented to make sure the Economic and Monetary Union is already a Multi-speed Europe model (Kaveshnikov, 2018). The legal sub-structure of this flexible integration method must be drafted as an integration method, and the contractual legal sub-structure of the opt-out right de facto applied by personal common policy-based or national government's bargaining power. Political polyphony, which has increased with enlargement and led to the weakness of decision-making, can turn into a flurry (Leal-Arcas, 2007). The multilevel flexible integration model will make the institutional operation of the EU effective and in this way, the concerns about the political and economic future of the European Union will come to an end. Enlargement will make it possible for new members to join by becoming an excuse for deepening integration. The credibility of the EU and the membership negotiations under the Covenant principle must be able to be terminated positively. When the enlargement policy is approaching the end, the European Neighborhood Policy and the East Partnership program can continue the EU normative influence and continue to give to international peace and co-operation (Eren, 2014).

The multi-speed European modeling drawbacks are in the belief that some countries, especially Eastern European countries, will be left when making progress in certain areas. At the same time, it is pointed out that this structure will create groups within the EU and make the already complex decision-making mechanism even more complicated (Baldwin, 1995). Those who think that the EU will deepen the distinction between the East and the West suggest that this would lead to two distinct types of membership, one group of rich Western countries and another group of poor Eastern countries. For example, Poland, which is a member of the EU and benefits from the EU budget, is most opposed to multi-speed model. Polish Prime Minister Beata Szydlo argues that Eastern European countries will be left in the multi-speed European scenario, so they are against fashion (Euronews, 2018).

However, if the lagging Member States can no longer join the progressive group in the long term or permanently, or are no longer willing to join, this core group decides and implements its own integration steps and goals. Within the scope of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the transformation from such a very fast Europe to a core Europe is discussed (Tekin, 2017).

3. TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP IN MULTI-SPEED EUROPEAN UNION: IS IT POSSIBLE TO MEMBERSHIP TO EU FOR TURKEY?

Turkey's EU membership process debated from the very beginning. On one hand, the EU expected that Turkey has to establish close ties with Europe, on the other hand, The EU approached to Turkey's full membership with suspicion. Changes in the structure of the EU did not prevent this suspicion either. Because it has identified problems and shortcomings in Turkey's EU membership between Turkey and the EU. For this reason, models other than full membership have been proposed. This option is a privileged partnership. The Privileged Partnership, which is first referred to by former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in April 2000 within the framework of Turkey-EU relations and later by German leader Angela Merkel in 2004. Certain groups from EU member countries such as Germany, France and Austria claim and lead to various discussions purporting that an option of Privileged Partnership with Turkey is not present in the EU acquis and the EU has never entered into such a partnership with any country before (Atılğan and Klein, 2006).

The problems between Turkey and the EU were effective in the proposal of such an option. For instance, with the Cyprus problem that emerged after the negotiations started, the EU suspended 8 chapters, 5 chapters of France and 6 chapters of Southern Cyprus, and the relations suffered greatly. Positive Agenda was published in 2012 to revive the Turkey-EU negotiation process moving sluggishly for some reasons such as Cyprus problem, the Arab Spring, the Constitutional studies in Turkey and the global economic crisis. Turkey and EU agreed on concrete possibilities for deepening the energy relations on February 9, 2012. Consequently, the European Commission initiated the positive agenda process to revive the accession process and to add dynamism Turkey-EU relations (Erhan and Akdemir, 2016). The main focus of the positive agenda aimed at the intensive cooperation in areas of mutual interest such as visa-free movement, migration, trade, energy, terrorism, foreign policy has been dialogue and fundamental rights areas between Turkey and the EU. On the other hand, the Positive Agenda aims to give new impetus to the process due to the chapters that have not been opened since June 2011. Stating that there is no deviation from the goal of full membership, the EU Minister stressed that it is envisaged to strengthen cooperation mechanisms on important issues such as visa exemption, political reforms, energy, the fight against terrorism and the appointment of Turkish experts in the European Commission within the framework of the Positive Agenda. In this process, there has been a slight revival in the political relations between the two sides. But the expected effect did not occur due to Arab Spring, global economic crisis, trust problem between Turkey and EU. Nevertheless, EU membership crystallized in a period that continued to manifest itself as the reality of contemporary Turkish politics and society, especially in the post-2007 period (Aydın-Düzgıt and Kaliber, 2016).

However, the economic crisis in 2008 seriously affected the whole world. The EU and EU member states have suffered from the crisis. The euro crisis did not kill enlargement, but it reduces the region to the outermost in the multi-speed Europe, which is the environment of the environment. While Balkan economies are fed by low or negative growth rates and rising unemployment, they have set the limits of the EU's growth model and undermined the narrative of rapprochement between the EU and the Western Balkans (Bechev, 2012).

This process began to be discussed would be costly for the EU enlargement process and Turkey's EU membership and is thought to cause damage. The economic crisis decreased both the EU's attractiveness and the EU's transformative power on Turkey. The crisis has also weakened Turkey's economic and political supporters. With a large number of Turkish immigrants in Germany and Austria, even before the crisis, public opinion was strongly opposed to granting Turkey EU membership. The economic crisis has further increased anti-enlargement sensitivity across Europe. This situation has affected both the EU and the membership process of Turkey (Öner, 2016). Due to the negative effect of the global crisis, EU tried to design a new structure to be effective again and some groups from EU member states offered to Turkey a new option instead of full membership. Moreover, although Turkey and EU have become strategic partner especially in the process of the refugee crisis, this cooperation seems to be short-lived. Turkey and the EU, because there is a lack of trust in each other. However, It is unlikely that the relations between Turkey and the EU will revive (Öner, 2016).

The brexit process provided an additional impetus to understand the future of European integration from this conceptual framework. Turkey, since 1999, the EU economic, political, judicial and home affairs, in terms of energy and environmental cooperation has a high degree of functional cooperation in a variety of ways. This is how EU integration affects a much wider regional area than the territory of EU member states. Even if full membership is Turkey, a rising British-dynamics such as the EU or Norway and Iceland will continue to be anchored in a similar manner to the EU European Economic Area country (Müftüler-Baç, 2018) In informal discusses on different models in EU institutions and think tanks, the Swiss model and the Free Trade Agreement models instead of the Customs Union are one of the leading alternatives (Robert, 2018).

The coup attempt on July 15, 2016 changed the course of relations. After the coup attempt. The late declaration of the EU's position on the coup attempt has created a negative atmosphere in Turkey against the EU. On the other hand, the European Parliament's recommendation for the suspension of membership negotiations with Turkey at its November 2016 meeting brought the point of resumption of relations. This situation showed that both the EU and the severed completely from the process of Turkey's full membership (Müftüler-Baç, 2018).

Turkey's accession negotiation process, suggests that shifting preferences toward one of the privileged partnership between the non-participation. Therefore, during the EU accession negotiations with Turkey and, if you agree that greater integration of efforts to meet the goal of achieving full membership, both sides must be prepared to assess the stable and permanent to create an alternative scenario (Hürsoy, 2017).

Although the samples of high interdependence in both economic and security fields, EU-Turkey relations is highly politicized in bilateral relations. As a result, Turkey's EU integration implying a substantially uniform with a participation model, now does not constitute a viable option to proceed. During fifteen years of accession negotiations, it appears that only sixteen of the thirty-five negotiation chapters have been opened, and the European Parliament (EP) has repeatedly requested formal negotiations due to radically worsening democracy, the rule of law and human rights (Cianciara and Szymanski, 2020). Meanwhile, the EU has made a series of successful cooperation with sectoral high-level dialogue on migration starting Turkey. However, the process of visa liberalization with Turkey provided to EU's own internal security and

made to Turkey as a buffer zone (Haferlacha, Tekin and Wodka, 2018). In December 2016, the European Commission proposed to start negotiations on an updated and improved customs union, but the process was blocked by the Council of Europe, especially member states in Germany. Whereas Turkey seems like an important partner in economic and technical issues, EU does not also accept full membership due to the current problems. EU does not want to lose to Turkey and focuses on a different model of integration instead of full membership (Cianciara and Szymanski, 2020). Therefore, though how much change in the EU's structure, it seems difficult for Turkey's full membership.

In the EU, discussions on alternative models for Turkey gained momentum. Dilek Aydın, a representative of the European Union in TUSIAD in Brussels, pointed out an option behalf of full membership will not a suitable solution in terms of national interests. Aydın emphasized that integration will continue intangible fields such as the Customs Union, security and energy until more positive political conditions occur. (Aydın, 2018). Similarly, Meltem Müftüler-Baç also pointed out deep cooperation with Turkey in many areas will contribute to EU increasing the effectiveness. Therefore the updating process of the customs union is considered important (Müftüler,-Baç, 2017).

When viewed in this context, Turkey's EU membership is unlikely due to the problems between Turkey and the EU. At the same time, the structure of a multi-speed Europe model also does not provide for Turkey's EU membership. Therefore, non-full membership to Turkey's relations with the EU will continue to be seen as an option.

4. CONCLUSION

European Union, have been experiencing problems due to the crises, has tried to keep up with the plans it has created after every crisis. However, the global economic crisis that took place in 2008 has severely hampered the EU and EU countries. In order to get rid of the crisis, the European Union has created a new structure called Multi-speed Europe, which has stalled the enlargement process for a time and works to move to a new structure. EU countries wishing to continue their path strongly in the aftermath of the global economic crisis and the Brexit process have vowed that the EU will be stronger in this regard in terms of security, economy, social structure and globalization.

However, the EU is now also responsible for key areas of internal security and justice. A development that cannot be thought of for many member states a few years ago. The single European market and the euro will need further deepening of cross-border integration to be successful.

One of the important issues here is how the enlargement and more integration in this new EU structure can be followed at the same time. Moreover, Turkey is wondering where the subject will take place in this process. Because the subject structure is innovated by the member countries. These member states will certainly adopt certain policies within the EU at different times. Therefore, this new structure in Turkey's EU membership seems difficult.

Turkey's membership in the European Union is of great concern, especially in some areas. Especially the free movement of people is the most important among these policies. Turkey's EU full membership in

case of finding the opportunity to work in EU countries in Turkey's young population and increasing unemployment in the EU is anxious that the EU countries. Therefore, there are some states which look favorably on Turkey's full membership in the EU. With Multi-speed Europe, even though EU member states will adapt to EU policies at different times, all member states will eventually accept and adopt all the policies. Therefore, Turkey's full EU membership seems too easy with this new structure.

On the other hand, it is still unclear how the EU will fate and where and when the integration process will begin. For this reason, it is important to first see how the EU will continue to lead and to produce policies so. However, the EU will continue on its path with a Multi-speed European model, it seems difficult for Turkey's EU membership. Therefore, alternative models than full membership for Turkey in this process will come to the agenda again. Therefore, Turkey, by following a very pragmatic way here from behaving emotionally, should set clear policies after the new structure in its relations with the EU. But, Turkey should continue to give the most useful, most flexible and most convenient way to model for it.

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