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Turkey: A Difficult Assessment on Its Integration to the European Union

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Abstract:

The negotiations between Turkey and the European Union for the integration started since 2005. Over than ten years later we can't see a "positive" result for Turkey, but the global situation is quite different now from then and the idea of "positive" is very relative because Turkey has received aid from Europe and has improve its domestic economy and its position on the international community. Now Europe is facing a terrorist threat and a refugee's crises, USA is supporting the rebel groups in Syria, Russia is supporting the Syrian government, and, in general terms, everybody is trying to control the petroleum's route, included Turkey. The authoritarianism of Erdogan has been noticed since a long time ago, but also he's abilities for take an advantage from the other's strategies. In this document we post a very difficult assessment about the possibilities of Turkey for become a part of the European Union and, after to check some geopolitical strategies, the international perception of Turkey and the domestic policies, in order to say that it is possible that son, Turkey will be no longer interested about to be part of the European Union.

Keywords: *Geopolitics, strategy, power, economy, Human Rights*

1. Introduction

For some of the postmodern perspectives in Social Sciences and Philosophy, the advent of the technological developments that encourage *virtuality* and velocity, as the Internet, mean that human beings we tend to uproot the physical space in which we live, and this idea subtracts value to the material dimension of our lives. Nothing is further from the keys that can allow us to understand contemporary international history of Turkey.

This research is responsible for addressing, from the geopolitical perspective, the strategic circumstances in which Turkey is now, to see if it is possible a revival on the negotiations between Turkey and the European Union for achieve the integration. The analysis is accompanied by a series of observations on the conditions of both internal economic and political development of Turkey, with the aim of presenting and supporting a hypothesis that can be debatable: due to the increased Turkish strategic power, it is possible that very suddenly the roles are reversed, and it is the European Union can have a greater interest about the Turkish integration than to Turkey itself.

The growth of the strategic importance of Turkey, which I will show you, is owned to the effectiveness with which Turkey has used and led its geographical position and the advantages that flow from it, facing the big international players: the United States, the European Union and Russia. Moreover, the internal development and growth of Turkey, which have been driven with European tied aid, have had a significant impact on the expansion of the local middle class and thus, in the increase and expectations for democratic processes.

Once we verify the picture, what can we expect from Turkey? It is still hard to answer. We would prefer to see the Turkish people strengthening its process towards democracy and continues to expand its regional influence, so they can make an autonomous route with respect to the major international players who have been all their allies. About the chances of this happening and how convenient it is for the region to democratize Turkey while growing in power, considering the global trends that we all face globally, I will discuss in a future article.

2. Geopolitics

As I mentioned above, the analysis of the strategic position of Turkey is done from a geopolitical perspective, which is, considering its geographical position. Several geopolitical writers had been ensuring that Turkey has increased its strategic importance to the West, whether as a buffer zone or as a space for intercultural mediation. Writers on this topic are classical specialists like Mackinder, Spykman, Huntington, S. Cohen and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Let's start with Mackinder who considers the dimensions of Eurasia in strategic terms: is an area that occupies a third portion of the whole planet; this area owns two of the three global centers of power, the European Union and the Middle East; it has nearly three quarters of the energy of the world; and all potential adversaries who dispute the political hegemony of the United States they are in this territory.

Turkey belongs to Eurasia, its location between the Balkans, Caucasus and Middle East, makes Turkey a pivot on the area for the policies of the West –USA and EU-, especially and strongly after the Soviet collapse and the raise of conflicts on the area.

The power that Turkey has built up has to do with dating long historical process. Plus, this is combined with the decisions of the powerful countries trying to use Turkey as part of their own strategies, and with it there were collaborating with the accumulation of Turkish power.

Turkey has taken advantage of European fears about the volatility of the Middle East; also about the disputes between Russia and the United States for maintain a strong presence in the region. Given these three big global actors, the United States, the European Union and Russia, Turkey is presented as a perfect partner for which –also- the Middle East represents, for several years, a risk due to the Syrian crisis, the conflict between Iran and the US, and the stresses posed by Kurds in northern Iraq.

Classical geopolitical perspective endorses our opinions in addressing Spykman, who considered Turkey as a strategic area within the world stage. From a renewed perspective of the *Hearthland* model designed by Mackinder, Spykman considered that the so-called *Global Island* should be divided between Eurasia and Africa. Spykman saw clearly that Turkey had a strategic and vital position if the United States wanted to preserve and increase their power in global sense.

During the Cold War, Turkey's geographical position was perceived as a bulwark to contain Soviet expansion and, therefore, was seen as a natural "friend" for the United States. Then Turkey accepted the proximity to the United States seeking to preserve its territorial integrity besides taking care of its own strategic interests in the Balkans.

Not everything was easy for Turkey to stand in the middle of the dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1964 Turkey decided to invade Cyprus and did not have the support or the United States or NATO in advance for a possible reaction of the USSR. This circumstance showed the Turks that they need to diversify its international relations. As we can see the results now, maybe that's one of the most important lessons that Turkish government has learned very well.

The following strong geopolitical strategy to preserve US supremacy has been formulated Z. Brzezinski. From its construction, Eurasia must be secured in order to support the continuity of relations with the United States, relations that focus on preventing the emergence of a rival power that constitutes a threat. Consequently, Z. Brzezinski particularly recommended that the United States should promote the regional integration of Turkey, since he considered that isolate Turkey will become more Islamic and less committed to cooperate with the West.

Once the Soviet Union fell and the idea of political hegemony rises for USA, the geopolitical analysis and predictions about the dismantling of the communist bloc were many. Among them is that of Saul Cohen, *Geopolitical Change in the Post-Cold War Era* 1991, which is to update the vision of rival powers, China and Russia. Cohen assumes that the turbulence in the international system is the engine of competition and thus of progress, so the US challenge is to manage competition within the global system, promoting an unstable equilibrium.

Since the position expressed by Cohen, and this is an interpretation, it can be said that since the dissolution of the USSR, and even before, Turkey has been perceived as a convenient mediator between East and West and has been an aid to solve or process regional conflicts.

Later Turkey's strategic position is even clearer. Samuel Huntington, in *Clash of civilizations*, states that Turkey should be a state-core Islam because it is the most prepared country for leadership within the region. The religious, the division between secular and Islam, gives Turkey a double character, a nation committed to the Islamic world and a respectable interlocutor with the West.

Russia has also contributed to the growing importance of Turkey to facilitate the penetration of the Turks in Central Asia and the Caucasus. It is true that the strategic position of Turkey does not comes from its military power, but the *soft power* that it has had been showed on various political negotiations. This power is not limited to the Turkish strategic position, but is also a result of the skills that Turkish has shown in order to control the distribution of energy in the region.

3. Domestic Policies

3.1. Secularism

In 1997 Turkey experienced the fourth military coup in its history, the discussion then revolved around the characteristics or pro-Islamic or pro-secular faction confronted each. Since then, maybe even before, the pro-Islamic movements have been perceived as violent and active opponents for democratic regimes. However, there are not enough specialists in the region, as Yavuz, who have pointed out that the Turkish Islamic movements have not been driven by anger or frustration as in other countries on the region, but have shown commitment to a structure legal characterized by pluralism and even democracy. This situation already announces the possibility of secularization for the Islam.

Turkey's chance of secularization of Islam consists of rationalizing religious practice and accommodation of the faith to the demands of the evidence. However, recognizes Yavuz, secularization, or the called *silent transformation* of Turkey, it has been poorly received by the Turkish kernalist sector.

Turkish domestic politics has become increasingly relevant to the world because the possibilities of mediation, assistance and dialogue between West and East that the country offers.

Since the 1995's elections can be seen an internal accusation of pro *Westernism* and pro defense of imperialism made by Refah Partisi against parties with a secular orientation. Later in 1997, the Refah Partisi was non-violently deposed from government by the military and some secular groups. In this circumstance the Turkish economic crisis came in 2002 and it was followed by the rise to power of a new conservative party.

However, the Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi considered as a merger between kernalist elite and the Refah Partisi openly displayed a pro-Western and pro-democracy position. This is a party which, according to Yavuz, is shaped by the plural Turkish interests, Western interests and Muslims interests at the time.

The effect of the Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi on Turkish foreign policy, according Ayata, was the enthusiasm for European integration, the commitment to NATO, the emphasis on expanding investment and cooperation with the United States, as well as promoting international relations with states of the Caucasus and Central Asia, especially Muslims. We have to pay attention to something here; all this has been done without any mention of Islam or criteria as part of international relations in Turkey.

Of course, there are circumstantial reasons that promoted the new Turkish response. It has been the West that had supported the emergence and development of Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi, and it had increased the economic dependence of Turkey on the European Union. By the other hand, it happens that the proposed creation of a Front Islamic group on the area was unable to be carried out successfully.

3.2. Economy

According to the web site of Trading Economics, Turkey is among the world's largest economies; its GDP has grown more than doubled under the government of Recep Erdogan. Insolvent banks were liquidated, State enterprises were privatized, energy and telecommunications market was liberalized and now we can see that an independent Turkish Central Bank has been developed (Trading Economics: 2015). About this topic, Swieboda & Zerka said that "with Erdogan, Turkey managed domestic and international credibility to control inflation" (Swieboda & Zerka, 2013: 2).

Crises have several dimensions; while some suffers others take advantages and less just face the situation successfully. The World Development Report of the United Nations in 2014 highlighted the results achieved by the Turkish Government in regard to its action and reaction to the 2008 crisis, they did something very uncommon, Turkish banks became stronger during the crisis.

Thanks to the economic growth, Turkey has improved its image to the world, while Erdogan's policy is not always well regarded; economic performance has been interpreted as the new engine of a democratic process that would improve international relations of the Turks.

Since 2014 at least, the political impact Erdogan exerts influence in all the region. He's constantly on the journals and newspapers for many reason, it can be because there's a new measure saying that the Turkish economy is growing, a new discussion or agreement with Russia, the negotiations for the new Treaty on Services, the refugee's crises, the terrorist threat, and so on. Probably the best statement on the Turkish economy can be found in the words of Jim Yong Kim, World Bank president, who has said that Turkey is an inspiration to many developing countries.

The challenge for Turkey, says the IMF in the document "Structural Reforms and Macroeconomic Performance - Country Cases" 2015, is to continue to drive growth without increasing imbalances since it has been observed that the economy depends on the availability of external inputs that are highly volatile. Therefore, since no structural reforms, growth must be below the historical trend to avoid increases in external imbalances.

3.3. Democracy and Human Rights

According to the last Periodical Examination by UN in 2010, the government of Turkey expressed clearly that the protection and promotion of the Human Rights is a political priority for the country. That's the reason because they had change some parts of their Political Constitution (2001 and 2004), they have nine packs of reforms and also a new Civil and Criminal Code. Turkey says too that they are very focused on sign and ratify the international instruments for human rights and that the civil and security forces are receiving training on Human Rights too.

Turkey become an observer of the Fundamental Rights Agency of the EU since 2009 and this is having an effect on the local design of the institutions for promote and guarantee the respect of the Human Rights.

As we know, the Periodical Review has an interactive dialogue that we can interpret as expression of the regional and global interest for the country. The nations that had formulated questions to Turkey were: Saudi Arab, Greece, Algeria, Brazil, Qatar, Cyprus, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Indonesia, Tunisia, Sweden, Lebanon, Italy, Bahrein, Denmark, Kirgizstan, Somaliland, Bulgaria, Armenia, Palestine, Norwegian, Russia, Chile, Egypt, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Spain, Canada, Arab Emirates, Switzerland, Senegal, India, Venezuela, Netherlands, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jordan, Mexico, Czech Republic, USA, Sudan, Uruguay, Argentina, Kuwait, Morocco, Austria, France, Japan, Germany, Iraq, Ireland and Ukraine.

USA, as we can see in the document (:11), congratulate Turkey for their progress in the political reform, for the search for constitutional change, and for the domestic policy for national unity. USA ask for more information about the respect for the Right of Expression and for the anti-terrorist strategies.

In general terms, after the Examination, Turkey accepted 87 recommendations from the different countries, this acceptance includes to apply the norms of the Children's Rights, increase the access to the health services, fight against the enforced marriages and polygamy, increase the access to education, supply education on Human Rights to the public administration workers, to promote respect and dialogue between different religions, improve the conditions for the respect to the Opinion and Expression Liberties, prosecute all the aggressions against Human Rights activists, prevent and attack Human trafficking, to punish the "honor crimes" and

domestic violence, attack the violence against women, to give support to the victims, to accept the international laws against torture, among others.

Apart of the last, Turkey didn't accept some recommendations like: full acceptance of the International Convention for the Elimination of all Racial Discrimination Forms; to ratify the agreement for the respect of the minorities; to consult local minorities for the design of a plan for national friendship and unity; increase to full rights for the Kurdish population; those relatives to face the Armenian genocide, the Cyprus properties, the Greeks properties, Bulgarian properties; and those relatives to the acceptance that Cyprus is a State.

According to Freedom House (*Freedom in the World* 2016), the freedom in the world is going down since ten years ago and that includes Turkey which is a country considered as partially free. Turkey received the downward trend arrow from the Freedom House because the renewed violence between the Turkish government and the Kurdish militants, the terrorist attacks by the Islamic State group, and due the harassment of opposition members and critical media members before the last November parliamentary elections.

In general terms, for the Freedom House, Turkey is a partly country noted with 3, 5 points into a rank that goes from 1, with the highest level of freedom, to 7 with the lowest level of freedom. Specifically, the freedom of the press status for 2015 is not free. The trend that the Freedom House observed in Turkey is disturbing because it indicates that freedom in the country is declining, political rights are qualified in 3, civil liberties are rated with 4, and press freedom simply does not exist. If we compare this rating with the EU, Turkey is lower than expected.

The International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims, IRCT Annual Report 2014, says that the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, with the support of another NGO's, continues to develop a global plan of action for promote and monitor national implementation of the investigation and documentation standards in the Istanbul Protocol.

By now, according to the IRCT, there are no official statistics about torture victims in Turkey, but it they estimate more than one-million people since the 1980 coup. The victims are, political opponents, particularly PKK supporters, primarily men between 16 and 35 years of age, civilians in areas inhabited mainly by Kurds, and Kurdish women between the ages of 12 and 30 from poor backgrounds. Perpetrators are police officers, prison officers, and army officers, which means that torture takes place, generally, inside official detention centers, such as police stations; anti-terrorist police units; and directly in places where social protest is present.

Even when the records for Human Rights are so, the so-called Turkish model, secular, multi-party and market economy, encourages the West about the expansion of Western values.

I consider that there is an extra way for Turkey in this scenario, if the nation continues to increase its power and its international recognition, if the economic situation continues improving, and if the rules of democracy and freedom are becoming more effective in the nation, then Turkey could be managed alone, without help from Europe, USA and Russia. If this happens, Turkey would be the best project made in Europe.

4. The Geopolitical Role of Turkey on the Middle East

For its trans-regional geostrategic position, the secular-liberal model of development and its continued participation in the West, Turkey is an important ally, particularly for the United States that is now living on its struggle for keep a global hegemony. About this last words, let me add that, according to the EGADE, for 2050 the face of the World will be totally different than today, it is only USA that will be still on the pack of powerful countries in World, but not the others.

According to Ian Lesser, in the article "Turkey and the United States: Anatomy of a Strategic Relationship" 2004, security and cooperation remain central topics of the bilateral agenda between the United States and Turkey. The US interest has been renewed by Turkey from the Turkish growth and its interest in the West. The result is that for the United States, Turkey is the model for the development of Muslim countries. What does that mean? It means, at least, that international cooperation for development coming from USA dedicated to Muslim countries is going to be shaped by the demands of USA about those countries behave like Turkey.

The US support was reciprocated by Turkey, which generally has publicly legitimized the diplomatic and military presence and activities of the United States in the region. This has included the modulation of Turkish relations with Russia, which had posed a threat to Turkey.

According with the Freedom House, 2016, the regional trend for Middle East is that the regime security is over the public safety. Egyptian government, supported by USA and the Gulf States, is going against the dissent limiting civil and political liberties in a very silent way. Morocco and Kuwait are limiting the journalism, Arab Emirates are denying the entry to academic researchers, and Bahrain is putting on silence the political opposition. Saudi Arabia is perceived as the worst Human Rights violator with the highest level of human executions in the world for the last 20 years. Plus, the violence between Israel and Palestine is flammable.

Turkey has, however, sometimes been considered a country located in the Middle East, then, the question that arises is: which advantages for the West has Turkey compared with the other countries in the region, in such a way that we can explain why it is preferred as a mediator and assistant by the West? The answer to this question is none but a mixture of crossroads situations, circumstances and conditions that were the basis for Turkey to achieve, through intelligence and efficiency, the important geostrategic role that today has.

"How to get power?" It is a central question for Political Philosophy, Political Science and Political Theory. A question that was usually answered on an individual basis and whose responses include currently generating political marketing strategies linked to the electoral world. Our question is the same, but our approach, for the study of international relations, has another actor: how can a Nation or State to get the power?

Root realistic Hobbesian, Rochman argues that military power and economic power, which together with the ideological power are the three pillars of power within a State for Hobbes, they are interdependent, since military power preserves and guarantees the economic

ownership while economic power maintains and promotes the effectiveness and loyalty of the military power. Perhaps this is at the root of the fact that Turkey is one of the regional leaders in the regional defense industry along with Iran, Israel and Egypt.

As part of the "armed Westernization", these four countries play a vital role for the preservation of the balance in the region and, consequently, in the whole World. Israel is a mediator and key ally in the region, a State that had served as a counterweight to Iran's nuclear development; Egypt, meanwhile, until 2012 was the only one Arab nation with military power and weapons comparable with the State of Israel, particularly in regard to its air force that has replaced the Russians models for the new US models, with the support and aid of USA of course. But in maritime terms Turkey is the clear and obvious regional leader for its performance over the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea.

With regard to Israel and Egypt, Turkey is in a close position for interests, conditions and technological development, so, as analysts, the differences are the relevant data. Comparatively with Egypt, as example, local Turkish military elements have greater abilities to manage the weapons because, as being members of NATO, they have steadily participated in joint exercises and also receive support from Israel for training.

In economic terms, very little goes without saying. Turkey shows greater stability and maturity than any economy in the region of Middle East, mostly; recharge their GDP in the service sector, tourism in the case of Egypt, or in oil production, in the case of Saudi Arabia for example. Turkey, meanwhile, has diversified its financial sources to expand its private sector and benefit from transport and distribution of energy from the Caucasus to Europe.

On the political environment of Middle East, we shouldn't forget the Arab Springs from 2011 and their consequences. The Arab Spring social movements are the consequence of the social tensions promoted by the bad economic situation that is particularly dramatic for youth people, plus the frustration that almost all the population experiences about the socio political conditions of their countries.

After the public political expressions of 2011, each country on the area has change with different paths, unfortunately not in the expected way. Today we can see just one country with democratic expectations, Tunisia that, after to remove the dictatorship Ben Alí, they have a political transition to a weak democracy threatened by the terrorism.

The other countries on the region are living war conflicts, like the civil war in Syria which population is running away from the violence to Lebanon and Turkey. Consequently, both countries, Lebanon and Turkey, are living the effect of the massive presence of refugee people. Turkey has received over than 600,000 Syrian refugees, the refugee camps on the Turkish border are increasing their number and capabilities, and the arriving of the Sunni Muslims is increasing the possibilities about religious and ethnical tensions respect to the local population (ESADEgeo: 2015).

Libya, since Gadhafi dies, is also under a civil war. Egypt has reduced the violence since the coup done by the general Sisi, but the price has been too high, dictatorship. In Yemen we can face the gap between the Chii and Sunii communities; the Chii group has taken the capital city of the country since early 2015. As an answer, Saudi Arab, dominated by Sunii, created a coalition for the intervention with the support of the USA.

Recently, after the cold on the relations between Turkey and Russia due to the Russian airplane exploded by the Turkish forces, Russia has said openly that is probable that the financial source for ISIL can be the massive trafficking of petroleum. According to Putin, the vehicles with petroleum crossing the borders between Syria and Turkey are visible even from the air.

Turkey is also worried about the empowerment of the Democratic Syrian Party, an ally of the Workers Party from Kurdistan (PKK) on the north of Syria. It is possible that if the negotiation on the area fails, then the PKK can conquer the cities at the north of Syria and, from there, to attack Turkey.

5. The Accession to the European Union

Since 2005, the integration of Turkey into the European Union raises more than circumstantial tensions. For the European Parliament it would have serious consequences because Turkey would be the second most populous country of the Union, which means to be the second-most number of MEPs, overturning the position of France and Spain in decision making for the whole EU.

The Association Agreement between the European Union and Turkey, started from 2005, is based on three stages that, at the end, lead to the full integration of Turkey into the European Union. The first phase, "preparation phase", was called and focused mainly on the economic development of Turkey. To do this, the financial aid from the European Union is a tool that has been used wisely for Turkey and that were designed to promote and develop democracy by creating a middle class that serves as the basis for a participating company.

The criterion of economic growth has not been applied only to Turkey; all countries that have joined the European Union (Portugal, Spain, Greece, Ireland...) have gone through the same process. The underlying idea is to promote development through the growth of local businesses and enterprises under the capitalist scheme, promote employment and thereby stocks may buy more goods. Once expanded purchasing power and the internal market, social welfare can foster the development of a middle class understood as the engine of debate and struggle for rights and democracy in general.

Tactics for reach that goal includes that the financial support from EU will be used to develop Social Security, access to Basic Education and Universities, and access to health.

The next stage of Turkey's transition, the second step of the integration process, was that, once the social security has a wide coverage, the disparities between Turkey and the EU would have been reduced. Overall it could be seen that inflation, unemployment, poor social protection, respect for human rights and industrial protection, among other factors, have favorable indicators.

Turkey is still waiting to join the European Union because, while the house economy has made significant progress, the social and political dimension of the country has yet to resolve several key issues, as example the respect for civil rights, the recognition of the Armenian slaughter, and the improvement of the relationship with Greece, among others.

Not part of the European Union, Turkey is the partner number seven on imports into the Union, and the Turkish population living within the territorial limits in Europe is growing fast.

The ties between Turkey and Europe have never been few, but today they seem to be strengthened, particularly because Turkey has handled and satisfy strategically the European applications, as evidenced the latest refugee crisis which that the world is witnessing. Some researchers say that the crisis and tension with Russia have promoted a timely manner so that Turkey can take advantage and resume negotiations for accession to the EU.

As Freedom House, 2016, says, the migrant crisis is a threat for the solidarity standards and democracy at European Union. The EU is clear about that this crisis is allowed by States with a weak institutional conditions, weak borders and human trafficking strong mafias, like Turkey. The UE renewed interest in Turkey's membership grows while the Turkish leader, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, exhibits constantly increased authoritarian behavior.

The EU negotiators are now seeking for the Turkey's assistance in stemming the migrant flow to Europe, which is the same than to say that the EU become suddenly blind about the repressive Erdogan's actions during 2015, the assaults on critical media and the indiscriminate military operations previous to the elections of past November.

Today it is not clear if President Erdogan still so interested in pushing the process of integration into the European Union. The questioned success during the most recent elections, have given him more confidence than he already had. So that the authoritarianism that has been attributed to Erdogan, is not expected to decrease.

I believe that regardless of the negotiations for the integration of Turkey to the EU occurs and the results that they can have, the question today is whether Turkey still wants to be in the EU or, if the Europeans let pass more time, the interest will be reversed.

Included on the Global Trends that the ESADE (2015) posts for the year 2030, it is the growing of the middle class; the consequences of the middle class growing are already here. In recent years we have witnessed great popular protests led by the new middle classes in emerging economies such as Brazil, Chile, Hong Kong, Mexico, Thailand, Turkey, and Venezuela. The new demands are about to increase accountability, combating corruption, and environmental protection.

For our purposes, it is expected that this situation will test the democratic resilience of Turkey, will contribute to instability, and could be interpreted as a support or good reason for the rise of ultra-nationalist and xenophobic movements. As we can see, the problem now is complex because the recent massive migration process promoted by the Syrian War, then, it is perfectly understandable that Turkey should be interested about a pacific solution of the Syrian situation.

6. Conclusions: The Difficult Assessment

From my perspective, first topic to have clear is that the accession of Turkey to the European Union fails to question whether a partly free country ruled by an Islamist regime is able to respect the ideas of unity and European values. One must understand that Islam, particularly Turkish Islam, is not contrary to democratic values; are dictators, human beings, those who are against democratic values. Islam and Catholicism have been part of the history of Europe for too long. They have fought each other and have grown together. The impact of Islam on Europe is clear in Spain and Portugal, for example.

Second thing, for politics and social development, I consider that if Turkey take the challenge about to be a self-managed country and developed in more dimensions than economic, it will demonstrate to the EU and to the countries around the world that Islam is not against the freedom and rights of minorities, neither against the rights of women, it will be clear that all the civil rights can be respected and guaranteed in an Islamic society. Also, it will show that European investment on the aid for Turkey has been very well payed; because they will legitimately say that it has been a real engine for allow the expansion of the democrat values.

At the end, considering the explosive situation of the area, the visible lack of commitment of Turkey for promote the reduction of the tension in Syria, the high possibility that the Turkish are taking advantage of the petroleum trafficking, plus the reduction of the freedom inside the country, is understandable that the EU have resistance to the integration process. Even so, to the other hand, considering how the Turkish power on the area has grown, turning Turkey in a strategic actor for any possible negotiation for the region, plus the goeonomical cleverness that Erdogan has shown and the economic crises that the EU is facing, we can understand that Turkey is not so interested like in 2005 about to be part of the EU.

So, as I mentioned on the top of this paper, the assessment for this complex situation is difficult and what we can have are just more questions. Some of them are: it is really possible that soon the EU will be the one pushing for the integration of Turkey to the community? Are they going to allow a non-democratic country to take so many positions on the European chamber? Or, even better, it is the Turkey people going to take the opportunity for demand more equality and freedom to its government? Once we can see some answers for those questions on the newspapers, then we will have to be fast for try to understand the effect of those actor's political behavior, because there is doubt about that a disequilibrium or even a small movement on the area will produce and push some other situations for our countries, and we have to be ready.

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