

# Turkey and the European Union: Multidimensional Relations

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- How are domestic political crises in Turkey reflected in the European Union (EU) reports?
    - How does the EU's ambivalent attitude affect Turkish public opinion?
  - How should the interaction areas of foreign policy between Turkey and the EU be interpreted?
    - What is the role of the Cyprus issue in the EU accession process?
    - How should relations be in the new period?
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While it is necessary to make a multi-level analysis of the EU-Turkey relations, constantly following the accession process and revising the position for a comprehensive understanding of the relations, one of the main factors which prevents us from developing and understanding of relations with the EU is, perhaps, the analysis of this relation based on the assumption that these two actors are static.<sup>1</sup> The EU is going through an identity crisis after it has faced with “the other” for the first time in public sphere while Turkey is experiencing the most significant reckoning and confrontation of its history. Therefore, it should not be ignored that this relation is based on two dynamic actors. It is necessary to conduct a multi-level analysis keeping in mind that the EU itself is composed of different actors rather than considering this relationship as unilateral.

## FROM WHERE TO WHERE?

The EU accession process, one of the main arteries of Turkish foreign policy in the last five decades, has acted as a catalyst for reforms adopted for the democ-

ratization of Turkey. In addition to that, this process is significant for Turkey to boost its influence in international issues. The mechanisms established by the old Turkey, which considered certain identities and groups at the grassroots as threats, that have become democratic in recent years proved the significance of this accession process in order to achieve international standards for law and human rights. Above all it suspended the military, from political decision-making mechanisms to its fundamental duty and that normalized politics and political institutions. Revolutionary reforms in the public sphere such as opening the Sumela Monastery to worship after 88 years and the Akdamar Church after a century, and granting rights of different religious groups including the return of properties to minority foundations positively contributed to the international prestige of Turkey. Constitutional amendments brought by the September 12 referendum in 2010 paved the way for the resolution of political problems which arose during the unstable periods of Turkey. All of these are crucial for achieving international standards; however, they are not adequate for the continuation of the EU accession process

1. Ahmet Davutoğlu, “Avrupa Birliği: Çok Boyutlu ve Çok Düzlemli Bir İlişkinin Tahlili”, *Stratejik Derinlik*, Küre Yayınları, 2001, p. 501.

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in real politics. This accession process is confined to other issues beyond the EU criteria because political reckoning and identity issues are behind the iceberg.

On December 11-12, 1999, the EU Helsinki Council recognized Turkey as an EU candidate country. Following the Helsinki Summit, Turkey began to carry out reforms without a delay. On December 17, 2004, Turkey fulfilled required political criteria to start accession negotiations in Copenhagen subsequent to condense diplomatic contacts. Accordingly, the EU membership negotiations began on October 3, 2005, launching the real marathon for Turkey therefore, 13 chapters of negotiation out of 35 were opened in a short period of time. However, eight of the remaining chapters were suspended by the EU Council on Foreign Relations due to the Cyprus issue while six chapters were blocked by Southern Cyprus and five were blocked by France as well. Since Gerhard Schröder quitted his position as a chancellor in 2005, Turkey has been devoided of Germany's full support. Turkey reacted and described Southern Cyprus's membership with EU as an "ideological decision" while day said "no" to Annan Plan persisted in 2004 and had a border conflict with Northern Cyprus. According to the Zurich and London agreements, Cyprus shall not become a member to any union of which these three guarantors namely UK, Greece and Turkey are not a member. On June 30 2010, Chapter on Food Safety was opened to negotiation, but then the entry process was slowed down. Another chapter (22) was opened after François Hollande replaced Nicolas Sarkozy as the new President of France, which can be considered as a positive development. In Europe, a large number of political groups including left-wing (secular) parties in particular support the EU enlargement, the EU accession of Turkey, and underline the significance of keeping promises. Affirmative statements on Turkey, except the Gezi protests, in the European Commission's 2013 Progressive Report proved this argument.

### **'PACTA SUNT SERVANDA'**

Having an adopted pro-active multi-lateral foreign policy, particularly in the last five years, Turkey is

trying to improve its relations simultaneously, with various regions of the world. However, some circles interpreted Turkey's stagnant relations with the EU as a sign that the country ended improving relations with the West in the lurch. The European People's Party (EPP) member Christian Democrats in the European Parliament (EP) argued that Turkey is turning to east, away from Europe.<sup>2</sup> In the last three years, the stagnant relations with the EU were not a choice to leave the path to Europe but indeed, a reaction to the political obstacles posed by the EU despite the relations have gained momentum. Italian President Giorgio Napolitano underlined in his speech in Strasbourg on February 4, criticizing also the former French President Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, , 2014 the "pacta sunt servanda" (agreements must be kept) and he reproached the EU. He argued that Turkey is right about "pacta sunt servanda" and that the agreements must be kept. In Turkey, the perception of exclusion from Europe provoked skepticism towards the EU in the public opinion and among political elite. Following the slowdown of negotiations, Turkish politicians reiterated their disquiet about political circles speaking out against Turkey, and emphasized that criteria accepted in the agreements should be applied. Attitudes of some member countries blocking the negotiation process provoked disappointment not only among politicians but also among citizens. Recent gall up polls indicate that, people have gradually lost their faith in the EU accession process and believed that Turkey faces skeptical glances towards the EU .. According to the research conducted by the Foundation for Education and Scientific Research (TAVAK), the number of people who believed in full membership declined from 78 percent in 2005 to 34 percent in 2011. It is possible to argue that ambivalent attitude of the EU and the economic crisis, which began in Hungary and Romania and later affected Greece and Spain; therefore, seriously damaging the EU economy, have a big role on this decline. One can also argue that the

2. Spurned Turkey looks east after EU courtship falters, <http://www.theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2012/dec/16/spurned-turkey-european-union-courtship>

society in Turkey has gained confidence as the country begins to develop economically. This has influenced the standpoint of Turkey about the EU which itself has been grappling with an economic crisis.

### **DOES TURKEY BECOME A MEMBER THE EU, IN TERMS OF TRADE?**

According to the data obtained by TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute), Turkey, a member of European Union Customs, enjoyed 130 billion dollars foreign trade volume and a 5.5 percent increase in trade with the EU countries in 2013. When Turkey's foreign trade volume is analyzed, it is seen that 40 percent of Turkey's export goes to Europe and 50 percent of Turkey's import comes from Europe while 85 percent of foreign investments in Turkey comes from Europe. Germany is the largest trading partner of Turkey in Europe.<sup>3</sup> In 2013, imports that come from Germany increased to 24 billion dollar reaching a record level while exports to Germany increased to 14 billion dollars with a five percent increase. The number of Turkish businessmen associations has increased in the European countries while visa facilitation agreement for businessmen between Turkey and the member states positively contributed to economic relations. Businessmen Associations not only promote economic cooperation but also hold conferences in Europe to improve relations. The interference in Berlin by TÜSIAD (Turkish Industry & Business Association), "Turkey: Culture of Change" aims to reach academic circles and businessmen in Germany and Turkey. MÜSIAD (Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association) also tries to increase the capacity of economic cooperation through business forums in the European countries and activities such as International Business Forum Congress in Istanbul. In 2013, direct investment in Germany increased from 54 million dollars to 154 million dollars when compared to 2012.<sup>4</sup> Therefore these figures, indicate that Turkey is not turning to east away from

Europe and that Turkey, on the contrary, is very eager for the European integration. Positive reflections of Turkey's developing economy on commercial relations with the European countries show that in a sense Turkey has economically entered the EU zone as far as Turkey's trade with the Union is concerned.

On the other hand visa liberalization between the EU and Turkey is one of the crucial factors that will intensify the economic bridges. Turkey has criticized the visa regime in the EU for a long time and finally the EU answered Turkey's calls in the subject. Turkey agreed to sign the Readmission Agreement with the EU, taking a significant step towards a visa-free regime.

Signed in Brussels after a meeting with High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs Catherine Ashton, the Commissioner for Home Affairs Cecilia Malström and the Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Stefan Füle, the agreement stipulates Turkey's taking back nationals, who have transited through Turkey and entered the EU illegally visa liberalization between the EU and Turkey is expected to be launched.. Turkey envisages fulfilling the requirements in the Readmission Agreement in three years. While Turkey simultaneously conducting visa dialogue with the EU to lift visa requirements within six months if the EU Readmission Agreement may be unilaterally abrogated. If this historical step taken after long-lasting negotiations is finalized, it is expected that Turkish citizens will enjoy visa liberalization in the Schengen region at most three and a half years after the Readmission Agreement is signed. Furthermore, it is significant that the Cyprus issue should not block Turkey's visa dialogue with the EU and that it is resolved independently of the visa process.

### **THE 2013 PROGRESS REPORT ON TURKEY BY THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

The European Parliament (EP) published a positive report on Turkey except certain concerns which it summarized under three headings. The report was prepared on December 4, 2013 and approved on March 12, 2014. The criticisms included the use of excessive force by the police during the Gezi protests, the firing

3. TÜİK (January-November 2013) , <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaber-Bultenleri.do?id=16070>

4. The Central Bank Balance of Payments Statistics. <http://www.tcmb.gov.tr/odemedenge/odmainyeni.html>

of journalists who have criticized the government and the limitation of freedom of expression in the media. Also, the EP underlined that Turkey should be more transparent and fair in trial cases, such as the Ergenekon, the Sledgehammer and the KCK. Furthermore, the Parliament expressed concerns about a political polarization in Turkey and highlighted that the participation of civil society organizations in decision-making mechanisms in Turkey should be increased. While the report in general supported and welcomed numerous developments in the fields of freedom, similar to the previous report, the 2013 report also expressed concerns about freedoms. The report acknowledged that Turkey is a strategic partner for the EU and it has accomplished significant reforms in 12 months, and welcomed positive developments in public institutions, visa exemption and the Readmission Agreement between the EU and Turkey, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> Judiciary Reform Packages, the training programme of the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) for judges and prosecutors; the policies on violence against women implemented by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the negotiation process and the initiative for the resolution of the Kurdish question, and the return of the lands to the Mor Gabriel Monastery. The EP also welcomed the opening of the 22<sup>nd</sup> chapter and supported the European Commission's initiative for opening the 23<sup>rd</sup> and the 24<sup>th</sup> chapters. Furthermore, the report proclaimed on the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) to achieve consensus in Turkey as the main actor of democracy and to continue drafting of a new democratic constitution based on the separation of powers. However, there are some points to criticize in the EP report. For instance, the report does not mention the abolishment of specially-authorized courts and the 5<sup>th</sup> Judicial Package adopted to improve fundamental rights and freedoms. Furthermore, there is a question mark over the report's premature criticism of the amendments on the HSYK and the Internet, which are in parallel to numerous EU countries. Besides, the report welcomes the democratization package, however, criticizes Turkey on the grounds of hate crimes and improvement of freedoms

while it does not emphasize developments such as enabling propaganda in different languages and dialects during elections, giving permission to private schools to provide education in different languages and dialects, amendments on hate crimes, and safeguarding the respect for lifestyle. Ensuring a concrete and legal basis for Turkey-EU relations and drafting the report without involving in daily political discussions are significant for the reliability of the EU and for keeping alive the interests of Turkish public opinion in the EU. French Arnaud Danjean of the Union for a Popular Movement made one of the clearest comments on the EP report on Turkey. Underlining that the EU adopts a hypocritical attitude towards Turkey, Danjean stressed that the process goes nowhere as negotiations have been blocked for five decades for political reasons.<sup>5</sup> A healthy dialogue without political and arbitrary obstacles before negotiations is a must in order for Turkey to carry out reforms in conformity with the EU acquis in a sound way. Therefore, comments in the media on the reports published by the EU institutions such as "the severest report ever; Turkey is losing ground; Turkey is losing its European friends; Turkey receives criticism over criticism from the EU" do not make any sense for the content.

### **DOMESTIC POLITICAL CRISES AND THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION**

Opening the new chapter tools of 22<sup>nd</sup> Regional policy and Structural Coordination gave rise to the hope that the negotiations will gain a momentum again. Statements of Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan during his visits to Brussels at the end of January 2014 and Berlin at the beginning of February 2014 also show Turkish government's willingness to accelerate the process. It is significant that Turkish and EU authorities are engaged in a strong dialogue

5. AP Üyesi Arnaud Danjean: Türkiye ile ilgili hipokrit olmayalım, [http://www.abhaber.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=56318:ap-%C3%BCyesi-arnaud-danjean-t%C3%BCrkiye%E2%80%99ye-kar%C5%9F%C4%B1-hipokrit-olmayal%C4%B1m-m%C3%BCzakere-ba%C5%9F%C4%B1klar%C4%B1n%C4%B1-a%C3%A7al%C4%B1m&catid=214:manet-haber&Itemid=915](http://www.abhaber.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56318:ap-%C3%BCyesi-arnaud-danjean-t%C3%BCrkiye%E2%80%99ye-kar%C5%9F%C4%B1-hipokrit-olmayal%C4%B1m-m%C3%BCzakere-ba%C5%9F%C4%B1klar%C4%B1n%C4%B1-a%C3%A7al%C4%B1m&catid=214:manet-haber&Itemid=915)

because Prime Minister Erdoğan visited Brussels and Berlin on a critical time. It was important that Turkey explained what had happened since December 17, 2013 operation against the government to EU authorities in Brussels while his Berlin visit was also significant given the influence of bilateral relations between Turkey and Germany on the course of EU-Turkey relations. Prime Minister Erdoğan's visits on a critical time probably prevented parties to make tough criticism of each other and proved once again how fruitful the dialogue is. Risks and threats against public institutions and the political will, tutelary attempts and changes in the HSYK were explained to the EU authorities with causes and effects while recommendations from the EU were constructive for Turkey. Interestingly, recent domestic crises in Turkey contributed to a more constructive dialogue between Turkey and the EU. The EU-Turkey dialogue will eliminate tension and facilitate negotiation process. European authorities constructively contribute to the building of the New Turkey with more democratic functioning public institutions and stronger civil will. Therefore, a good dialogue with European authorities and accurately conveying the developments in Turkey are significant for not only the EU process but also Turkey's image in the international arena.

### **SPHERES OF INTERACTION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE EU**

Given geographic proximity, economic relations and geostrategic points of intersection, Turkey, as it was the case for the past centuries, will continue to have dynamic relations with Europe on different levels. Besides, versatile harmony between the EU policies towards the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus, neighboring region of Turkey, and the course of their relations with Turkey are significance. History showed Europe that it cannot become a global actor without establishing a "strategic union with Asia." Turkey, in this sense, assumes a key role. Furthermore, the EU should cooperate with Turkey for the issues concerning the Balkans and the Middle East in order to play an effective role in international crises. The EU calls

the Balkans, a priority of Turkey for years, as "South-eastern Europe," and it aims to be more active with the help of political integration and civil society organizations in this region. The EU also tries to avoid conflict in the multi-ethnic Balkans by assuming an intermediary role, while Turkey attempts to establish stable cooperation channels by supporting Kosovo and through direct negotiations with Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. When it comes to the Middle East, Turkey listens to people's demands for democracy and adopts a principled attitude for transforming a long-lasting authoritarian regimes into democratic and transparent regimes. On the other hand the EU, did not call the military coup in Egypt as "coup" in any joint text and called on parties to end violence and courts to be fair. The Friends of Syria group adopted a common attitude with the European countries towards civil war in Syria; however, Turkey provided the largest logistical and political support to the Syrian opposition. Nevertheless, it is impossible for the EU to ignore popular demands for democracy against authoritarian regimes in the long run. If the EU ignores these demands, the chaos will get worse and certain groups will probably become more radical. New local actors and dynamics in the 21st century indicate that Atlantic-centered world order no longer exists. The policy instruments that Turkey adopts in the Middle East and those that EU adopts towards its own neighbors are similar; therefore, both Turkish and the European authorities today should bear in mind that authoritarian regimes have no future in the Middle East and embark on a position accordingly. If the authoritarian regimes continue to exist in the long term, the Middle East will be a region of conflict. Turkey's membership to the EU will increase the Union's geopolitical sphere of influence.

An EU with the fear of being part of the Middle East will not only be deprived of carrying out the policies it desires to implement but also to become a limited actor though it develops discourses. Will the European countries continue to be a political, philosophical and cultural role model affecting the rest of the world? Both in Europe and in other regions some



praised this model while some vilified it. However, the “Western myth,” according to which Europe is the birth place of universal humanism and the rule of wisdom and progress, began to lose its efficiency.

Whether the EU today will become the guarantor of “democratic order” and peace or the supporting actor of the US hegemony, the flag bearer of the “West” depends on the EU’s relations with other parts of the world. In this sense, Turkey assumes a key role in the Black Sea basin and the Middle East in particular. As far as countries -such as Ukraine and Syria- are concerned, the US and the EU should be in contact with countries with political penetration such as Turkey and Iran. Furthermore, politicians<sup>6</sup> who support the European integration in countries, such as Georgia and Azerbaijan stress that Turkey, an EU hopeful NATO member, has a key role for them. The EU had difficulty in determining policies for this region and failed effective implementation of the decisions it made due to the influence of Russia in the region. Some EU actors know that increasing influence of Turkey, as a democratic country in the Middle East is in line with the interests of the EU in the region while rising right movements should turn Turkey’s leading role in the international arena into an advantage rather than discomfort. More cooperation in security and growing economic relations between Turkey and the EU countries are complementary while Turkey should overcome possible different approaches in its foreign policy.

The intersection of geostrategic and economic interests and economic power in the EU with a population of Germany, which is the maximum weight that can occur with Turkey on foreign policy differences exceeding requires a rational perspective.

In Germany, the largest coalition partners should act as aware of this fact.. Neither can Germany ignore Turkey in its strategic choices nor can Turkey adopt a foreign policy ignoring Germany in global and regional policies.

6. Former Prime Minister of Georgia, Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Defence and State Minister for Euro- Atlantic Integration, Giorgi Baramitze, and Secretary of the National Security Council of Georgia, Giga Bokerya and The National Independence Party of Azerbaijan etc.

## THE ROLE OF CYPRUS IN TURKEY’S ACCESSION PROCESS TO THE EU

8 Chapters suspended due to additional protocol	
1	Free movement of goods
3	The Right of establishment and freedom to provide services
9	Financial Services*
11	Agriculture and rural development
13	Fishery
14	Transport policy
29	Customs Union
30	Foreign relations
6 Chapters blocked by Southern Cyprus	
2	Freedom of movement for workers
15	Energy*
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights
24	Justice, Freedom and Security
26	Education and Culture*
31	Foreign, security and defense policy *

\*Chapters can be opened in a short period of time if political blockage is lifted as there is no criterion.

Turkish society in the Cyprus was disappointed at the results of the referendum on Annan’s Plan in 2002. Greek Cypriots were awarded with the EU membership although they voted “no” while Turkish Cypriots were punished with isolations despite their “yes” vote. In 2012, the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus took over the EU term presidency thus freezing in a sense Turkey-EU relations. Although Turkey did not open its harbors to the Southern Cyprus, it is engaged in diplomacy for a solution in Cyprus in order to regain momentum in the EU membership process. Statements of Prime Minister Erdoğan and the Minister of EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu that “2014 will be the EU year” indicate that Turkey will force the pace in the EU entry process. The EU Council of Foreign Affairs blocked eight chapters while Southern Cyprus blocked six chapters, because Turkey did not open its harbors to Southern Cyprus and implement the additional protocol after it began negotiations for full membership. Therefore, the Cyprus problem blocks 14 chapters.

Both sides accepted a Joint Declaration following a meeting between the Presidents of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, Derviş Eroğlu and Nicos Anastasiadis respectively, after long negotiations. Special Representative for Cyprus of the UN General Secretary, Lisa Bittenheim, announced the “Joint Declaration,” to the public in early February 2014.<sup>7</sup> The Declaration provided a framework and the parties began to their works. This framework is, similar to the 2004 Annan plan in general, stipulates granting autonomy to both sides and establishing a single federal state on the island. The economic crisis in the south pushed the Southern Cyprus towards a resolution while the Anastasiadis government known to support the resolution provides politically affirmative ground. A decade ago, Southern Cyprus’ EU membership bid was one of the reasons why Southern Cyprus did not take any step toward a solution in the island during its membership negotiations. Given its international influence after it became an EU member, Southern Cyprus plans to take overall control of the island. It is possible to say that now Southern Cyprus welcomes the resolution because it has failed to enjoy advantage it desires. Ankara-Athens negotiations also known as “cross negotiations” assumed a significant development. Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu stated that this deadlock should not last for tens or hundreds of years and crisis should be resolved this time.<sup>8</sup> There will never be a “last chance” for a resolution in Cyprus; however, the question arises that when the sides will come to an agreement if they fail to do so during such a favorable environment for a resolution in a time economic difficulties have increased. It is significant that the parties focus on the resolution without dealing with any other issue such as the issue of territory. Although, parties are more eager to a resolution, this time given the joint declaration, which was accepted after months-long pre-negotiations and which

provides a framework for negotiation, there is still a possibility that Southern Cyprus votes “no.” A durable solution in Cyprus is significant for a more stable economy on the island, safe energy policies without conflicts and the lifting of blockages over the chapters.

## RELATIONS IN THE NEW ERA

Turkey was wishing the year of 2004 to be “The EU year” also desiring an active diplomacy regarding the Cyprus question and speedy negotiations in the EU process. After the opening of the 22nd chapter, most of the MPs who addressed at the EP stressed that they agree with the calls for opening the 23rd and the 24th chapters, i.e. judiciary and fundamental rights and justice, freedom and security chapters for negotiation. French President Hollande declared his support for Turkey-EU negotiations while German Chancellor Merkel does not welcome the full membership of Turkey in the Union, but called for the opening of the 23rd and the 24th chapters for negotiation during Erdoğan’s visit to Berlin. However, South Cyprus vetoed these two chapters. Therefore, whether these goodwill statements will turn into concrete steps will be a test for the EU. In addition to these two chapters, the 15th chapter, on energy, is also crucial. Establishing close relations with regional countries in energy sector, Turkey assumes a significant role in energy safety of the EU. Turkey serves as a bridge between Western countries in need of energy and the countries with energy resources through projects, such as TANAP, as the EU constitutes one of the leading energy markets in the world. The expectation is that Europe’s need for natural gas increases by 70-80 percent by 2030 when compared to today.<sup>9</sup> Russia meets 40 percent of Europe’s natural gas, and the EU seeks alternative ways to reduce its dependence on Russia in the wake of the Ukrainian crisis. The EU suspended political negotiations of the South Stream Project which stipulates the transport of Russian natural gas to Europe<sup>10</sup> while Turkey is becoming more and more significant

7. Joint Declaration: Final version as agreed between the two leaders, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/02/11/joint-declaration-final-version-as-agreed-between-the-two-leaders/>

8. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2014/02/140211\\_turkiye\\_kibris.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2014/02/140211_turkiye_kibris.shtml)

9. 15. Fasil – Enerji, ABGS <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=80&l=1>

10. <http://enerjiensitusu.com/2014/03/11/guney-akim-dogalgaz-projesinin-siyasi-muzakereleri-ab-tarafindan-askiya-alindi/>

for secure transport of energy resources in Iraq, Iran and the Eastern Mediterranean. Parties should dwell on and work on this issue in order for Turkey to increase the energy security of the European countries and for the diversification of the resources.

In addition to the accession talks, how Europe interprets the political developments in Turkey is also significant for EU-Turkey relations. Sometimes a different psychology dominates these relations. The EU should give up its neo-orientalist attitude for a healthier communication. People react to a law discussed in Turkey without analyzing similar laws in the EU. While people are certain that judicial members are fully independent in a European country, they have a perception that Turkish people cannot exert such a will. Another perception which provokes distrust is that every amendment made in Turkey will yield “restrictive” results and the system is unreliable. When similar protests took place in Turkey, the European officials announce that they watch developments “with concern.” Although a development, is not considered anti-democratic in Europe, but is considered as restricting in Turkey, this creates an image of insincerity. For instance, it should be understood that free speech on the Internet cannot be accepted when people insult others or use the Internet as an instrument of psychological terror. Some EU members criticizing recently, for the sake of sustaining a healthy way of communication, the EU should give up its neo-orientalist attitude. Leaving aside different dynamics in the EU, Europe’s “supra-identity” is still Christian when it encounters with “other” civilizations as also mentioned by the European politicians such as Helmut Kohl who used to emphasize the historical identity of the EU in the past and underlined that the EU is a Union based on Christian values.<sup>11</sup> Turkey’s dealing

with the EU process from sociological and historical perspective will help the country to overcome these issues. European authorities who support enlargement should avoid “restrictive” discourses while Ankara administration should maintain close relations with those who support the process and prioritize cooperation rather than anti-Turkey discourses. Mevlüt Cavuşoğlu who is educated in Europe and served as the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has implemented the new European Union Minister and Chief Negotiator in Strasbourg and in Brussels, will have a positive effect in establishing good relations with European authorities.. Turkey should adopt a rational attitude rather than extremely optimistic or extremely pessimistic and emotional attitudes. The European officials, who claim that universalism and pluralism are the European principles and it, should devote efforts to promote integration on diplomatic, economic and legal levels rather than acting upon reflexes root in the parameters of psychological mindset embedded in history when it comes to relations with Turkey.

11. Religious Identity of the European Union and Religions in Europe, [https://www.academia.edu/667589/Avrupa\\_Birliginin\\_Dini\\_Kimligi\\_ve\\_Avrupada\\_Dinler\\_Hiristiyanlik\\_Yahudilik\\_Hinduizm\\_Budizm\\_ve\\_Islam](https://www.academia.edu/667589/Avrupa_Birliginin_Dini_Kimligi_ve_Avrupada_Dinler_Hiristiyanlik_Yahudilik_Hinduizm_Budizm_ve_Islam)

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