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The Borders of the European Union (EU): Internal and International Dimension
(1992- 2014)

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Dedication

My lovely family,

I hope I can find something in this world enough to pay you back every moment you have spent on breeding me. So I dedicate this research to you as a tiny reward of your efforts, and I hope I were good enough to make you proud of me, whether as your daughter, or as a good citizen of our country; Palestine.

Waad Alfararjah

Declaration

I certify that this thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis or any part there of the same has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or institution.

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Waad Alfararjah

Abstract:

The Borders of the European Union (EU): Internal and International Dimension (1992- 2014)

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The question of the unity and the borders are considered one of the greatest issues that provoke a debate inside and outside the European Union (EU), especially on the opportunities for new accession. This dissertation seeks to investigate on the intersection between two main concepts, firstly the ideas affecting the changes of the EU borders in regards to the 'Schengen' concept and plan, in which resulted in borders abolishment, consolidation and reintegration. Secondly, to investigate on the role of the EU policies to achieve a union among the EU member states, highlighting on the position held by some experts towards Turkey as a bridge to the Middle East.

This dissertation aims to analyze, compare and underline the borders of Europe, the geographic borders that had been dividing Europe, and the role of the EU in unifying Europe both in drawing new borders, and "eliminating" the geographic borders will be scrutinized. The difference between the internal and external borders of the EU will be discussed to reveal the impact of borders abolishment designed by the Schengen stipulation, as well as to elaborate the phrase migration and how it affects the EU external borders. Further, the relationship between the EU and the new candidate countries will be highlighted, while attention is drawn to the limitations of accepting new members like Turkey.

Moreover, this study presumes that the more the EU is expanded, the harder it will be to unify it. For widening, or expanding the borders, implies integrating new countries in the EU, which becomes more diversified as a result, and thus

more difficult to integrate new member countries to the EU. Further, the study presumes that deepening the integration entails an increase in the criteria of the EU institutions (i.e. the body of European law) which makes it more difficult for countries to meet the set criteria and makes it harder to unify.

Overall, a historical, descriptive and analytical approach has been applied on the issue of the EU borders.

The study has found that the process of unifying Europe has been a difficult process, particularly due to key differences among various state members, where each state has its own agenda, political and economic views and culture. Although, the EU has achieved a lot, yet there are many restrictions and obstacles that procrastinate further integration.

First, the introduction of the single passport where people are able to move freely all over Europe is restricted, for example, the family, culture, language and curriculum. It is true that the EU eliminate the internal borders, but there are still many barriers that need to be eliminated.

Second, the EU opens its external border in front of the immigrants under the condition that they fulfill the criteria of migration. However, there are many obstacles that may delay further policies and increase the EU fear of accepting immigrants, for instance, the increase of the unemployment rate, the existence of the extremist political ideologies which were born and emerged in the Middle East, such as ISIS that is threatening the EU stability and unity.

Third, the discussion of new candidate countries to the EU is limited; where and which there are several limitations of accepting new members such as, Turkey. This study reveals that the candidate country needs to fulfill all the requirements and prerequisites determined to join the EU by the union. Yet, however, the accession is selective, where the EU in some cases goes beyond the laws and rules of accession for a political reason, as it is the case with the

ex-communist countries that joined the Union though they did not fulfill the Copenhagen criteria. The EU might also open its arms to integrate with Ukraine even though Ukraine is still far from fulfilling the standards of accession.

الملخص:

إن مسألة وحدة الحدود في الاتحاد الاوروبي تعتبر من أكبر القضايا التي تثير جدلا داخل وخارج الاتحاد الأوروبي(EU)، وخصوصاً فرص الانضمام للاعضاء الجدد، وتسعى هذه الدراسه للتحقيق في تقاطع اثنين من المفاهيم الرئيسية، أولا الأفكار التي تؤثر في التغييرات في حدود الاتحاد الأوروبي فيما يخص مفهوم وخطة "شنجن"، والتي أسفرت عن إلغاء الحدود وتوحيدها وإعادة دمجها.

ثانياً: إن هذه الدراسه تسعى للتحقيق في دور سياسات الاتحاد الأوروبي لتحقيق الاتحاد بين الدول الأعضاء في الاتحاد الأوروبي، وتسليط الضوء على الموقف الذي اتخذه بعض الخبراء نحو تركيا كجسر للشرق الأوسط.

هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى التحليل والمقارنة والتأكيد على حدود أوروبا، وخصوصاً الحدود الجغرافية التي تعمل على تقسيم أوروبا، ودور الاتحاد الأوروبي في توحيد أوروبا في رسم حدود جديدة، و إلغاء الحدود الجغرافية على حد سواء. حيث ناقشت هذه الدراسه الفرق بين الحدود الداخلية والخارجية للاتحاد الأوروبي للكشف عن تأثير الغاء الحدود من قبل إتفاقية شنغن، وكذلك تم القاء الضوء على الهجرة وكيف تؤثر على الحدود الخارجية للاتحاد الأوروبي، وعلاوة على ذلك، قد تم تسليط الضوء على العلاقة بين الاتحاد الأوروبي والدول المرشحة الجديدة، بناءأ عليه أشارت الدراسه إلى القيود والقوانين المفروضة على قبول أعضاء جدد مثل تركيا.

إفترضت هذه الدراسة أنه كلما إتسع الاتحاد الأوروبي أي بمعنى تم قبول أعضاء جدد سيكون من الصعب توحيده. حيث يصبح الاتحاد الاوروبي أكثر تنوعا، ونتيجة لذلك يزيد من صعوبة استيعاب الدول الأعضاء الجدد في الاتحاد الأوروبي. كما أن الدراسة افترضت أن التعمق في الاتحاد الاوروبي يتطلب زيادة في معايير مؤسسات الاتحاد الأوروبي (أي الجسم القانوني الأوروبي) مما يجعل من الصعب على الدول تلبية معايير محددة ويجعل من الصعب توحيده.

وبشكل عام، فقد طبقت هذه الدراسه المنهج التاريخي، الوصفي التحليلي في قضية حدود الاتحاد الأوروبي.

وقد وجدت الدراسة أن عملية توحيد أوروبا كانت عملية صعبة، لا سيما بسبب الاختلافات الرئيسة بين مختلف أعضاء الدول، حيث أن لكل دولة أجندة وجدول أعمال خاص بها، ووجهات نظر سياسية

واقتصادية وثقافية مختلفة. وعلى الرغم من ذلك فإن الاتحاد الأوروبي قد حقق الكثير ، ولكن هناك العديد من القيود والعقبات التي تؤدي الى المماطلة وتأخير عملية التكامل والاندماج بين دول الاتحاد.

أولاً: تم إقرار جواز سفر موحد حيث يستطيع الناس التحرك بحرية في جميع أنحاء أوروبا، ولكن هذا الانجاز مُقيد بالعديد من القيود على سبيل المثال: الأسرة، والثقافة واللغة والمنهج. إن الاتحاد الأوروبي قد تمكن من إزالة الحدود الداخلية، ولكن لا يزال هناك العديد من العقبات والقيود التي يجب القضاء عليها.

ثانياً: إن الاتحاد الأوروبي قد عمل على إلغاء الحدود الخارجية أمام المهاجرين بشرط أن يكونوا مستوفيين لمعايير الهجرة. ومع ذلك، هناك العديد من العقبات التي قد تعرقل سياسات قبول المهاجرين في الاتحاد الأوروبي، على سبيل المثال: زيادة معدل البطالة، وزيادة الخوف لدى المواطنين الأوروبيين من تزايد أعداد اللاجئين اللافت، ووجود الايديولوجيات السياسية المتطرفة التي ولدت ونشأت في الشرق الأوسط، مثل حركة داعش التي تهدد إستقرار الاتحاد الأوروبي ووحدته الوطنية.

ثالثاً: إن النقاشات حول قبول دول جديدة إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي محدود. حيث أن هناك العديد من القيود على قبول أعضاء جدد مثل تركيا. وكشفت هذه الدراسة أن البلد المرشح يحتاج لتلبية واكمال جميع شروط ومتطلبات الانضمام إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي من قبل الاتحاد. ومع ذلك، فإن الانضمام انتقائي، حيث أن الاتحاد الأوروبي في بعض الحالات يتجاوز هذه القوانين والشروط لسبب سياسي، كما هو الحال مع الدول الشيوعية السابقة التي إنضمت إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي على الرغم من أنها لم تستوفي الشروط و المعايير، ومن الممكن أيضاً أن يقبل الاتحاد الأوروبي عضوية أوكرانيا على الرغم من أن أوكرانيا لا تزال بعيدة عن تحقيق معايير الانضمام.

Contents

Introduction

This descriptive study aims at emphasizing the internal and international borders of the EU, and the EU structure and institutions will receive the required attention and focus.

The Schengen Area is a term familiar in international relations, particularly when a traveler to Europe asks for a Schengen Visa. This means that the traveler can travel from one country to another without restrictions and can settle in any of the countries covered by the Schengen visa and area.

Could the Schengen concept and formulation be a unifying element of the EU policies or a passing signal that has been regretted by the EU policy makers? Both alternatives will have direct impact on EU unifying policies, thus reflecting solidification, rather that disintegration between EU member states.

Borders in international relations are not restricted to the state's physical border, but extends to include cultural, economic, geographic and political borders,..etc. Political borders usually transcend the physical or geographic borders of a nation. "Europeanism," a concept most probably transcends that of the EU Borders, will be discussed to show whether it enhances solidification or disintegration of the EU borders.

Chapter One:
Background of the Study

1.1 The Title of the Study

The Borders of the European Union (EU): Internal and International Dimension
 (1992- 2014).

1.2 Problem of the Study

The problem of this study lies in finding the middle path in which two concepts interact. For this purpose, the ideas affecting the changes in the EU borders, particularly the "Schengen" concept and plan as well as the role of the EU policies in unifying Europe will be analyzed. The impact of the Schengen area on the abolishment of EU borders among the EU member states or their reintegration and solidification will be revealed.

The role expected by a candidate country, In terms of its development, democratization, and good governance etc. … to be eligible to eventually join the EU will be scrutinized. The relationship between the EU and new candidate countries, like Turkey will be highlighted, particularly as Turkey has two outstanding characteristics: it is a secular state by stipulation of the Turkish constitution, and a Muslim state both denominationally and culturally. Accordingly, while on the one hand, the integration of Turkey in the EU will reinforce the multicultural image of the EU, the Turkish experience, on the other hand, has proved to the whole world that religion, democracy and secularism are concepts that can coexist.

The second issue highlighted in the study is the position held by some experts who argue that Turkey could not be taken to be a bridge to the Middle East, and its relationship today to the EU will continue to be more fragile than it had been a decade or two earlier. The non-acceptance of Turkey as a bridge among the EU countries and the countries of the Middle East or the Muslim world in general is based on two points. First, the rejection of Turkey of the caliphate during the twenties of the twentieth century and the demand by the Arabs, being

the second largest ethnic group after the Ottomans in the Ottomans caliphate, to retake the role of the caliphate to its rightful owners, namely the Arabs.[1]

Secondly, there is much resistance to the role that Turkey, represented by its President Erdogan, is playing in contemporary developments in the Arab World, especially in Syria, Iraq and Egypt. However, despite Egyptian rejection of the role of the Ottomans to resume the caliphate role, the Erdogan- Turkish rule cannot be minimized. Egypt and the Egyptian political elite see themselves as the natural bridge between Europe, Africa and Asia on the one hand and the Middle East on the other.

1.3 Questions of the Study

The study shall be guided by the following main questions, among others:

i. What are the differences between internal and external borders of the EU?
ii. What role do the EU-policies play in unifying Europe?
iii. What is the impact of the Schengen Area on borders abolishment?
iv. What impact does the term "Europeanism" have on the solidification or disintegration of the borders of the EU states?
v. What does the phrase migration imply?
vi. Are candidate countries to the EU, like Turkey, defined within or outside the borders of the EU, particularly as these borders include natural, cultural, religious dimensions, etc. …?

1.4 Justification of the Study

i. The European Union (EU) is an international association of European countries that now includes 28 countries. Croatia was the last to join the EU on July 1st, 2013 in accordance with the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992. The study will show that the ideas of the Maastricht Treaty, a major historical and social turning point in the history of the EU in particular, and in Europe, in general has existed since the fifties of the last century.

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[1] Albert Hourani, (1798-1939): Arabic thought in the Liberal Age, University Printing House, and Cambridge, The UK.p:3-34

ii. Few research on the differences between the internal and external borders of the EU, as well as on the role of the Schengen area in the solidification or the disintegration of the EU has been done.

iii. Few comparative analytic research regarding the role of the EU policies on the internal and international borders of the EU has been conducted.

iv. The term "Europeanism," has to be elaborated, particularly in terms of its role in as to solidifying, or disintegrating the borders of the EU states.

v. The model of the EU has obliged countries to succumb to its criteria in order to join the EU. The study will focus on the role that candidate countries to the EU is expected to play in term of their development, democratization, good governance etc. … in order to be eligible to enter eventually the EU.

vi. The EU has been built on democracy and anti-racist policies as the Maastricht Treaty shows. However, as religion plays a part in the accession of Turkey to the EU, the EU procrastinates to accept Turkey as a member country to the EU because of its religion, namely Islam, though Turkey's constitution stipulates the country to be secular. So, how can the relationship between secularism and Islam be bridged?

1.5 Aim of the Study

This study aims to underline, analyze and compare the borders of Europe, the geographic borders that had been dividing Europe, and the role of the EU in unifying Europe both in drawing new borders, and "eliminating" the geographic borders will be scrutinized. The difference between the internal and external borders of the EU will be discussed to reveal the impact of borders abolishment caused by the Schengen stipulation, as well as to elaborate the phrase migration and how it affects the EU external borders. Further, the relationship between the EU and the new candidate countries will be highlighted, while attention is drawn to the limitations of accepting new members like Turkey.

1.6 Boundary of the Study

- The EU internal borders and external borders.
- Al-Quds University in Abu Dees, Palestine.
- Time Frame:
    i. Related to the EU, the time frame is 1992-2014.
    ii. Related to Turkey, the time frame is 1995- 2014.

Clarification about the time frame: the ideas of the EU were in the back head of the founders of the EU since the fifties of the last century. It was not put into practice until 1992 by the Maastricht Treaty. The EU now includes 28 countries. Turkey is a candidate country since 1995. Despite the fact that it has met all the criteria set down by the EU for membership, some futurist observers argue that Islam might be the reason why the EU is procrastinating on admitting Turkey to the EU.

1.7 Study Hypothesis

The study presumes that the more the EU is expanded, the harder it will be to unify it. For widening, or expanding the borders, implies integrating new countries in the EU, which becomes more diversified as a result, and thus more difficult to integrate new member countries to the EU. Further, the study presumes that deepening the integration entails an increase in the criteria of the EU institutions (i.e. the body of European law) which makes it more difficult for countries to meet the set criteria and makes it harder to unify.

1.8 Methodology of the Study

This study applies the historical, descriptive, analytical methods while shedding light on the past, the present and the future of the EU. Attempts made to unite Europe since the beginning of the interwar period has been focused. Since the end of the First World War, all what Europe could think of was disarmament and peace after all the damage Europe has faced. The important events, factors, figures, ideas and treaties that led to the transformation of the EU from a customs union to full integration, as is the case today, will be discussed and analyzed, particularly, in terms of the role of the EU policies in unifying Europe. The ideas that affected the changes of the EU borders, especially the "Schengen" concept and plan will also be discussed to show whether the Schengen area has resulted in EU borders abolishment, reintegration or solidification.

1.9 Definition of Terms

In this research, the study will utilize the following terms, theories and figures.

     i.   The European Union (EU): The European Union (EU) is an international association of European countries that now includes 28 countries. Croatia was the last to join the EU on July 1st, 2013 in accordance with the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992. The ideas of uniting Europe emanated from the

frustration dominated in the region after World War Two. the concept was later extended and followed by economic interests. Today, the unity of Europe expanded to eliminate the political sovereignty of each member country and to redraw symbolic characteristics. The member states give up their autonomy voluntarily to opt for the union, which creates an umbrella that covers all of its member states.

ii. Schengen Area: one of the achievements of the EU. The treaty that abolished the borders of visa and passport requirements for crossing borders among the EU members. The area, which includes 26 member states, functions as one single entity.

iii. Maastricht Treaty: Signed on the 7th of February 1992, the ideas included in treaty on European Union has been the foundation of the EU since the fifties. The treaty has obliged several countries to raise their standards to join the EU.

iv. Enlargement: the process that allows new member states to join the EU. The EU or its forerunners set criteria in order to expand or extend from six member states in the fifties up to 28 member states today. In each enlargement wave new member states have joined the EU, the latest being Croatia.

v. The phenomenon of Europeanism: the common belief in the economic, political and cultural aspects of United Europe.

vi. Widening: the expanding of the EU and allowing new member states to join. Deepening: increasing the standards and criteria of the EU institutions, the body of European law.

vii. Migration: the factors that constitute migration policies, as well as the effects of migration on the opening of the EU's borders.

1.10 The Structure of the study

This study includes the following chapters:

Chapter One: Background of Study.

Chapter Two: The Theoretical Conceptual Framework and Review of Related Literature.

Chapter Three: The European Union (EU).

Chapter Four: The Internal and External Borders of the EU.

Chapter Five: The European Union Identity and Phenomenon.

Chapter Six: Results and Conclusions.

Chapter Two:
The Theoretical Conceptual Framework and Review of Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

Research done on the effectiveness of the EU borders resulted in mixed and controversial results, thus reflecting the different views of both opponents and supporters. While opponents believe that the borders of the EU are just an exhausting burden shouldered by powerful states, proponents view that the EU borders proves its existence through its work as a single unit, thus improving its performance to surmount various crises. However, though various studies have shown the impact of the European Union on different aspects, the European Union is expecting to overcome the many obstacles that may weaken the Union and reduce its strength.

2.2 Review of related literature

In addition to the impact of the market activities, lobbyists and legislators that connect one to another and create links, Alex Stone Sweet has analyzed the impact of the macro institutional change in the institutional thinking, the EU solidification. Those links, as the author believes, have been self-reinforcing and created unity leading to expansion and expanding. The market economy and interest, as this study will reveal, have constituted a successful attempt to unite Europe. At the same time, increasing the criteria of the EU institutions (the body of European law) makes it more difficult for countries to meet the set criteria and makes it harder to unify.

In his book, The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht, Moravcsik develops and outlines his integration theory "Liberal Inter-governmentalism;" a reaction to neo-functionalist theory of European integration, which relies on realist ideas, including the state and its role and the government in international relation. In his theory, the author attacks the historical institutionalism, aiming to rebut the geopolitics of the EU, claiming that The EU is nothing special; but rather merely an international organization that cooperates to promote the economic interest of Britain, France and Germany. Though he believes that the EU is a unique political system, he confirms that it cannot be considered as a federal union. This study will scrutinize the most significant principles of the European Union, particularly the transfer of the autonomy of

nation-states to the European international institutions, which are still governed by granting sovereignty to each state. In oppose to Moravcsik theory, the study will reveal how the national interest, which might include higher politics such as national security could be a motif for integration.

In his paper, Angelos Giannakopoulos emphasizes the impact of the Turkish accession to the EU as a new member state, and describes the US approach towards the Turkish situation. He argues that Turkey, because of the tense situation that it has found itself in during her long history of domination of the Middle East countries could not be taken as a bridge to the Middle East, and its relationship to the EU will continue to be fragile. The study will reveal that though some might argue that Turkey would be beneficial and the EU would send a message to the world that religion has nothing to do with integration, Turkey might constitute a threat to the EU integration process for many reasons, e.g. religion, population, GDP, economic and politics.

David McKay illustrates the achievements of the Single European Act, particularly regarding the establishment of a common market, and sheds light on the role of the European leader in reviving the integration process after two decades of stagnation. In this study, I will shed light on the past, the present and the future of the EU, focusing on the attempts made to unite Europe since the beginning of the interwar period, where Europe sought to disarmament and peace following all the damage inflicted upon the continent. The most significant events, factors, figures, ideas and treaties that led to the transformation of the EU will be displayed.

In his theory, Ernst Hass, a pioneer in the neo-functionalist way of thinking about how borders break down, provides a theoretical understanding of the integrative process, through discussing the significance of national states and the role of regional interest groups, which push the integrative process forward. He also analyses cases in which economic factors were the motor behind the integrative process, relying on economic theory, and neo-functionalism, where loyalties and political communities and political integration have been discussed. This study reveals the role of regional groups in breaking down the state's physical, cultural, economic, geographic and political borders.

In his Article, Harry J Bentham discusses the rise of nations and people, as well as the development of nationalism, stressing the role of immigration in breaking the borders down, thus creating the so- called: "the citizen of the world." Migration will be elaborated in this study to reveal its disadvantages, particularly as a means to limit further integration. The article presents a comparison between the EU, the US and Switzerland, particularly in terms of the EU institutions to the democratic model of the US and Switzerland, showing the fears of the European citizens emanating from the capabilities of the EU institutions after the Renaissance of the EU and opts for a single currency the Euro by Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992. The study will shed light on the Maastricht Treaty and its role in pushing integration forward. It further accuses the EU to suffer for democratic deficit, namely, despite EU claims to be a democratic model it has been procrastinating for more than twenty five years to accept Turkey as a new member for reasons based on religious affiliation.

In her paper, Kirsty Hughes discusses the political and economic impact of accepting Turkey as a member of the EU, thus wondering if Turkey can be treated as any other candidate member as in the earlier enlargement waves. She describes the history of the EU-Turkish relations, as well as the views of both parties. One view is in favor of the Turkish accession to the EU. The other opposes the accession on political and economic grounds. The study sheds light on the fact that though Turkey has fulfilled all of the EU criteria for membership, and wonders why it is still expected ineligible to enter eventually the EU?

In his book, Neill Nugent introduces us to the history of the EU, explains how the idea of uniting Europe, which started at "the Council of Europe" began to recover the region from the devastation of the World War II, where Europe has transformed from a political into economics entity and from coal and steel community into the free trade association. He describes the minor change period and the rise of president de Gaul, analyses the stagnation period, raises the case of "Empty Chair Crises", and introduces us to the first enlargement wave and the single European Act. This study scrutinizes the impact of the minor and major changes that have occurred in the European Union, to find out whether such changes have pushed the integrative process forward or not. the impact of enlargement will be analyzed to show that accepting new members in the EU would bring different economic, cultural, intellectual and political differences to the EU which might obstruct further integration.

Chapter Three:
The European Union (EU)

3.1 Introduction

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the development of state and society in Europe has been, fundamentally influenced by trans-European phenomena in terms of historical, intellectual, political and economic developments. Despite this fact, the European continent is characterised by a high diversity at all levels, including the form of government, state institutions and their functioning within the European Union. Although the process of European integration has to a great extend unified national policies in specific areas, the way major policy issues are debated and treated within the EU varies from state to state and from society to society. This chapter will present a historical background on the establishment of the European Union (EU), focusing on the ideas affecting the changes in the EU, particularly regarding the transformation of the EU from the European Community to European Union via the Maastricht Treaty. The structure and institutions of the EU, the role of a candidate country to the EU, and the role of the EU policies in unifying Europe will also be emphasized.

3.2 The European Union (EU)

Though the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992, has created The European Union as an international association of European countries comprising 28 countries, where Croatia being the last to join the Union in July 1st, 2013, many of the ideas of this treaty have been formulated since the fifties of the last century. The integration between European countries presents the biggest integration and unity since the existence of the Roman Empire. It is also the second largest economic power after the USA. One of the most significant principles of the European Union is the transfer of the autonomy of nation-states to the European international institutions, which are governed by the granted supremacy by each state. Accordingly, though the union is a unique political system, it cannot be considered as a union federation.

The devastation, inflicted upon Europe after WWI and by its own people and other outside parties, motivated political leaders and thinkers to visualize a unified Europe in order to bring peace to the region. It was a Europe's ultimate dream, though sometimes correlated

with federalism, to have a large entity called Europe, where all the nation states are regions of this entities.

In 1917, the US entered WWI where its president Woodrow Wilson proposed the "Fourteen Points" plan, stating that peace should be reached soon in Europe, and referred to the total freedom of trade and the removal of all trade barriers[2], which is a very significant step to the unification of Europe. However, this plan had failed, particularly because it featured other conditions for how Europe should be divided and which country should take which territory. These proposals were rejected by many European countries for being regarded as interference, or an order from an outside party that has nothing to do with Europe, particularly as the US intervention was mainly due to financial reasons. The division that the US wished to see Europe in, was a reason for delaying whatever unity Europe was seeking to achieve in that period.

Going back to ideas of federalism and unifying Europe and its states, Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the editor of the journal "Pan-Europa,"[3] had been advocating for Pan-Europa since 1920's, and co-founded the "Pan European Union" in 1922, and the "Pan Europa Movement" in 1923. He had been lobbying for a long time for the ideology of federalism and the feeling of belonging to one nation and one land "Europe". He treated Europe as one entity and referred to the most serious threat, i.e. partition, which Europe would face. However, his ideas were probably pre-mature for that period, Particularly as Europe was coming out of a devastating war to its people, land, property, financial system, and economy.

The French Prime Minister Aristide Briand was among the thinkers and political leaders who had spoken in 1929 in front of the League of Nations about a European federation based on shared economic experiences and trade cooperation, making proposals for a European Union."[4] Indeed, his ideas were typical for the interwar period, but pre-mature for the European mentality of the time.

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[2] Snell, J. (1954), "Wilson on Germany and the Fourteen Points", The Journal of Modern History. (Online) The University of Chicago Press. Vol.26 No.4 pp. 364-369.

[3] Wiedemer, P. (1993) "The idea behind Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European union". History of European Ideas. (Online) Vol. 16 Issue 4-6 pp. 827-833.

[4] Davies, N. (1996) A History of Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 950

The League of Nations, the first organization to put the world in an institution under regulations and the rule of law, in an attempt for peace-making represented another attempt of unification. The main aim of the league was to maintain world peace, disarmament, and regulate security in for other belligerents in general, and Europe in particular, while every state maintain their sovereign rights.[5] As the war was done on European ground, the league sought to settle down European nations, unite them somehow through security and trade, and most importantly prevent another deadly devastating war, a goal which the League failed to achieve.

After the Second World War II, Europe was destroyed, again… people were frustrated and tired of the on-going damage. The victorious powers had different visions regarding the future of Europe and bringing peace to the region. They have met at the Congress of The Hague (1948), and expressed the following views: Churchill defended a United Europe, obviously excluding the United Kingdom. The USA advocated European integration, as a capitalist bulwark against Soviet expansion. The French were divided, between a strong nationalist party, such as de Gaulle, and the functionalists such as Schuman and Monnet. Schuman, 'foreign minister', and Monnet 'once deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations, international financier, coordinator of the allied war effort', defended practical, mainly economic integration, where all states will be depending on each other "infrastructure, transportation, universities, business life etc."[6] In addition, in a way to make war impossible, states were willing to give up a degree of their sovereignty to gain peace and unity. Though the Council of Europe, created in 1949, was a compromise to bring all European countries, including states, non-members of the EU, together around one table, it is wholly intergovernmental, weak, and, has no connection with the European Union.

Schuman proposed to integrate coal and steel, two essential elements of the economy at that time. In order to secure peace, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) came into being by the Treaty of Paris in 1952, and began to unite European countries economically and politically with the aim of ending the bloody war, where the six founders are: Germany, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg. However, the endeavour to establish the European Defence Community (EDC) by the co-founders has failed due to the failure in

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[5] Albrecht-Carrie, R. (1972) Europe after 1815. Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co. Fifth Edition. p. 189

[6] David McKay, "Federalism and European Union – A Political Economy Perspective", Oxford University Press, Oxford (1999), of which: Chapter 3 (p. 37-67)

army integration. The 1950s was dominated by the Cold War between the East and the West. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome resulted in creating The European Economic Community (EEC), which was an attempt by the Benelux-countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg)to unite Europe economically.

France preferred to integrate only within a customs union, Germany wanted a free trade area due to its diverse export, and the European Free Trade Association came to light as Britain decided to create European Free Trade with all countries that have been excluded from the European integration. Britain established EFTA hoping that they would be able to merge both the (EEC) with (EFTA) but for many reasons Britain ultimately attempted to join (EEC).

The Treaty of Rome (EEC), 1957

The European Union carries the responsibility of unifying a very diverse region under one Umbrella, while every candidate country join the European Union should fulfill the Copenhagen criteria and should adopt a common vision with the members of the union. In addition, signing the treaty deprives the country from drawing any borders around its territories, which implies that countries would give up part of their autonomy. This mentality played a role in erasing natural and political borders. Having a unified identity and creating a unity was a goal in the back head of the founders of coal and steel community, where and which, they thought of creating mutual understanding and unity that pay off, as opposed to World War Two distractions and frustrations in all of Europe. Nevertheless, this raises a

significant issue that questions the future of the European Union's ability to widen its zone, where in fact, the EU becomes more diverse in the sense that it gets harder to unify.

3.3 From European Community to European Union – Maastricht Treaty

After all the attempts of unifying Europe through economics, Maastricht treaty is the new way of unifying Europe politically. It represents a new stage comprising three pillars: The European community, Common Market (a strong role for both the Commission and the Council, while most decisions are taken by Qualified Majority Voting (QMV)), and The Common Foreign and Security Policy (a weak role for the Commission, a strong role for the Council, while most substantial decisions are taken by consensus), in addition to Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters in 1999 (weak role for the Commission, strong role for the Council, while most substantial decisions are taken by consensus).

Maastricht treaty introduces new policy areas such as: education, European citizenship, public health, and consumer protection. The treaty includes the co-decision making process between the Council and the Parliament, which was strengthened in favor of the Parliament with the right to reject the Commission, but only as a whole.[7] The European Community (EC) became the European Union (EU) after British objections against the name "European Federation." Maastricht Treaty major accomplishment is the decision to adopt the single currency, the Euro, by 2002.

The treaty presents the middle path in which two levels interacted. At the internal level, the member states were ready to supplement the process of integration and get to the next level of integration which is the hardest, where the political borders would transcend the geographic borders of a nation, which implies that the nation has to give up part of its autonomy to a higher level. At the external level, the fall of the Soviet Union encouraged to reinforce the community's international position.

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[7] Neill Nugent, "The Government and Politics of the European Union", 5th Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmils - Basingstoke (2003), of which: Chapter 5 (p. 60-69)
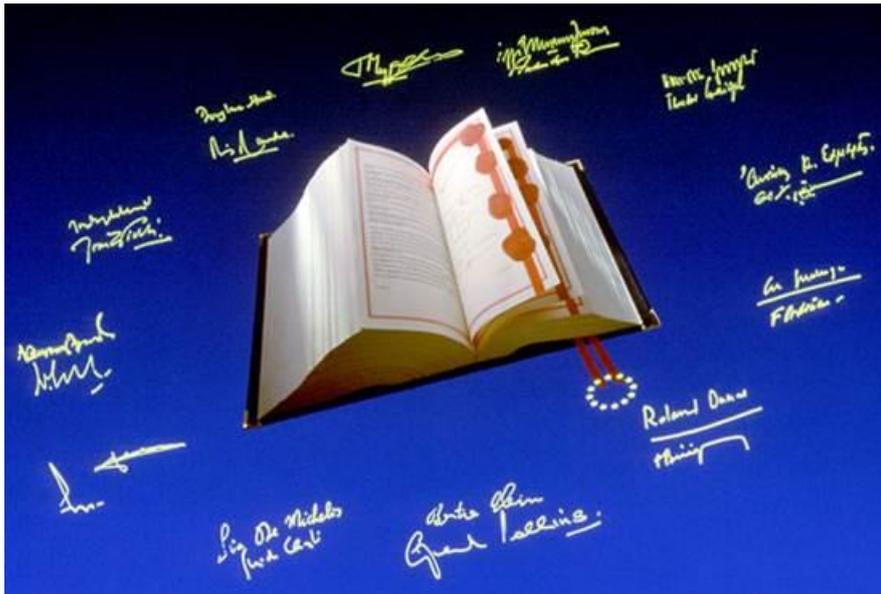
The Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992

3.4 The Structure of the EU and its Institutions

Through the ongoing process of integration the EU has evolved around seven principle decision making bodies, listed in article 13 of the European Union: the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of the European Union, The European Commission, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank and the Court of Auditors[8]. Such bodies which are different from the European Union agencies, have had an impact on the policies

The European Parliament (EP)

The EP is divided into quotas of representatives from each country, responsible for carrying out the legislative function, and electing parliamentary institution of the EU, who are voted in by the European electorate once every five years via proportional representation. The Parliamentarians are members of an amalgamation of like-minded national parties known as the trans-European political parties. The "Party of European Socialists", for instance, unifies most national-level socialist parties, the same applies to The European Christian Democratic party, also known as the "European People's Party."[9] The Parliament includes 751 Euro-

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[8] [Consolidated versions of Treaty on European Union and of Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union"](#) Eur-lex. Retrieved 1 December 2009

[9] John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, "Decision-Making in the European Union", The MacMillan Press, London (1999), of which: Chapter 2 (p. 31-59)

Parliamentarians, the second largest democratic electorate in the world after India. Although this number changes with each enlargement, the powers of the Parliament whose members can reject the vast majority of proposals, are on the rise. The Parliament may convene in Strasbourg and Brussels, while its administrative office, the secretariat, is located in Luxembourg.

The European Council

The European Council, created in 2009 by the treaty of Lisbon, comprises the heads of the member states, where the heads of government rather than ministers, meet about three times a year, for setting general policy making guidelines. These general guidelines are merely advisory, as the European Council has no formal executive or legislative powers. However, being made up of the heads of governments, it clearly wields direct power over the Council of Ministers. The Council also deals with general issues of fundamental significance, and its voting is based on consensus. The Council, headed by Donald Tusk at the moment, assembles in Brussels and has a rotating presidency.

The Council of the European Union

The Council of the European Union, often referred as Council of ministers, is the third of the seven institutions of the EU, and part of the legislative body "the Parliament." Ministers of all member states within a certain field, such as the Health ministers or the Environment Ministers get together in Brussels, Belgium, to discuss and vote on certain matters. Several voting systems are in use in the Council of Ministers (simple majority, qualified majority, and consensus.) The Council of Ministers has a rotating presidency, with a set system that gives every country the opportunity to set the agenda for 6 months among the governments of the EU member states.

The European Commission

The European Commission, which votes by simple majority, is the executive body of the EU. It is responsible for legislation and decision making. Its functions are limited to making proposals or implementing decisions. Which represent the common interest of Europe. Each member state nominates one Commissioner for a five year term, who does not formally represent his country. They swear an oath at the European Court of Justice,

which obligates them to fully respect the treaties and to be independent in carrying their responsibilities. The number of Commissioners has increased with every enlargement.Today, The Commission consists of 28 commissioners, one member per member state. Every Commissioner has a "Directorate General" behind him, within a certain field, just like national ministries. For instance, there is a Commissioner for the Education and a Directorate General of the Education; a Commissioner for Transport and a Directorate General for Transport. The Directorates General constitute the bureaucracies that underlie decision-making, e.g. by gathering information. Both the Commission and the Directorates General sit in Brussels.

The Court of Justice of the European Union (ECJ)

The ECJ, seated in Luxemburg, is the EU institution responsible for implementing the EU law, It comprises one judge from each member state, unauthorized to represent member-state interests. The highest court of the EU legal system is the European Court of Justice created in 1952. The judges are nominated by their respective national governments for a renewable term of six years, where each judge needs unanimous member-state approval. The ECJ mission is to ensure that the EU law is observed, and to settle disputes between states, institutions, businesses and individuals. In general, the ECJ ensures that the member states ratify their obligation under the EU treaties, where and which the European law takes superiority over national law.

The European Central Bank

The European Central Bank, seated in Frankfurt, is the institution that administers monetary policies at the Eurozone. It consists of 19 members of the EU member states, and is governed by the European Law, where its main objective is to maintain price stability within the Eurozone region.

EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION (EMU)-
THE EURO ZONE

European Union countries that:
- Have adopted the euro
- Have not adopted the euro

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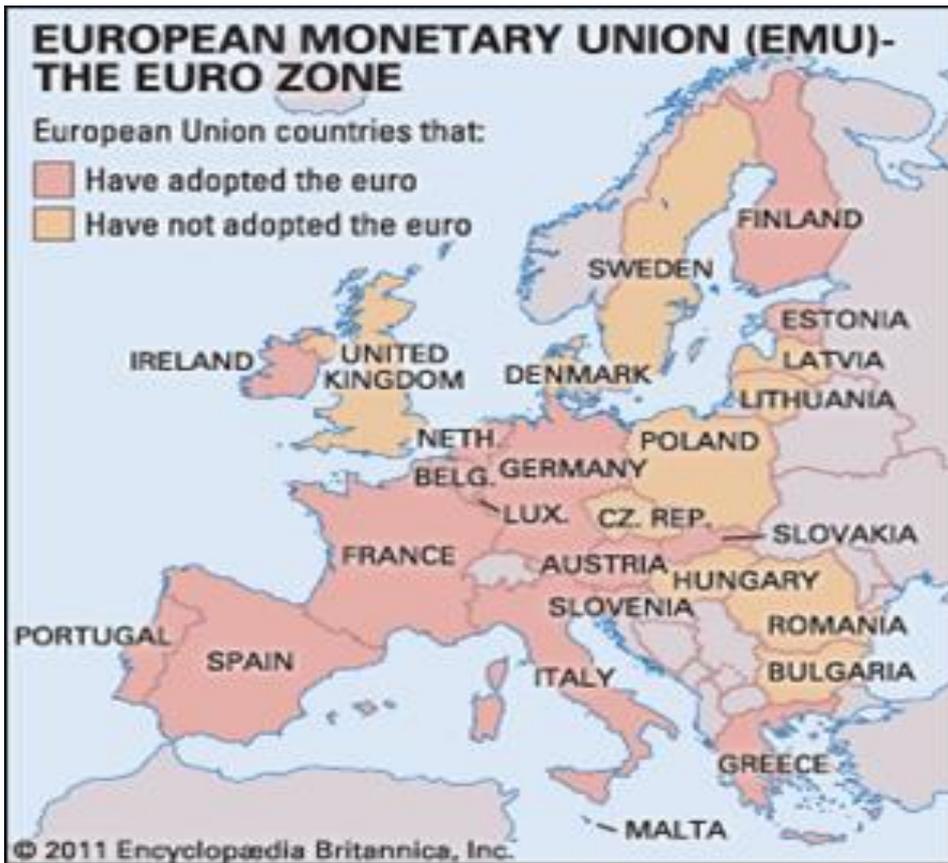
The on-going process of integration led to the adoption of the single currency Euro, the maximum definition of monetary union compared to the minimum definition of monetary union where the states maintain fixed exchange rates between their national currencies. However, Adopting the Euro was controversial particularly as many people believe that the Euro has increased living expenses. From an economic perspective, however, given the identical amount of competition before and after adoption, it is totally unclear how it would have done so. Inflation rates of the period were low, disproving a general rise, but that can hide price increases in specific, relatively small sectors. One explanation is that retailers waited for the Euro to drive up their prices. In addition, economists have argued that monetary union is not a good idea for economically heterogeneous regions, as regions marked by different economic conditions need different economic policies, such as differing interest rates. To the above information, many of the European countries are marked by their great internal differences, whereas the overall increase in the range of economic preferences- as a result of monetary unification- is probably smaller, than expected to be.

The Court of Auditors

The Court of Auditors, seated in Luxemburg, is the seventh institution of the EU that comprises one member from each member state. It is responsible for reporting any problem in the court reports for the attention of other states and the institution. Though The Court has no judicial functions, it has been EU's independent external auditor, but has to remain in touch with the other institution.

3.5 The Role of a Candidate Country to the EU

Integration includes industrial, political, economic, cultural, legal and social integration. Member states of the EU are members in several Organizations including: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Council of Europe (COE), Single Euro Payments Area (SEPA), European Union Customs Union (EUCU), European Olympic Committees (EOC), European Common Aviation Area (ECAA), European Civil Aviation Conference (ECAC), European Committee for Standardization (CEN), European Telecommunications Standards Institute (ETSI), European Committee for Electro-technical Standardization (CENELEC), European Patent Convention (EPC), European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC, Euratom), European Higher Education Area (EHEA) - Belgium as Flemish Community and French Community, i.e. the German-speaking Community of Belgium is not included. In addition, fourteen states: Belgium, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain are part of the Eurozone and NATO. They are all members of: the European Union (EU), the European Economic Area (EEA), the Schengen Area, and the European Defense Agency (EDA).

The European Council determines whether the country's request to become a member of the EU is acceptable or not. Candidate countries are obliged to succumb to the Council's criteria in order to join the EU and to fulfil the criteria of Copenhagen: first, the country should have achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. Secondly, the country must have a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with the competitive pressures and market forces within the Union. Thirdly, the candidate should have the capability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and

monetary union. Fourthly, the union must be capable of absorbing the new member, while maintaining the momentum of European integration.

From the point of view of the ex-communist countries, accession was politically beneficial, in the light that integration would provide an opportunity to escape from Soviet domination. However, membership of NATO was actually much more critical in that sense, and was rejected by the US at that stage, for fear of offending Russia. Moreover, integration would institutionalise democratisation, as a return to non-democratic practices would lead to expulsion from the Union.

However, controversy took place on whether or not membership of ex-communist countries would bring significant development aid, particularly as incorporation into the EU would probably lead to economic growth. Some believe that accession would lead to a huge increase in FDI to the regions on the Eastern side of the old East-West border, given their low labour costs, and geographic proximity to the West though EU labour and environmental law would cancel this gain to some extent. The empirical experiences with Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Greece and Italy were very encouraging. The new elites sought to institutionalise neo-liberalism in view of the great unrest in Eastern Europe after the fall of communism: there were economic crises all across the region, which led to political extremism both on the right and on the left. The legitimacy of the elites was thus on the decline. Membership thus served their interests, albeit they sold it to the population at large as a "return to Europe."[10]

3.6 The Role of the EU Policies in Unifying Europe

The EU member states whose policies play a major role in the internal and international borders, are active in a wide range of aspects and topics from trade and transport to human rights. The EU share jurisdiction with member states in aspects including internal market rules; aspects of social policy; economic, social, and territorial cohesion; agriculture and aspects of fisheries; the environment; consumer protection; transport; trans-European networks; energy; freedom, security, and justice; aspects of public health; facets of research and technological development and space; and elements of development cooperation and

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[10] Neill Nugent, "The Government and Politics of the European Union", 5th Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmils - Basingstoke (2003), of which: Chapter 5 (p. 70-80)

humanitarian aid. In addition, many decisions are made, regarding the customs union, where the EU may legislate and adopt legally binding acts.

Common Agriculture Policy – Farm Policy

The EU serves many purposes with regard to farm policy, production, trade and processing of the agricultural products where: it helps farmers to produce sufficient quantities of safe food, protect farmers from price instability and market crises, creates job opportunities in the food industry, sustain rural communities and protect the animal welfare and the environment.

Competition Policy – Antitrust Policy

The EU's competition policy rules are designed to ensure fair and equal conditions that promote economic success and safeguard the interests of consumers, for businesses, goods and services are competitive on the world market. Under the EU competition policy rules, businesses cannot fix prices, or abuse a dominant position in a certain market to have smaller competitors. In addition, the merger of larger companies is not acceptable without the permission of the European Commission even if they are based outside the EU.

Democracy and Human Rights Policy

Respect of human rights, human dignity, democracy, freedom, equality and the rule of law are core values of the EU, as they are core principles embedded in the EU treaties. Respect of human rights is one of the criteria for countries seeking to join the EU and a requirement for countries having relationship with the EU. The EU's human rights policy focuses on political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights, in addition to minorities' rights including women and children. Fundamental rights are guaranteed nationally by constitutions and at the EU level by the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Development and Humanitarian Aid Policies

Since the late 50s, the EU has been active in cooperation development, where its main objective is poverty combat. Most aids are directed to the least developed countries. The member states of the EU provide more than half of all development aid worldwide, as it is

a leading donor of emergency and Humanitarian aid for those in need, victims of man-made and natural disasters regardless of their religion, race or politics.

Education, Culture and Youth policies

The EU 's education and cultural policies are combined with diversity, where the EU seeks to provide lifelong learning for all, encourages the exchange of ideas, and helps countries to learn from each other as well as to work together to improve education in all over Europe. Europe has an inspiring culture characterized by diversity and rich legacy. Through programs as Creative Europe, the EU helps to support artist, musicians, actors as well as other talented citizens.

Environment and Energy policies

Ensuring security of energy supply in the face of intense competition for gas, oil and other resources, developing competitive market of the EU's industries and meeting environmental challenges are issues at the top of the EU's agenda. The EU aims at protecting the environment of energy that affects the climate change. It also works to cut its greenhouse gas productions in order to slow the process of climate change.

Foreign Affairs and Defense Policies

The EU member states have given up part of their national sovereignty to EU institutions in which they speak and act as one entity in world affairs. The Foreign Affairs and security policy enhance the EU role as one world power working under one Umbrella. However, the common security and the defense policy empower the EU to respond to international crises throughout conflict prevention operations, besides civilian and military crisis management.

European Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy

EU enlargement is a historical step, a dream toward uniting, living in peace and growing in prosperity. The idea of uniting Europe has been supported by all the US presidents since Eisenhower. Any European country that respects democracy, liberty, fundamental rights, freedoms, human rights and the rule of law is eligible to apply to the EU membership.

3.7 Summary

Though there had been many endeavors to unify the states of Europe in different ways and ideologies, numerous great ideas had fail because they were presented at the wrong time.

The interwar period was a time of political instability, economic decline and social injustice. In that period, it was difficult to form any sort of unity under the circumstances that governed Europe. Europe was devastated after WWI, mostly financially. All the belligerents had debts, and then the Great Depression hit their economies hard; in addition to the reparations money that was set in Germany and the central powers. The intervention of the US as an external power and the creditor was not very helpful to the cause of the European unity, as it had hegemony over Europe in terms of political and financial power. The European unity was the solution to overcome all of those obstacles.

The EU is a significant economic and political partnership, which includes 28 member-states. It was established in the aftermath of the World War Two under the name European Economic Community (EEC) to integrate states economically to prevent conflict, where states with trade relations become economically interdependent. As the (EEC) and the huge single market had been created, the (EEC) moved from an economic to a political union; which first started as a pure economic integration and then evolved into policy areas including farm policy and environmental policy before it was known as the EU. The single market of the EU enables goods, services, money and people to move freely within the borders of the EU. This key objective of such an economic engine is to provide maximum benefit for Europeans from their huge resources.

The EU succeeded in maintaining peace, prosperity and stability, providing a high living standard as well as launching a single European currency "the Euro" for over a half of a century. The abolition of the EU borders implies that people can live, work and travel freely throughout most of the countries in Europe, which makes living in Europe more enjoyable, less complicated and easier.

The EU promotes human rights both among its members and around the world. Democracy, human dignity, freedom and equality, the rule of law and the respect for human rights constitute the EU's main vales. The EU is fundamentally based on the rule of law; where the actions taken by member-states are founded on treaties that they all agreed on voluntarily and democratically.

Candidate countries are obliged to succumb to the Copenhagen criteria in order to join the EU. In some cases, however, even if the candidate country fulfills the criteria there are still restrictions to its accession. On the other hand, some countries though do not come close to reach the Copenhagen criteria have joined the EU Union for political reasons; the ex-

communist countries which are poor countries and lack for institutions stability, are an example.

The EU main objective is to maintain its governing institutions more transparent and democratic. The directly elected European Parliament is given more power, and national Parliaments are given a greater role. All of the EU institutions are working alongside in order to achieve the EU agendas and goals. The EU also provides multiple channels to Europeans citizens in order to promote their role in the political process.

The idea of a unified Europe might not stay for a long time, for Europe's political leaders still lack foreseeing and vision. In addition, Some European states refuse to give up their autonomy for a supranational power. For instance, while many policies and decisions have been signed by the EU member-states, many others, including the constitution are still postponed, due to great controversy among member states. Some countries have applied referenda to agree on the constitution where their people have refused it. In other countries the Parliaments, themselves decided and agreed on it. Such Controversy reflects the fact that people, due to being ignorant of the significance of a unified constitution, may refuse decisions made by politician and decision makers.

Chapter Four:
The Internal and External Borders of the EU

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the geographic borders that have been dividing Europe. The role of the EU in unifying Europe in drawing new borders, and in "eliminating" the geographic borders will be investigated, and the difference between the EU's internal and external borders, in addition to borders abolishment caused by the Schengen stipulation will be scrutinized.

In this chapter, the definition of migration will be discussed in detail with regard to the EU's external border. In addition to the expected role that a candidate country to the EU plays in terms of democratization, development, good governance etc. . . . basically to be eligible to eventually join the EU. The relationship between the EU and new candidate countries, like Turkey will also be emphasized.

4.2 Geographic Borders

Geographically, Europe is a piece of land known as Eurasia, bordered by Asia along with the Ural Mountains from the East, the Atlantic from the West, and the Mediterranean which separates between Europe and Africa from the south, while the borders in the southeast of Asia is in dispute; where some say it is along the Ural River while others argue that the border line reaches the Empa's river[11] that separates the two continents. However, the arguments on the exactness of the European borders remains in dispute due to the differences that determine the extent or length of the border, particularly as Europe is a huge peninsula laying down naturally toward the East of the Asian continent with no visible natural boundaries that separate the peninsula from the mainland. From this point of view, the border passing through the Bosporus and Dardanelles which separates Turkey into two main parts is also not a natural one.[12] The continent of Europe is called a continent in term of its cultural significance rather than its natural geographic characters.

The cradle of Western civilization in ancient Greece and ancient Rome had influenced the world, and played a prominent role in world affairs, from the 15th century, particularly-

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[11] Empa's river lies in Volgograd, Russia.
[12] Prof. Dr. Ali YİĞİTa and Prof Dr. MeryemHAYIRb, Borders of Europe as culture continent, p: 1.

after the beginning of the colonial period between the 16th and 20th centuries, when European countries were dominating the Americas, most of Africa and large parts of Asia. The two world wars and the dramatizing events that took place in Europe in the 20th century have decreased the dominance of Western Europe over world affairs in the mid-20th century, and increased the influence of both the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, where Europe was divided along between the NATO in the west and the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe. Such a formula had aspired Europeans to seek European integration; establish the Council of Europe and the European Union, particularly following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, where some Eastern European countries were able to join the Union.

Although the European Union has broken down all the natural and political borders, it is not clear where these borders should end. This Union carries the responsibility of unifying a very diverse region under one Umbrella, while every candidate country join the European Union should fulfill the Copenhagen criteria and should adapt a common vision with the members of the union. Besides, signing the EU treaties deprives the member countries from drawing any borders around their territories. In addition to giving up part of their autonomy. However, such mentality has played a role in erasing natural and political borders. Having a unified identity and creating a unity was a goal in the back head of the founders of coal and steel community. They thought of creating mutual understanding and unity that pays off, as opposed to World War two distraction and frustrations predominating in all Europe.

Nevertheless, such diversity had rose significant issues that questioning the future of the European Union ability to widen its zone, where in the fact that the EU became more diverse and harder to be unified.

4.3 Internal Borders -Schengen Area

Dimitris Avramopoulos, a Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship once stated:

> We are celebrating 30 years of Schengen, and 20 years of the abolishment of internal border controls. Europeans make over 1.25 billion journeys within the Schengen area every year. A Europe without internal borders brings huge benefits to the economy as well, which shows how tangible, popular and successful the Schengen achievement is and the significance it has in our daily

lives and for our societies. We need to preserve and reinforce this common achievement. The creation of the Schengen area is one of the greatest achievements of the EU, and it is irreversible.

Though The Schengen area had allowed people to move freely within 26 European countries, there are still many restrictions which an EU citizen may have to face, such as the language barrier, where in advance some Europeans, particularly those of Eastern Europe, have to learn a new language. The economic differences among EU member-states create another dilemma, the Mediterranean countries like Greece and Cyprus experience different and more fragile economic levels than countries in northern Europe like UK, or the Netherlands. This implies that some employees and workers have to search for jobs in other countries, where a recognized degree of skills is required to allow a person to work there, not to mention the family factor where a person might feel homesick.

The Schengen Area

The Schengen Area is a term that has become familiar in international relations, particularly when a traveler to Europe asks for a Schengen Visa, which allows him/her to travel from one country to another without restrictions and to settle down in any of the countries covered by the Schengen visa and area. However, one may wonder whether the Schengen concept and formulation would be a unifying element in terms of the EU policies or merely a passing signal that has been regretted by the EU policy makers.

The Schengen Area not only eliminates the internal borders between member states but also strengthens external border control with non-Schengen members. According to the Schengen provisions, checks at the Union's internal borders are abolished while controls at the external borders are tightened in accordance with a set of rules that cover the following areas:[13]

    I.   Crossing the EU external borders, including the types of visa needed and how checks at external borders has to be carried out, where the conditions of entry and of the rules on visas for short stays (up to three months)are also well defined.

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[13] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/index_en.htm

II. Enhanced police cooperation, including rights of cross-border surveillance and hot pursuit.

III. Stronger judicial cooperation through a faster extradition system and transfer of enforcement of criminal judgments.

IV. Establishment and development of the Schengen Information System (SIS).

The Schengen agreement, named after a small village in Luxembourg, was signed on the 14th June 1985[14] among five out of the ten countries of the European Union members and implemented in 1995. The Area covers 26 European countries, four of which are not members of the EU: Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein, that abolished passport and other form of border control at their common borders, whereas some EU member states such as: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Romania and the United Kingdom are not members of the Schengen Area, and Bulgaria and Romania are in the process of joining it. Joining the Schengen Area is not a political decision, where and which the member countries should fulfill the following pre-conditions list in order to be able to:[15]

I. Take responsibility for controlling the external borders on behalf of the other Schengen States and for issuing uniform Schengen visas.

II. Efficiently cooperate with law enforcement agencies in other Schengen States in order to maintain a high level of security once border controls between Schengen countries are abolished.

III. Apply the common set of Schengen rules (the so-called "Schengen acquis",) such as controls of land, sea and air borders (airports), issuing of visas, police cooperation and protection of personal data.

IV. Connect to and use the Schengen Information System (SIS).

Applicant countries undergo a "Schengen evaluation" before joining the Schengen Area and periodically thereafter to ensure the correct application of the legislation.

One of the fundamental rights, guaranteed by the EU is the free movement which allows citizens to travel, work and live in any EU country without regulations. Such right is enhanced by the Schengen agreement, where citizens can cross internal borders without being subjected to border checks. At the internal borders and border area, the national authority can carry out police checks based on police information regardless of the person's

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[14] http://www.schengenvisainfo.com/schengen-visa-countries-list/
[15] Ibid, p:3

nationality. In case a Schengen country loses its control over its border; it would have a limited period of no more than thirty days to restore its control. If the attempts of restoring border control failed, the other Schengen countries, the European Parliament and the Commission and the public should be informed.
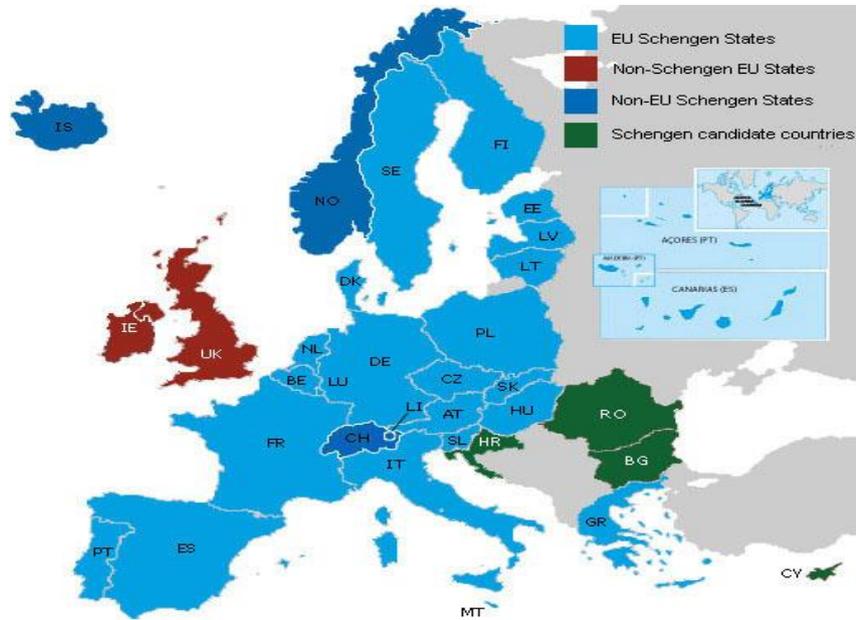
Schengen Area as of 1/7/2013

4.4 External Borders –Migration

In Harry. J. Bentham article, he states that:

> Migration, resulting from the development of better means of transport and easier connections across the world, has a "disintegrating" impact on modern nation-states. As the term "citizenship" is developed to accommodate increasing migrant populations, citizenship is destined to lose its function of excluding people, or to extinguish itself as a means of privileging people.

The immigrants who are looking for safety and economic security find in the EU their land of opportunity. Many of the immigrants who went to the EU member-states enjoy equal rights and treatment, to the extent that one cannot differentiate between the immigrants and

natives. However, the EU sets out certain conditions on the acceptance of immigrants. Where they are not regarded or treated as terrorists and have to abide to the law in force.

Europe has passed through several historical stages at each of which, it used to observe the evolution of energy and technology, which played a crucial role in the rapid development of the European society. The European society, earlier characterized as a religious, had been transformed to focus on civil principles and notions including individuality, particularly following the emergence of new ideologies concentrating on "nations." The European countries started to rebuild themselves in accordance with the new identity and way of thinking focusing on human advancement and freedom where strategic, political and economic ways have been used in eliminating the differences and the borders between its members.

In the 1960s and in light of full employment, large labor shortages came about in Northern Europe. Some northern European countries, such as the UK, France and the Netherlands, witnessed the end of colonialism, which caused great flow of people to their countries. Other Northern European governments such as: Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, signed treaties with poor countries such as Morocco and Turkey for large numbers of unskilled laborers to temporarily move northwards. However, the local citizens were unwilling to accept the vast majority of these workers who managed to permanently settle in their new host countries, mostly for unskilled jobs.

In 1973, the oil crisis put an end to the golden years of post-war economic growth, and similarly signaled the end of Europe's economic interest in and post-colonial tolerance towards further immigration. Nonetheless, for humanitarian reasons family reunification was still permitted, as was political asylum.[16] Some experts, however, argue that the future will perhaps necessitate further immigration as negative population growth and an increasing aging of the European population reduce the relative size of the work force. Certain welfare services such as free health care and generous pension schemes will become very difficult to sustain without further immigration. However, if we take into account the current wave of war refugees, in addition to the numbers of Asian and African foreigners who became nationals of the EU countries, particularly in UK, France, Germany

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[16] Sergio Carrera, "A Comparison of Integration Programmes in the EU – Trends and Weaknesses", Challenge: Liberty and Security, Challenge Papers, No.1 / March 2006.

and Sweden, we find out that many of the EU member states have a very good welcoming migration policy.

There have been three main national models for the integration of immigrants in Europe:[17]

1. **The multi-cultural** model, which is based on the respect and protection of cultural diversity and aims at explicitly guaranteeing the identity of the immigrant community (traditionally: the United Kingdom).
2. **The assimilationist** model, which has equality at its root, yet requires complete integration of the immigrant into the dominant, traditional national values and perceived common identity (France).
3. **The exclusionist** model, characterised by policies aimed at artificially maintaining the temporary character of an immigrant's settlement, while trying to segregate society into a "permanent native" majority and a "temporary foreign" minority (traditionally: Germany).

The multi-cultural model is on its way out, as assimilation into the dominant society is increasingly demanded as a pre-requisite for residency whether in an exclusive or an inclusive way. Often this vision of a unified national culture to be adopted by the immigrant is based on a subjective interpretation of the indigenous majority's internal homogeneity. Compulsory integration programmes include language classes, civic courses familiarising immigrants with the receiving country's norms, history, values and cultural traditions, and labour market orientation/vocational training. Absenteeism is generally punishable by fines and even expulsion. However, in most countries, certain groups are exempt from these courses, such as the European Union and European Economic Area nationals, immigrants in possession of a short-term work permit, long-term settled immigrants, highly skilled workers, scientists and professors, students, researchers and asylum seekers. Other countries such as: the Netherlands, also have lists of exempt nationalities, including citizens of the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Japan etc. . . .

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[17]Ibid, p: 41

Statistics[18]:

- Europe's population is likely to drop from 740 million in 2012 to 630 million in 2050.

- As such, Europe needs:

  - 949, 000 immigrants a year to maintain its population.

  - 1, 588, 000 immigrants a year to maintain its working population.

  - 13, 480, 000 immigrants a year to maintain its ratio of working age to retired citizens.

Back in the 60s, migration was not so problematic. The problem only really came about with the second generation. The first generation of immigrants tends to feel grateful to their host country for having let them settle there, as they continue to compare their improved living standards to the terrible economic conditions back in their homeland. The second generation, on the other hand, tends to compare their economic situation with native citizens, rather than with the original homeland, causing them to feel frustration at the relative poverty and discrimination they suffer in daily life. E.g. many immigrants have complained about discrimination, particularly in the fields of employment, housing, banking loans and cultural practices.[19] However, in general it is said that immigrants, leaving unsafe regions tend to feel safer in Europe, where the economic standards of the EU are better than in their homeland, and they feel that they are equal and enjoy the same rights, particularly in a county based on the rule of law.

There are an estimated 16 million Muslims in the European Union today, which is around 3% of the total population. The Muslim minority only makes up more than 5% of the population in two Western European countries: France (8-10%), and the Netherlands 6%. Muslims tend to be highly concentrated in the big cities, where they form a demographic majority in certain areas.

Most importantly, in Western Europe the Muslim community will grow at a rate of around 2.3% per year in the next 30 years, mainly due to immigration. The Muslim birth rate is also

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[18]Sergio Carrera, "A Comparison of Integration Programmes in the EU –
Trends and Weaknesses", Challenge: Liberty and Security, Challenge Papers, No.1 / March 2006

[19]Ibid, p 42.

higher than its "native" equivalent, but is gradually dropping towards similar levels. The "native" population, on the other hand, is declining. However, one should be cautious not to overemphasise the religious Christian-Muslim divide. A great cultural division between Christians and Muslims certainly exists, but Muslims in Europe make rather few political demands based on their faith.[20]In general, religious beliefs tend to create problems more in an indirect way, for instance due to underlying traditional Muslim thought regarding homosexuality and the role of women.

The degree of problematic behaviour in social and to a lesser extent religious terms, differs greatly among the various immigrant groups. As such, in France, immigration from former French Indo-China has been devoid of major issues, in the same way that the Netherlands successfully integrated most of its Surinamese and Muslim Indonesian immigrants. Chinese communities have settled all over Europe without much ado.

4.5 Enlargement

Enlargement is the concept that starts to emerge after the European Union made a decision of expanding its members in 1957. The EU started with six countries and has grown to 28 countries as a result of six enlargements. The advent of democracy in Eastern Europe has allowed a great number of new countries to opt for European Union membership. The EU enlargement policy concerns the countries that applying for membership as well as potential candidate countries especially of the Western Balkans. The first wave included six countries: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. The Union has never before taken in so many people and countries in one single swoop.[21] On January 1st, 1973, three more countries have joined the EU Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, raising the number of member states to nine. In 1974 Europe witnessed the overthrow of the Salazar regime in Portugal and followed with the death of General Franco of Spain in 1975. A modest success was achieved with the incorporation of Greece (1981), Portugal (1986) and Spain (1986).

After twenty years of stagnation, the re-launch of Europe finally came about with the Single European Act (SEA) in 1986, which was followed by the following changes:

I. The establishment of a true common market which abolished non-tariff barriers, as well as restrictions on capital and labour.

II. More Qualified Majority Voting (QMV), with unanimity reserved for policy principles, and QMV for implementation, which was agreed on by Thatcher for practical reasons.

III. The European Parliament was strengthened, it could now reject council decisions arrived at by QMV, after which the council could "reject the rejection" only by unanimity.

IV. New policy areas were transferred to the European institutions (environment, research, and technological development, economic and social cohesion.)

V. European Political Cooperation was granted a legal basis.

In July 1st, 2013 Croatia was the last to join the EU by Maastricht Treaty, thus raising the number of the countries joining the EU to 28 member states and other six candidate countries, Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey.

Enlargement mostly implies doubles the size of the membership and bringing in countries that are very different in character from Western Europe on most fronts: political, cultural, as well as economically. This huge increase in size puts pressure on certain institutions, such as the Parliament and the Commission, which are already too large. Moreover, structural funds and other redistributive policies in favour of the poorer members now have to be divided amongst a much greater number of beneficiaries, thus lowering their generosity per recipient.

The new members, however, are reluctant to give up much if any of their recently regained sovereignty.[22] Turkey is one of the countries restricted in terms of foreign policy and sovereignty. Furthermore, The Common Agricultural Policy has come under great pressure, in light of the grossly inefficient and large agricultural sector in the applicant states. Only 5% of the EU-15 workforce is employed in agriculture, as opposed to 25% in Poland and 21% in Bulgaria. Enlargement nearly doubled the EU's agricultural labour force, and increased its area by half. Although an enlarged EU should technically acquire greater

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[22] Ibid, p:4

geopolitical clout, its much greater heterogeneity might work against such development. In other words, the enlarged EU will require not less but more cross-border solidarity, to say nothing of new ways to enhance democracy deliberation and participation.[23]Many would argue they are mutually exclusive, as widening creates a more diverse, less cohesive union, which obstructs further integration. Including new member states which differ in culture, backgrounds, ideologies, geography and religion in the EU make it harder to unify.

Because joining the EU often requires major political and economic reforms within the candidate country, the process moves forward at a pace consistent with the applicant's ability to take on the obligations of membership, also known as the Copenhagen Criteria, which require:

I.   Stable institutions that can sustain democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for minorities.

II.   A functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressures.

III.   The ability to apply the EU's rules and policies (known as the acquis communautaire).

4.6 Turkey

Though the EU has been built up on democracy and anti-racist policies as the Maastricht Treaty shows, religion still plays a role in the accession of Turkey to the Union, as shown by the procrastination to accept Turkey as a member country to the EU because of its religion namely, Islam. Such a position is adopted despite the fact that Turkey's constitution stipulates the country to be secular, and that Turkey and the European Union (EU) had first signed an association agreement in 1963, expressing the need for Turkey to join the Customs Union, while acknowledging the goal of eventual membership.

In 1970 a timetable was established for the reduction of tariffs and quotas, interrupted by a military coup in 1980. Free elections in 1983 led to renewal of relations, which culminated in 1995 with the materialisation of the EU-Turkey Customs Union. However, the Customs Union excludes services and agriculture, and many non-tariff barriers have remained in

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[23] Ibid: p:4

place. Membership talks were started in 2004, after the Commission expressed their opinion to the European Council that Turkey indeed fulfils the Copenhagen criteria for membership.

Some experts argue that Turkey could not be taken to be a bridge to the Middle East, and its relationship to the EU will continue to be fragile today than a decade or two earlier. The non-acceptance of Turkey as a bridge among the EU countries and the countries of the Middle East or the Muslim world in general is based on two points:

First, the rejection of Turkey of the caliphate during the twenties of the twentieth century and the demand by the Arabs, being the second largest ethnic group after the Ottomans in the Ottomans caliphate, to retake the role of the caliphate to its rightful owners, namely the Arabs.

Secondly, there is much resistance to the role Mr. Erdogan, i.e. Turkey is playing in contemporary Arab developments especially in Syria, Iraq and Egypt. Egyptian rejection of the role of the Ottomans to resume the caliphate role and Egypt and the Egyptian political elite see themselves as the natural bridge between Europe, Africa and Asia on the one hand and the Middle East on the other.[24]

Turkey and Europe have a long history of coexistence, conflict and cooperation since the beginning of the Ottoman Empire until today. Some scholars might say that Turkey is a bridge between Europe and Asia. Turkey has a relatively small territory in Europe, Istanbul (previously known as Constantinople) is located partly in Europe partly in Asia. In addition, though Ottomans who ruled Turkey for a long time, for instance had been present for a long time in Europe. Nowadays, there are Turkish speaking people in Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Moldavia. The Ottoman presence in Europe led to a big influx of Muslim people in Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Moldavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Albania, many people wonder if a Muslim country such as Turkey would really fit into the European Union.[25]

Other scholars might argue that, incorporating a secular state with a large Muslim population strengthens the multicultural values of the EU, while sending an important signal to the Islamic world: secularism and democracy pay off, as opposed to Sharia and Jihad. Religion,

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[24]Albert Hourani, (1798-1939): Arabic thought in the Liberal Age, University Printing House, and Cambridge, The UK.
[25]The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (wrr), The European Union, Turkey and Islam, p:7.

as such, plays no role in this Copenhagen criterion.[26] The Ottoman presence in Europe is one of the reasons for Turkey's EU accession. However, as an overwhelmingly Muslim nation, Turkey's cultural traditions are fundamentally different from that of a Christian Europe.

On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire shared and shaped the political and strategic future of the continent for more than four centuries.[27]The perception of Turkish Muslims among parliamentarians and the electorate will, therefore, inevitably, play a role in the accession debates.[28]

Though The EU member states claim to be non-religious countries, a cultural division between Christians and Muslims certainly exists on internal level where each state protects its Christian cultural and religious heritage. Accordingly, the fact that Turkey has an Islamic culture and heritage may constitute another barrier that Turkey's accession to the EU may encounter.

Turkey had been fashioned from a combination of democracy and secularism, as well as a set of family law and contract law. The country is also quite protective about its independent foreign policy, which would obstruct a more supranational development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

The country has two outstanding characteristics: first, Turkey is a secular state by stipulation of the Turkish constitution. It is, as well, a generally Muslim society denominationally and culturally. This implies that the integration of Turkey in the EU will reinforce the multicultural image of the EU, and will send a message to the whole world that religion and democracy as well as secularism are concepts that can coexist as the Turkish experience demonstrated.

Secondly, the Turkey's attempt to join the EU has been a matter of dispute since the start of negotiations in 1963.[29] Several decades later, a new period began in the relations between Turkey and the EU, particularly after Turkey assumed candidate status during the Helsinki summit on December 1999.[30]Membership talks started in 2004, after the Commission

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[26]Ibid, p: 2.
[27]Ramadan, T. 2009 "Turkey is part of Europe. Fear keeps it out of the EU", The Guardian, 6 August, 2009, (Online)Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/aug/06/turkey-eu-membership Accessed on: 9 December 2013.
[28] Ibid, p:2
[29]Kirsty Hughes, "Turkey and the European Union: Just Another Enlargement? – Exploring the Implications of Turkish Accession", Working Paper, Friends of Europe, Brussels, 2004

[30] Ibid, p:2

expressed their opinion to the European Council that Turkey indeed has fulfilled the Copenhagen criteria for membership. Accordingly, the EU Council took note in October 2005 that Turkey has fulfilled the political criteria and decided to open accession negotiations with Turkey.

Turkey played an important role in Europe's security, at a time when the Soviet Union was a source of threat to European countries, and has also been a NATO member since 1952. Moreover, France and USA used Turkish territories between 1980 -1988 as military bases during the war between Iraq and Iran. In 1991, Turkey allowed the USA to use its airports for the Gulf war. Turkey agreed with Israel on a Defense agreement in 1996, which Arab countries like Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt did not agree on. In addition, Israel's security depends on indirect ways on the security of Europe. The Turkish government made it clear that they want to be part of the European Union for two main reasons: First, Turkey's borders with the Middle East and the Caucasus logically will become the Union's border too, with implications both for EU foreign policy interests and relations with these neighbors and for the EU's internal security.[31]Doubtlessly, given Turkey's strategic geopolitical position, it is in the EU's interest in the country to be democratic, stable, prosperous and a friendly ally. In this sense, further reductions are likely to strengthen nationalism and possibly even a degree of religious and political radicalisation.

Secondly, with the end of the Cold War, the notion of security is no longer restricted to military security – as was the case during the Cold War. Security now includes a range of non-military factors, such as economic, political, environmental and societal factors.[32]Turkey has dangerous borders, including Iran, Iraq and Syria, which could draw the EU into certain conflicts it might prefer to stay out of. Turkey's relations with these countries have often been difficult, which implies that the country is unlikely to function as a "bridge" between Europe and the Middle East, as some have claimed. The political situation in the Caucasus is similarly complex, including the on-going conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, in which Turkey supports Azerbaijan. The EU is unlikely to profit from being drawn into this dispute.

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[31] Ibid, p:2

[32] Turkey's accession to the European Union an Unusual Candidacy, the Constantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy Vas. Sofias Ave. 10, 10674 Athens, Greece, info@idkaramanlis.gr

Unfortunately, Turkey's accession to the Union is also complicated by its own insufficient progress towards meeting the Copenhagen criteria. The latest annual Commission evaluation report of Turkey inter alia underscored the absence of progress in ensuring full civilian supervision over the military, parliamentary oversight of defense expenditures, cultural diversity and respect for and protection of minorities in accordance with European standards.[33]

For this reason, The Erdogan government has put through a great number of reform packages, including:

I.   Increased civilian control over the military.
II.   Minority rights
III.   Abolition of the death penalty.
IV.   As such, former taboos such as Kurdish rights, civilian control of the military, and a settlement regarding Cyprus are now openly discussed.

Though the implementation of many of these packages has been slow, they reflect the Turkish desire to be more secular. Therefore, it is worthwhile encouraging the Turkish government to continue with further reforms, rather than disillusioning the country with rejection. It is a fact that Christianity overcame its Dark Ages thanks to its religious – not secular – reformers. Islamic civilization needs to follow a similar path to accomplish its renewal.

The Turkish experience suggests that there are reasons to be hopeful.[34] Human rights and minority rights as well as civilian control over military control are part of the values and principles that the EU claims to employ in its conduct of foreign policy. Some Turkish actors believe that application of such rights and control would enhance Turkish accession.[35] Minority rights and relatively advanced labour law is supposed to help weaken or override political and social divisions that impede progress, enhancing overall internal stability in Turkey.

However, According to the EU, Turkey did not come close to achieving its goal and fulfil the Copenhagen criteria; for instance, the treatment of minorities within Turkey, such as the

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[33] European Commission, 2007, pp. 9, 22
[34] Ibid, p:3
[35] Turkey and the European Union, Prospects for a Difficult Encounter, Edited by: EsraLaGro, Jean Monnet Professor for EU Enlargement and Governance Istanbul Dog˘us¸ University, Turkey, and Knud Erik Jørgensen Jean Monnet Professor in EU Politics University of Aarhus, Denmark, p:24

Kurdish issue is far from being resolved. Although minority rights have nominally been strengthened as the right to Kurdish language education and media broadcasts, in practice the implementation has so far been minimal. Many NGOs complain about on-going violations of human rights, although particularly serious cases of torture are now becoming rare. Nevertheless, peaceful demonstrations are regularly being attacked by the police; the media are heavily censured through unofficial means, mainly via intimidation and prosecution of critical reporters, while corruption remains a prominent phenomenon within Turkey's political system. Democratic values have remained somewhat frail, while the concepts of individual rights are virtually unknown in the rural regions, particularly the underdeveloped South-East. [36] As is the case with minority rights, legal reforms are often ratified, yet not implemented, which arise opposition at all levels, including the army.

Defenders of incorporation in Turkey, which means that the influence of the army in politics will have to be reduced, maintain that membership will strengthen fledgling democracy, by cementing the country economically into a union whose laws force it to expel any member that returns to dictatorial practices. After the 2002 Copenhagen Summit, a political and public debate on Turkey's future membership erupted across Europe, in which Turkey is increasingly seen as a challenge to the determination of the identity of the European Union and of the essence of what is 'European'.[37]

Integration would be beneficial for Turkey on an economic level, it would enhance development, increase in exports, and is expected to cancel non-tariff barriers altogether. Moreover, inward FDI, which is currently minimal by all standards, would be enhanced. Many of the underlying reasons for Turkey's poor record of inward FDI, such as political and economic instability, corruption and the untrustworthy judiciary system, will most probably be mitigated by the membership. Potential for FDI is great, particularly due the size of the Turkish market, its large workforce, and easy access to the Caucasus and the Middle East. However, Increased diversity may be a blessing for economic growth, but it will hamper state-building efforts.

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[36] Ibid, p:3
[37] Angelos Giannakopoulos, EU Enlargement between Political Conditionality and Cultural Compatibility as Exemplified by the Debate on Turkey in Europe, Published in: Critique and Humanism Journal, Vol 27, 2, 2008, pp. 137-157. Publication in Bulgarian:Vol 27, 2, 2008, pp. 145-167.

4.7 Summary

The EU succeeded in unifying Europe not only in drawing new borders, but also in "eliminating" the geographic borders. While the EU was able to eliminate the internal borders between its member-states as well as to keep the autonomy of each, many other unions around the world such as: ECOW in Africa, East African Community (EFC), and MERCOSUR in Latin America, The Andean Community, The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) etc. . . . have failed in maintaining the balance between their member-states. Though The North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is somewhat close to the model of the EU, the fact that some regulations and issues reflect the U.S control over its partners : Canada and Mexico, makes the agreement far from the model of the EU where all countries are considered equal. For NAFTA to reach the same level of the EU they need the help of other surrounding countries, which implies a complete unification of the Americas; the more advanced and industrialized countries would unite with other countries that have potentials in which those countries like the U.S and Canada could lead these countries to a new economic level.

Via the abolishment of borders caused by the Schengen stipulation, The EU enables its citizens to travel, stay and work freely all over Europe. The creation of the Schengen area, which has not only brought an economic benefit to member states, but has also repercussions on the EU citizens' daily lives, is one of the greatest achievements of the EU. European societies can exchange knowledge, culture, education, and share a common understanding of the way the EU works, which is so useful For the EU citizens. Nevertheless, there are still many barriers, restrictions and obstacles need to be eliminated, including the language, the culture and the educational system. Not so many people are willing to leave their families and live in a different place with different culture and language.

The EU is based on the rule of law, where and which any state violates the laws of the EU will be excluded from the union. This is to say, the state that breaks any of the EU laws will be judged and will be excluded because the union institutions and the body of laws work as one unit confronting the outsiders and other states.

However, though the EU opens its borders in front of the immigrants under one condition that they fulfill the criteria of migration, there are many obstacles that may procrastinate further integration and unity, including the increase of the unemployment rate, the existence of the extremist political ideologies which were born and emerged in the Middle East, such

as ISIS that is threatening the EU stability and unity. In addition, many of the EU member-states claim that migration had caused damage to Europe and hindered its unification, particularly as it may cause a huge moral setback for the European self and identity. Though the EU citizens tend to feel sympathized with the immigrants, they are worried about the future of those refugees and how much time and money they would cost to adapt them in their countries. Yet, many other EU citizens refuse the immigrants and tend to feel that those immigrants are going to stay in their countries which arises the issue of nationalism in the minds of Europeans. Nationalism, mostly in Europe, is a phenomenon that can be used positively or negatively. In the interwar period it was used negatively as a means of occupation, control, and division. Nationalism was an obstacle to the European unity, and might be a motif for the EU disintegration.

In each enlargement wave the EU increases the number of its member –states, where it integrates states that differ in terms of language, culture and history. Nevertheless, the EU oblige candidate countries to adopt certain reforms and to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria in a way to decrease the gap of differences between member-states, as well as to normalize its member-states in order to unify the union. However, there are several cases that the EU overlooked the Copenhagen criteria, where it approved accession of countries that do not come close to fulfill the criteria for political reasons.

Turkey's endeavors to join the EU for the last 55 years have failed for demographic and economic reasons among others. Turkey still has a long way to achieve its goal of integration. and there are many files need to be open for negotiation. All the EU member-states must approve on the opening of the negotiation files which means that it is very unlikely that Turkey would overcome all of those obstacles and obtaining the EU membership.

It is unlikely that the EU agrees on Turkey's accession in the near future, despite the reforms undertaken by Turkey. Some state members, like Greece and others which have weight in the EU still reject Turkey's accession for different reasons. One of these reasons is that the Turkish State is different culturally and religiously from the rest of the state members. te population structure of Turkey still constitutes the EU concerns . However, If the EU refuses the Turkish accession on a religious basis this would increase the gap between the Christian and Muslim communities. Refusing an Islamic state such as Turkey

would be considered a direct message to the Islamic world, where it would reflect a racism image about the EU, which goes against its main principles and values.

All the above reasons for the non-accession of Turkey are regarded secondary whereas the main reason is that Turkey has not been able to maintain its continuity in keeping the stability of its institutions and many other political and economic reforms. Another significant reason is the crucial geographical position of Turkey. Despite of Turkey's strategic location, it forms a threat to the EU, particularly as Turkey is surrounded by countries such as Iraq and Syria, which form a conflict zone that threatens the security and stability of the EU.

It is clear that Turkey is not welcome in the EU, and that various obstacles and barriers still impeded its accession. Therefore, it is recommended that Turkey stops insisting for further negotiations about joining the EU. Perhaps, it is more applicable that Turkey recognizes its regional and international value, and start to build new alliances . There is another possibility that Turkey would regain its geographical and strategic position, where Turkey could make alliance with other powers such as Russia, Iran, China. On the other hand, Turkey could set its position as a Middle East regional power and creates union with the Arab and Gulf regions.

The future of the EU is one of globalization rather than not one of nationalism; with the liberation of the mind of the Europeans and a better understanding and acceptance of the others and their cultures. The EU is a model for the rest of the world to take as a guideline, to learn from it, and overcome the mistakes and to see the possibilities of creating union with other nation states.

Chapter Five:
The European Union: Identity and Phenomenon

5.1 Introduction

Borders in international relations entails physical, cultural, economic, geographic and political borders, where political borders can transcend the physical or the geographical borders of a nation. In this chapter, the concept of "Europeanism" will be scrutinized to show whether it enhances the EU borders solidification, or disintegration. In addition, different aspects of the political-economic integration process in the EU and the European identity will be addressed. Above all, this chapter aims to focus on the European integration and diversity in the light of 'Widening and Deeping' of the EU.

5.2 Europeanism as a phenomenon

The European Union has passed through many historical phases in order to restore peace. In addition to the process of integration, Europeans have also passed through many phases that changed the nature of their social structure and shaped their identity. Modern Europe has reconfigured political life in late modern age. Europe has replaced nationalism, state-ism, militarism, and class polarization with a new political gospel based upon the principles of cosmopolitanism, integration, 'smart' international power and welfare. This core values provide evidence for a novel political phenomenon: "Europeanism."[38]

Europeanism implies awareness of unfixed cultural and social values, as well as privacy, culture, language and beliefs, civilization and history, that is, a set of aspects that distinguish a group of people from others. The concept refers to a group of people living within specific areas though they do not come down from the same origin. Europeanism as a phenomenon is consistent with the requirements of the legal and political thought; which is based on the citizenship law, and the fundamental criterion to achieve equality; parallel to the enhancement of human ability and longevity through technology, as well as cultural and political forms, of which the most significant could be the neglect and final dissolution of borders and "nations."[39]

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[38]Johan McCOMRMICK, Europeanism, Oxford University Press, 2010, Journal of Contemporary European Studies, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2011, Special Issue: The European Union and Russia

[39] Harry J Bentham, "The End of Nation States May Enhance Humanity, " (Article, 2014), http://ieet.org/index.php/IEET/more/bentham20140206.

The idea of the nation-state is responsible for devastating wars. Delegitimizing states to be unified in one entity, however, needs more than emotional feelings. transparency, freedom of expression and movement are some of the key requirements. Immigration, which, resulted from the development of transportation and communication between the countries is the factor that results in separation and disintegration factor in contradiction with the contemporary nation-state notion. Many states have extended and become more flexible in the definition of residence "citizenship" to accommodate the increasing number of immigrants, where the idea of residence lost its ability to exclude anyone. It also means that state distinguishes among people in accordance with their achievements, and the distinction between people is no longer based on the basis of trade-offs biologically.

Citizenship provides privileges for all citizens equally, and the slogan of 'The citizens of the world' seem to be rhetorical motto that cannot serve any political objective or granting any privileges in accordance with the birth place . Citizenship implies that all people are treated as one family in a Democratic area.

The rejection of the nation-state system is one of the policy facts resulted from a strong historical and political research notes; the refusal of the nation-state legislation and the moral authority for the benefit of the individual would become more common in political speeches. Many of the political views reject the legitimacy of nation-states and calls for the acceptance its termination. The main benefit is to drag most readers to the enormous improvements in human rights, democracy and equality through more meaningful forms without causing insult to the nation itself.

The EU has strong tendency to articulate a common identity for the Union in ethno-cultural terms, whereby the EU is conceived as primarily a cultural community whose members are said to share the same origin, cultural heritage, religion and history. Such an ethno-cultural disposition must be seen partly in light of the European Union's gradual adjustment to a largely neoliberal order, which has worked to restrain on the feasibility of a social and political articulation of identity and citizenship in the Union.

Europeanism is a phenomenon that identifies and outlines the political, economic, and social norms and values associated with Europe and Europeans. Regardless of the doubts associated with the exercise of European integration and the work of the European Union,

and regardless of residual identities within various states and nations, Europeans have much in common, including the historical development of European ideas, the European attitudes toward the state including a rejection of state-based nationalism, in addition to their new ideas about patriotism and citizenship, as well as the significance of cosmopolitanism.

Certain characteristics have formed one entity that unites the EU states under one umbrella. These include the parliamentary system, as well as the European economic models that include the importance of welfare and sustainable development, in addition to the European social models, European attitudes towards values such as multiculturalism and secularism, and Europeans views with regard to international relations .

5.3 Widening vs. Deepening

The advent of democracy in Eastern Europe has allowed a great number of new countries to opt for European Union membership, thus ending up acceding with the ex-communist countries. This is to say, integrating a great and diverse number of new states would tackle more problems to the issue of keeping the EU coherent and stable. The Mediterranean countries were naturally concerned about losing their development aid, but the 20 year limit that had been set on these funds in 1986 has alleviated this concern to some degree.[40]

The UK was negative attitudes towards the idea of accession from the start, where the British government reckoned that widening would obstruct further deepening, as heterogeneity complicates integration. The incorporation of Eastern European countries would lead to enormous heterogeneity. At first UK interpreted enlargement as a great business opportunity, where its membership to the EU is not fully implemented, particularly as the UK did not enter the Euro Zone, and its relationship with the EU is still to some extent fragile. The UK aimed to take advantages of the EU without being obliged to any responsibilities whether political responsibilities or economical ones.

For many years the UK was satisfied with its relation to the EU; or to be part of the European community. Today, however, the UK experiences general resentment, as well as the will of disintegration from the other partners of the EU. The ideology of anti-integration of the EU became clear when the UK Independence Party won the European Parliament election of 2014. Despite the significance of the economic factors related to accession to the EU, certain

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[40] Heather Grabbe, "The Implications of EU Enlargement", in White S., Lewis, P. and Batt, J. (eds.), "*Developments in Central and Eastern European Politics 3*", Duke University Press, Durham, 2003

political factors enhanced British motivation towards disintegration with the EU. The fierce competition of Germany on the leadership of the EU was among the most significant reasons ; whereas Germany proved to be an extensive economic power, especially in the last world economic crisis; where it proved its position as an economic and political force to be reckoned with as it imposes its own policies and vision on the EU member-states.

Germany was able to attract France, the second powerful state after Germany, as well as Poland to its side; where the triangle of Berlin, Paris, Warsaw has been the fundamental base of the EU politics. The British did not like to see themselves away from control, where Germany became the center of the European policies while France and Poland managed the marketing processes in the EU. It seems that The British who used to be the leader of alliances, and the one who draw the policies not only in Europe but in the whole world, have lost their position as a regional power and as a world leader, as well as their influence on Europe mainly in France, with which they had a historical alliance; neither was the UK able to support other states economically as its relation with France become delicate and weak. Such frustration was among the main reasons that made the UK politicians consider disintegration of the EU.

The last enlargement nearly doubled the size of the membership and brought in countries that are politically, culturally, and economically very different from Western Europe. This huge increase in size puts pressure on certain institutions, such as the Parliament and the Commission, which are already too large. Structural funds and other redistributive policies in favour of the poorer members now have to be divided amongst a much greater number of beneficiaries, lowering their generosity per recipient.

The Common Agricultural sector has come under great pressure due to the relatively large number of state members that joined it, which in most were had a grossly inefficient agricultural sector. Only 5% of the EU-15 workforce is employed in agriculture, as opposed to 25% in Poland and 21% in Bulgaria. Enlargement nearly doubled the EU's agricultural labour force, and increased its area by half.[41] Although an enlarged EU should technically acquire greater geopolitical clout, its much greater heterogeneity might work against such a development.

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[41] Ibid, p:4

Many would argue that Widening and Deepening are mutually exclusive, as widening creates a more diverse, less cohesive union, which obstructs further integration. Deepening, on the other hand, means increasing the acquiscommunautaire (the body of European law), which makes it more difficult for countries to meet the set criteria. However, most rounds of widening have been preceded by a round of deepening, where there was a necessity to advance in a supranational direction. e.g. extending QMV, in order to be able to take on more members without paralysing the Union. As such, the Single European Act (SEA) preceded Spain and Portugal's accession, the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) countries joined after the adoption of Maastricht, while the last wave of enlargement was prepared through the Nice Treaty. Similarly deepening might lead to widening: as the acquiscommunautaire grows, it becomes more difficult for outsiders to join, which means that countries have an incentive to join early in order to influence its development.

In July 2014, Jean-Claude Juncker, the elected- President of the European Commission, announced that the EU has no future plans to expand and welcome new countries for the next five years. Yet, however, there is more deepening nearly every two years. For example, the EU has an exclusive competence in Trade policy, and many mixed competence for many policies between the EU and member states. One can notice how much deepening has been happening in the EU through its various policies and complex institution system, as reflected in the number of directorate generals in the commission for various policies.

5.4 Summary

Democratization, human rights and liberation, freedoms and rule of law are the values of the EU. The idea of the EU as a model for unifying different states has been a goal for many, particularly for the purpose of liberating man from colonialism or a suppressing leader. "Europeanism" is also a state of mind where and which people will no longer belong to one state in particular such as Germany or Greece; but rather to the European continent as a whole. "Europeanism, " is a concept that abolish single nation states, as well as the borders among them, which would open a world of opportunities and progress and lead to the creation of a super power.

On 1 January 2015 the population of the EU-28 was estimated at 508.2 million, or 1.3 million more than the year before.[42] With the willingness to work and live together, the question is what would happen with the addition of new member – states? Would new members drag down the EU's economy? The EU is concerned about each accession in order to keep the cohesion and the stability of the union and to set the union as a world power. As a result the EU increases the acquis communautaire (the body of European law), which makes it more difficult for countries to meet the set criteria. Yet, however, the accession is selective, where the EU in some cases goes beyond the laws and rules of accession for a political reason, as it is the case with the ex-communist countries that joined the Union though they did not fulfill the Copenhagen criteria. The EU might also open its arms to integrate with Ukraine even though Ukraine is still far from fulfilling the standards of accession.

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[42]http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Population_and_population_change_statistics#EU-28_population_continues_to_grow

Chapter Six:
Results and Conclusions

6.1 Results and Conclusions

This study aims at analyzing, comparing and underlining the borders of Europe in a descriptive manner. It discusses a variety of topics, including geographical borders that have been dividing Europe, the role of the EU in unifying Europe, not only in drawing new borders, but in 'eliminating' the geographical ones, as well as the differences between internal and external borders of the EU. The abolishment of borders caused by the Schengen stipulation in the EU was also scrutinized, and the external borders have been underlined as the most significant aspect that determines the movement of migration. The study also sheds light on the relations between the EU and the new members, to illustrates how new candidate countries could join the EU and the obstacles in accepting new members, such as Turkey.

The internal and international dimensions of the EU borders from 1994-2014 are tackled, where the following questions are answered:

   i.   **What are the differences between internal and external borders of the EU? And What are the effects of the Schengen Area on the abolishment of borders?**

There are many differences between internal and external borders of the EU. The internal borders of the EU are distinguished in terms of eliminating the borders among EU member-states caused by the Schengen stipulation.

First: Abolishment of internal borders of the EU in accordance with the Schengen agreement enables European citizens to travel, settle and work freely all over Europe. The EU has achieved a lot since the introduction of the single passport where people are able to move freely all over Europe. Life has become easier for people who enjoy the privilege of having the EU passport. Unemployed Skilled workers in a specific member would have the chance to move freely within 26 countries looking for the job where their skills will be utilized. The same is applied to a company looking for employees, where it can hire ones from all member-states.

It is true that student will have the chance to exchange programs within 26 European countries without the need of having a certain visa. Student will have the chance to gain language very easily. The EU improves education and cultural understanding throughout a very diverse country. This would lead to greater cultural understanding and would help in enhancing the citizen's nationalistic feeling. Settling in another place to learn about its culture and how things work there, will enhance the student's understanding of the world around him/her.

However, there are still several obstacles that restrict the movement of people. the family, culture, language and curriculum are merely some examples. Though freedom of movement is regarded as the most significant achievement that the EU citizens would enjoy, those restrictions and obstacles may minimize their movement; particularly as not so many people are willing to leave their families and live in a different place with different culture and language. It is true that the EU eliminate the internal borders, but there are still many barriers that need to be eliminated.

In 1946, Sir Winston Churchill declared : "If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy." However, such an idealistic view of the EU is not realistic, in a sense that the EU has to overcome many of the obstacles that occurs after each accession. There are economic differences between the South and the North of the EU, where the South countries, such as Greece, are economically weak and in need of financial aid, whereas some rich countries in the North such as UK constantly refuses to pay for raising the economic level of their poor partners. Such differences in the economic level might strengthen the disintegration rather than the solidification of the EU.

With regards to the external borders, migration is one of the fundamental issues of the EU. Back in the 60s, migration was not so problematic. The EU opens its border in front of the immigrants under the condition that they fulfill the criteria of migration. However On 1 January 2015 the population of the EU-28 was estimated at 508.2 million, 1.3 million more than the year before, [43] which arose so many questions concerning the constant increase of population, of which the most significant are what would happen if the EU approved on accepting migrants without a future plan? Would migrants drag down the EU's economy? All these concerns and more the EU think about.

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[43]http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Population_and_population_change_statistics#EU-28_population_continues_to_grow

The EU promotes human rights both internally and around the world, democracy, human dignity, freedom and equality, the rule of law and the respect for human rights are the main values of the EU. The EU is fundamentally based on the rule of law, where everything the EU member-states do is founded on treaties that they all agreed on voluntarily or democratically. Therefore, from a humanitarian point of view of the EU member-states may support the increase of immigrants to their countries.

However, many obstacles may impeded the movement of migration. For instance, the increase of the unemployment rate, the existence of the extremist political ideologies which were born and emerged in the Middle East e.g. ISIS, which may threaten the EU stability and unity. In addition, many of the EU member- states claim that migration had caused damage to Europe and hindered its unification. There are also a huge moral setback for the European self and identity. Though The EU citizens tend to feel sympathized with the immigrants, they are worried about the future of those refugees and how much time and money they would cost to adapt them in their countries. Further, Many other EU citizens, with the concept of nationalism in their minds, refuse the immigrants believing that those immigrants would cause imbalance in the structure of population. Nationalism is a great force that can be used positively or negatively, mostly in Europe. In the interwar period, it had negative repercussion, exemplified by occupation, control, and division. Nationalism, therefore may constitute an obstacle to the European unity, and a motif for the EU disintegration.

ii.   What is the role of the EU-policies in unifying Europe?

The EU is active in many topics from trade and transport to human rights. The Union share jurisdiction with member states in aspects including internal market rules; aspects of social policy; economic, social, and territorial cohesion; agriculture and aspects of fisheries; the environment; consumer protection; transport; trans-European networks; energy; freedom, security, and justice; aspects of public health; facets of research and technological development and space; and elements of development cooperation and humanitarian aid.
If all of the EU member-states work together and believe in the values of the EU, where each country gives up its own autonomy for a supranational power without any doubt that their country is superior to the others around them, they might achieve unity. Thus, the EU tries

to find a middle path between member-states in order to transcend the nationalistic characteristic for the greater good of the European community.

Though candidate countries are obliged to succumb to the Copenhagen criteria in order to join the EU, there are cases in which candidate countries still encounter restrictions though they have fulfilled the identified criteria, other countries that do not come close to reach the Copenhagen criteria have joined the Union for political reasons. The ex-communist countries, for example, which are poor countries and lack institutions stability have been accessed just for political reasons.

Nevertheless, the EU attempts to keep the cohesion and the stability of the union and to set the union as a world power. As a result the EU increases the acquis communautaire (the body of European law), which makes it more difficult for countries to meet the set criteria. However, accession is selective; where the EU in some cases goes beyond the laws and rules of accession for a political reason . Many of the ex-communist countries, for instance, did not fulfill the Copenhagen criteria but were accepted as state members just for political reasons. Similarly, even though Ukraine is still far from fulfilling the standards of accession, the EU opens its arms to integrate it in the union.

iii.   What are the effects of "Europeanism, " on the solidification or disintegration of the borders of the EU states?

Democratization, human rights and liberation, freedoms and rule of law make up the main values of the EU. The idea of the EU as a model for unifying different states has been a goal for many Europeans, whereas the ideas of liberating man from colonialism or a suppressing leader constituted a state of mind for many of them. "Europeanism" also implies a sense of affiliation where citizens will no longer belong to one state such as Germany or Greece; but to the European continent as a whole. Such ideas would open a world of opportunities and progress and lead to the creation of a super power.

iv.   Can candidate countries to the EU, like Turkey, be defined within or outside the borders of the EU, which include not only natural but also cultural, religious aspects among others?

In each enlargement wave the EU increased the number of its member –states, where the Union integrates states that differ in term of language, culture and history. Nevertheless, the EU obliged candidate countries to adopt certain reforms and to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria, in a way to decrease the gap of differences between the EU member-states, thus hoping to normalize its member-states in order to unify the union.

Turkey's endeavors to join the EU for the last 55 years have failed for demographic and economic reasons among others. Turkey still has a long way to achieve its goal of integration. and there are many files need to be open for negotiation. All the EU member-states must approve on the opening of the negotiation files which means that it is very unlikely that Turkey would overcome all of those obstacles and obtaining the EU membership.

It is unlikely that the EU agrees on Turkey's accession in the near future, despite the reforms undertaken by Turkey. Some state members, like Greece and others which have weight in the EU still reject Turkey's accession for different reasons. One of these reasons is that the Turkish State is different culturally and religiously from the rest of the state members . the population structure of Turkey still constitutes the EU concerns . However, If the EU refuses the Turkish accession on a religious basis this would increase the gap between the Christian and Muslim communities. Refusing an Islamic state such as Turkey would be considered a direct message to the Islamic world, where it would reflect a racism image about the EU, which goes against its main principles and values .

However, these reasons are secondary whereas the main reasons that prevent Turkey's accession to the EU includes Turkey's incapability to maintain political and economic reforms, in addition to its crucial geographical position. Despite of Turkey's strategic location, it forms a threat to the EU, particularly as Turkey shares borders with Iraq and Syria, both of which are a conflict zone that may threaten the security and stability of the EU.

It is clear that Turkey is not welcome in the EU, and that various obstacles and barriers still impeded its accession. Therefore, it is recommended that Turkey stops asking for further negotiations about joining the EU. Perhaps, it is more applicable that Turkey recognizes its regional and international value, and start to build new alliances . There is another possibility that Turkey would regain its geographical and strategic position, where Turkey could make alliance with other powers such as Russia, Iran, China. On the other hand, Turkey could set

its position as a Middle East regional power and creates union with the Arab and Gulf regions.

Last and not least, The idea of uniting Europe is not a new idea, but dates back to shortly after the WWII. The first attempt was to integrate states economically. The states who had mutual trade relations became economically interdependent, which helped in alleviating conflict among them. After the (EEC) and the huge single market that had been created the EEC moved from economic to political union; the union started as a pure economic integration before it has evolved into policy and environment areas, where the name changed from the EEC to EU.

The study has found that the process of unifying Europe has been a difficult process, particularly due to key differences among various state members, where each state has its own agenda, political and economic views and culture. Accordingly, various endeavors have been made under various names, including the European federation, federal Europe, European States among others before the term EU came into being. No matter what the name is, the EU is not officially a federation but more like a federal system, where each country enjoys an independent governance as well as a foreign policy.

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