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**Opportunities and Threats in
European Integration and Turkey-EU-
Relations after Brexit**



PETER LANG

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Greetings

Turkey's European Union (EU) membership process continues. Although there are different perspectives in various EU countries on the place of Turkey in the European integration process, the relations between the two parties will probably continue. Thus, internal affairs of Europe are of particular concern to Turkey. Brexit, that is, withdrawal of UK from EU membership is one of the most important developments in Europe in the recent years. With the referendum held in June 2016, 52% of the British people said "No" to EU membership. Different from the several cases, in which countries refused to join the Community in the referendums, a country withdrawing from membership was a first in its 60-year-old history and shook the global public opinion deeply, especially in the EU countries. After recovering from the initial shock of the British people's decision, the European public opinion continues to discuss the issue.

The subject is also of great importance to Turkey. UK has been an important member in favour of Turkey in the EU decision-making process with its creative recommendations, and it is a mystery what consequences this unexpected decision will bring for Turkey. Especially the financial crisis, problems in the EU decision-making mechanisms, the refugee crisis and the efforts of Brussels towards increasing its powers concern the governments of EU member countries. The rising right-wing populist discourses are also drawing attention. In this context, there are numerous questions waiting to be answered: Is the British case unique or is it a crisis solving method that can be attempted by other EU countries? How will the withdrawal of UK affect the foreign relations of EU? And how will the EU-Turkey relations continue? Which route will be taken in Turkey's full membership negotiations with the EU, which has reviewed and redefined all of its policies and integration strategies several times in the recent years?

In this period, Akdeniz University hosted the Brexit Workshop, in which the issue was discussed with reference to the debates in the Turkish and European public opinions. Thirty researchers and scholars from Turkey and Europe addressed the issue in the light of scientific data in an effort to define new European strategies, EU-Turkey relations and the future of European integration. As a compilation of the workshop papers, this volume provides a comprehensive assessment of the Brexit issue from the perspective of different countries, on various subjects and factors. I would like to thank European Union Research and Application Centre (AKVAM) at Akdeniz University, for organizing this event and convening researchers and scholars from different countries and their decision-making

A. İnci Sökmen Alaca

The Separation of the UK from the EU in the Context of Regional and International Security

Abstract: British People expressed their will to leave the EU in the referendum held on June 23, 2016. Britain has set a new foreign policy vision on the claim that, remaining in the Union would weaken the British government in economic and social security terms. From the European point of view, the separation of the third most active country after Germany and France is considered as the beginning of the end. It can also be claimed that the incompatibilities between the economic and foreign policies of member states could not be sustained any longer. From the regional security perspective, Britain will keep contributing to the security of Europe through NATO. However, the idea of a "New American Order" put forward by the new US President Trump that includes cooperation with Russia, will affect UK US relations, since Britain is a refraining country about renewing the organizational structure within NATO. The will of Germany, France and Spain to cooperate with Russia shows that Britain will not find much support in its opposition to Russia. In the new European Order, countries will not share their sovereignty by giving priority to their own national securities in the fight against terrorism. In this article, the separation of the UK from the EU will be analysed in terms of its own national security and the European security.

Keywords: Brexit, European Union Security, NATO, Russia

The United Kingdom and the EU Membership

Third leading EU country after Germany and France, the UK has become a member of the Community in 1973. Having its membership application vetoed twice by the French President Charles De Gaulle in the 1960s, the UK became a member without transferring its sovereignty and by always staying outside the community policies. British governments were able to retain sovereign powers by refusing the common Central Bank System in the European Economic and Monetary Union, keeping their national currency the pound sterling and not adopting the common EU currency Euro, refusing to become a party to the Schengen Agreement which is a visa-free transit regulation, and being exempt from the EU immigration agreements. The increasing importance of sovereignty can be considered in terms of the threat posed by immigration and economic problems to the constitutional patriotism of nation-states as Habermas (1996: 496) argues, and also as a reflex

of the UK to preserve its national identity and power as a hegemonic state of the international system in the 18th and 19th centuries.

According to Suzan Strange (1987: 553), the UK's primary target has always been to be the most influential, *structural power* controlling the production of knowledge, goods and services, and financial and credit transactions, in short, the maintenance of liberal economy. As one of the G-7 countries, the UK has a say in the global governance of economy and security. It is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council with nuclear power, and the only European country with nuclear power as France is not a part of the NATO's integrated military system.

The UK faced the risk of losing this structural power completely if it stayed in the EU. When the national economies of Greece, Spain and Portugal came to the point of collapse after the 2008 economic crisis, EU's financial aid was provided by Germany, France, the UK and Italy. Although it was not in the Euro zone, the UK had to continue providing financial aid, which in turn created a huge financial burden on its budget. And if Scotland and Northern Ireland leave the UK in the future, their tax revenues will be lost. So, considering the increasing expenses and decreasing revenues, EU membership is not a win-win situation.

Secondly, when China provided the largest financial aid after the 2008 crisis, the European market has completely opened up to China. In international trade, while the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations reached a deadlock, the "New Silk Road Project" that will connect Europe and Asia on land and sea under the leadership of China stepped forward as an alternative to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Agreement imposed by the United States. Establishing special economic, political and diplomatic relations with China, – to which the USA has declared a trade war – in the framework of the *Osborne Doctrine* (the view that the UK is the best ally of China in the West) became a priority for the UK (Economist.net, 2015). Alongside with Germany, the UK became one of the founding members of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank established under the leadership of China as an alternative to the World Bank. China made investments in the UK, mainly in real estate and infrastructure as well as education, finance and telecommunications. By allowing the China Merchants Bank, the third largest institution of China, to open up a branch in London, the UK has paved the way for China to establish its first commercial platform in Europe (Le Corre, 2016). In the National Strategy Document of the UK, London is projected to be the centre for Chinese goods and services, banking activities, and portfolio management. In addition to economy, global warming, economic development and peace in Africa, terrorism, organized crimes, cybercrimes, and migration are other areas specified to establish bilateral

cooperation with China (National Security Strategy, 2016: 12–13). In short, having been unable to act freely within the EU, the UK will now have the opportunity to develop independent political and commercial relations with countries from South America to East Asia with the Brexit decision. China, India, Brazil and Japan are seen as more profitable markets and trade partners, regarding their populations and Gross World Product.

UK's decision became even more significant in terms of reviving the British Commonwealth, establishing a federal union with Canada, New Zealand, and Australia under the umbrella of CANZUK that will ensure the free circulation of people and goods, and provide mutual security and defence (Bennett, 2016). In the triple bloc defined by Winston Churchill as the Western Alliance, an attempt to revive the CANZUK¹ ideal with the USA and the EU countries seems to be a new geopolitical option (Larres, 1996: 20). There is a very strong cultural, political and military cooperation between these former colonies of the British Empire. With their population and economic power, they are considered as important actors in the international system after USA and China. It is claimed that they will be a guarantee for the perpetuity of the Western Civilization and Western values (democracy, free market economy, human rights, etc.). Being important military allies of the USA, Canada and Australia will also become influential powers in establishing a defence front under the leadership of the UK against international security problems. In an eventual military confrontation between the USA and China, one of the key countries hosting American bases is Australia. It can be claimed that CANZUK will become an important military bloc in an eventual war with China.

A third factor causing the UK to leave the EU in addition to sovereignty and economic issues is migration and refugee issues. The increasing population of Muslims vis-a-vis an ageing European population, unemployed immigrants unable to integrate to the national economies, and European cities becoming targets for radical terrorist organizations have rapidly increased xenophobia. In the fourth industrial revolution, where robots will replace human labour force and perform a more rapid and uninterrupted production, the immigrants as cheap labour force will no longer be needed. It is argued that while poverty and unemployment increase crime rates, rising class inequalities will be the major cause of chaos and instability in the society (McKinsey, 2016: 5). In terms of migration as a major security issue, the UK did not adopt the same policies with Germany

1 See www.canzuk.co.uk.

and has exempted itself from the free circulation of Schengen. And by leaving the EU membership, it will be completely protected from this problem. Increasing economic problems and nostalgic nationalism against globalization allowed the populist right-wing and left-wing parties that claim to talk on behalf of the people and oppose cosmopolitanism to become ruling parties in many European countries by using the current conjuncture well. Inciting animosity and hate towards foreigners by manipulating fear poses a major threat to universal human rights (Munich Security Report, 2017: 6). By leaving membership, the UK aims to protect basic British values (democracy, rule of law, accountability, human rights, freedom of speech, property rights, equal opportunity rights) from the rising extremism in Europe and keep being one of the most important countries in the international system.

In its revised national strategy document of 2016, the UK defined its vision as being a "strong, efficient, global" power. Three main national security targets were the protection of the people of Britain, sustaining wealth and being an influential power in the international system (National Security Strategy, 2016: 8–9). A balanced budget and international trade were emphasized to ensure economic security and national welfare. Developing commercial relations with BRICS countries (except Russia) that gave way to an alternative polarization in the international economic order is given particular importance. Being an economic power is considered more important than being a military power. The British Armed Forces' capacity to serve efficiently in several countries and intelligence gathered (Hevia, 2012) allows them to consider themselves privileged among other European countries. Self-sufficiency as a nuclear power is another motive behind the UK's decision to leave the EU.

European Regional and International Security after Brexit

The balance of power in Europe is expected to change considerably when the UK leaves the EU. The major question is whether the exit process will be the same for the remaining 28 EU members. If extreme right parties win the elections in France and Germany in 2017, the question of "leaving or staying in the EU" will become important. Rising nationalism in Greece, Hungary, Poland and Baltic countries and Netherlands, France and Italy signalling to leave the EU might indicate that the EU idea, which won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2014, has completed its historical mission. These developments are also a serious source of concern for those who think that post-Brexit EU will be a more unified political and economic union and a more significant global power in terms of economy and security (Simms, 2016), and especially for the Brussels bureaucracy. In a scenario where

EU no longer exists, the balance of power will shift in favour of Germany. It can be said that Germany has always been a cornerstone in European security. As a revisionist power under the leadership of Hitler before the Second World War, having a security gap due to its fragmented political structure during the Cold War, and becoming one of the first seven regional and international actors again in 21st century, Germany determines stability and security. The potential effects of trying to solve economic issues by itself as the regional leader of Europe is worth considering (Benner, 2016).

There are currently two contradictory projects within the EU: one led by France, the "United Europe of Nation States" and the other led by Germany and supported by the USA, the "Federal Europe based on Ethnicities and Regions". The German policy based on ethnicity and regions support separatist movements, creation of microstates, or unification of regions with other states (especially with German-speaking ones) through irredentist policies. The legal texts such as the "European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages", the "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities" and the "European Charter of Local Self-Government" have reinforced ethnic and regional differences in Europe. In the member countries that have transferred their national sovereignty to the EU, economic problems and identity politics result in cases such as the independence claims of the Basque and Catalan regions in Spain; independence claims of Veneto, Val d'Aosta, Friuli-Venice regions, the islands of Sardinia and Sicily and unification claim of the Alto-Adige Trentino region called Südtirol with Austria in Italy; the demand for scission between the Flemish and Wallons in Belgium; and the independence claim of Corsica in France. These claims of independence based on ethnic, economic and social reasons may trigger clashes that can turn into civil war if the economic situation worsens in the EU (AA.net, 2014). In the Balkans, independence claims of the Serbian majority usually come from the Mitrovitsa region in Kosovo in the Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina. In Serbia, separatist claims come from the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina densely populated with Hungarians, Sandzak Region in the south, densely populated with Bosnians, and the Region of Presevo densely populated with Albanians. In Macedonia, Albanians want to found a state under the name of the "Republic of Ilirida". The Transdniestrian Region still claims independence from Moldova (AA.net, 2014). Supporting all these separatist claims, the German policy poses a threat to France and the UK, which attach importance to their national integrity. If separatist movements become stronger, they may affect Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland which make up the UK and the fact that these countries voted to remain in the EU makes it an even more pressing problem for the union of

the UK (Farell, 2016). The disintegration of the UK and the loss of tax revenues will result in considerable loss of power for England. After the example of the UK, France also considers to leave the EU (Frexit) for economic recovery and preventing disintegration.

It can be argued that, Charles A. Kupchan's (2002) claim that the clash of civilizations would be experienced within the Western world itself can take place after Brexit. Conflicts within the countries that can lead to civil war or conflicts between the countries that can lead to regional wars may emerge. With increasing number and influence of Neo-Nazi organizations in Europe, a new *German problem* may arise for the UK.

The only power that may counterbalance Germany is the Russian Federation. With the crisis in Ukraine, NATO forces deployed in Baltic countries, Romania and Bulgaria to avoid a possible Russian expansion towards Europe. Four Central European countries including Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, came together and formed the Visegrad group² as a joint defence platform. The Baltic countries Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and the Scandinavian countries Sweden, Norway and Finland formed a war front against the Russian threat (Stratfor, net, 2011). Tensions in Bulgaria and Ukraine that caused political power disputes between Europe/USA and the Russian Federation seem to be only suspended temporarily. Yet, Germany and France do not see the Russian Federation as a threat. Buying military aircraft carriers from France, partnership with Germany in the energy sector, and Germany's wish to establish a military training base in Russia may be given as examples of the close relations between these countries. Adopting a different attitude about Russia from the two leading EU countries, the UK will probably be isolated in this stance if the United States President Trump comes to terms with Russia. A rapprochement between the USA and Russia may counterbalance the rapprochement between the UK and China and result in a new order in the international system.

The United States President Trump's negative attitude towards NATO and statements on ending the security support to Europe served the claim of those who want to establish an independent European army within NATO. The US government refuses the European approach that excludes the USA from commercial relations but burdens it with defence issues (e.g. the highest number of American soldiers is stationed in Europe). Such conflicts in the European-Transatlantic relations will probably deepen with President Trump. Europe's demand for equal relations, refusal of the USA's self-interested Middle Eastern policies, wish to

2 <http://www.visegradgroup.eu>

be able to act independently from the USA and to set up a European Army independent from the NATO will be important again. However, Europe may not act in unison considering the separatist movements, rising populist right- and left-wing parties, and possible wars in the Balkans. With CANZUK, the UK will have a powerful security alliance against Europe. If NATO ceases to exist with a war between European countries – although it is a very weak possibility – a new military alliance between Germany, France, Spain and Russian Federation may come to the agenda.

The present era is mainly characterized with many uncertainties and the instability of bilateral and multilateral relations in a multipolar international structure. In the Pentagon Defence Planning Guide of 1992, it was claimed that the establishment of a military mechanism outside of NATO by two major economic powers, Germany and Japan was considered as a threat to the USA. It was also argued that these countries should be discouraged from becoming a global or regional power (Draft of Pentagon, 1992). Competing with the US Dollar through Euro and establishing an alternative trade network with China is against the American interests. While the 2008 crisis caused a regression in the EU economy, it also put a heavy economic burden on Germany. In line with the American policy to terminate or review its NAFTA membership, the weakening and eventual disintegration of the EU starting with the UK's withdrawal can be seen as an important discouragement attempt. However, even if the EU disintegrates, a powerful Germany with many countries economically dependent on it will remain in the system. And China will be the only rival of the USA, which tries to reduce its economic rivals as much as possible. The fourth industrial revolution based on robots will put an end to opening factories in foreign countries for cheaper labour force. The robots working 7/24 in their factories would only require replacement of their spare parts. It can be said that with the robot industry, China's position as the centre of cheap production will definitely change. Having a weak banking system, China will probably lose economic power and become financially dependent on New York and London.

Terrorist groups are a threat for all countries. Cooperation projects, military interventions, and peacekeeping projects in Africa and the Middle East to consolidate the central state structures under the roof of the United Nations would bring stability to other countries in the world as well. No country is safe from epidemics and global warming. However, when the liberal economic order will no longer be able to provide solutions to increasing unemployment, it will be important for the states to create new sources of income for middle and lower classes. Colonization of the planets in the framework of space studies, creating

new living environments may be considered as new income sources for middle and lower classes. Thus, major countries, which conduct space research, will be the ones to impose the rules in the new world order.

It can be argued that Brexit has made Europe a regionally fragmented and dispersed area with major economic and social security problems, and paved the way for civil and regional wars. A new order in Europe may only be possible after chaos. It is claimed that Europe will be divided into four regions including the countries under the influence of Germany (Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Czech Republic, Hungary, Croatia, Switzerland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland), Scandinavian-Baltic Countries Bloc (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia), Eastern European Countries (Visegrad Group, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria) and the Mediterranean Countries (Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Malta, Southern Cyprus). France and the UK would not be part of any of these groups (Papic, 2011). As Brexit sets forward a divided Europe map, it serves the Russian aim to access to certain countries it wishes to control. For example, the Nord Stream 2 project, which aimed to provide gas flow to Baltic countries, was blocked by Britain. Thus, with the withdrawal of the UK as the major supporter of economic sanctions imposed on Russia, Russia will be able to re-establish strong relations with the EU (Buchanan, 2016). The British bases in Southern Cyprus have a critical importance with their vicinity to the Russian sea base in port of Tartus. In the Mediterranean, Malta and Cyprus are important base areas for the UK against the Middle East and Russia. The residence of the members of Assad family in London and strong ties with the Barzani family of Northern Iraq suggest that the UK, which has politically shaped the Middle East in the post-Ottoman period is still influential in determining the political leaders in the region.

In terms of international security, the UK seems to have formed a new security and economic alliance with CANZUK against China and Russian Federation. It can be argued that USA's China and Russia policy will have more impact than Brexit in terms of international security.

Conclusion

When the political puzzle of each epoch is solved, establishing a balance between order and chaos becomes easier. While the international system is restructuring, regional organizations now serve national interests of the states. As globalization becomes less powerful, protectionism and economic mercantilism start to gain importance. In this period of increased uncertainty, UK's decision to leave the EU has produced important results in terms of both European and international security. It does not seem very likely for Europe to be a major international power

considering the economic problems, immigration problems, radical terror groups and increasing separatist trends it is struggling with. As the progress of the relations between China, Russia and the USA may influence the whole international system, Britain made its geopolitical preference towards allying with the countries with which it has common historical and cultural ties. We will be facing new military alliances and regional wars in the international system in the coming years. However, this time, all of these will neither take place in the Middle East nor Africa, but in Europe.

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Chapter III

The Future Of Turkey-Eu Relations After Brexit