



CETEUS Newsletter

(2/2019)

Liebe Freundinnen und Freunde des Jean Monnet Lehrstuhls (MONTEUS) am Centrum für Türkei und EU Studien (CETEUS),

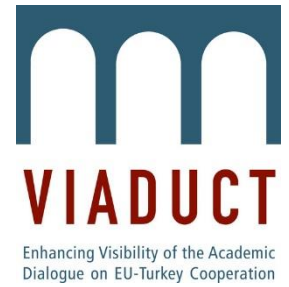
in dieser Newsletter Ausgabe finden Sie Einblicke in die vergangenen und über die bevorstehenden Veranstaltungen der Projekte. Wir wünschen Ihnen gute Unterhaltung und freuen uns, Sie bei einer unserer nächsten Veranstaltungen wieder zu sehen.

Second VIADUCT Week

PhD Seminar 18 - 19 March 2019 | Istanbul

Annual Conference 20 - 21 March 2019 | Istanbul

Guest Lecture 22 March 2019 | Istanbul



The VIADUCT PhD school, organised by Prof Meltem Muftuler-Bac (Sabancı University) and Prof Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich), took place at Sabancı University on 18 and 19 March 2019. It was embedded into the framework of the second VIADUCT Week.

During the PhD school, PhD students from all over Europe had the chance to discuss the topic and progress of their thesis with renowned academics from the VIADUCT network. A detailed report will be available on the [VIADUCT website](#) soon.

In the framework of the second VIADUCT Week, the project's second Annual Conference was organised in Istanbul by Sabancı University. The conference featured a roundtable on EU-Turkey relations, a keynote speech by Christian Berger (Head of the EU Delegation to Turkey) and an informal policy debate with Julian Vassallo (EEAS). In addition, VIADUCT researchers split in working groups to reflect on VIADUCT's cross sectorial issues: power, resources, people, and teaching EU-Turkey relations. A detailed report will be available on the project's website soon.

On 22 March 2019 the VIADUCT Week was closed by a guest lecture held by Prof. Dr. Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich) at Koç University (Istanbul, Turkey). His lecture was set under emphasis on the answer to the question "Is differentiated integration the future of Europe?"



Recent CETEUS Publications

We are pleased to announce the recent publication of articles written by our CETEUS colleagues dealing with up-to-date issues and the centre's emphasis.

- Tekin, Funda / Reiners, Wulf (2019): [Taking Refuge in Leadership? Facilitators and Constraints of Germany's Influence in EU Migration Policy and EU-Turkey Affairs during the Refugee Crisis \(2015–2016\)](#), in: German Politics.
- Weise, Helena / Schröder, Mirja (2019): [Auslaufmodell Beitritt? Zur Zukunft der EU-Türkei-Beziehungen](#), in: Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (ZPOL) 02/19.
- Wessels, Wolfgang / Schäfer-Nerlich, Verena (2019): [Strategien und Szenarien zur Fortentwicklung der EU - Vielfalt und Komplexität](#). Springer VS.
- Wessels, Wolfgang / Weitershausen, Inez von / Schäfer, David (2019): [A 'Primus Inter Pares' in EU Foreign Policy? – German Leadership in the European Council during the Libyan and Ukrainian Crises](#). Taylor & Francis Online.

Upcoming Events:



Podiumsdiskussion "Das (vermeintliche) Demokratiedefizit der Europäischen Union"

06 Mai 2019 | Köln

Die Coelner Monnet Vereinigung für EU-Studien e.V. (COMOS) veranstaltet im Rahmen der Europawoche 2019 am **6. Mai 2019 um 18 Uhr an der Universität zu Köln (S183 im HF-Modulbau, Herbert-Lewin-Str.10)** gemeinsam mit dem Centrum für Türkei- und EU Studien (CETEUS) eine Podiumsdiskussion zum Thema „**Das (vermeintliche) Demokratiedefizit der Europäischen Union. Wie kann Demokratie in multinationalen Gesellschaften funktionieren?**“ zu der wir Sie und Euch herzlich einladen. Im Anschluss (ca. 19:30 Uhr) wird es einen Umtrunk geben.

Der **Eintritt** ist **frei** und eine **Anmeldung** **nicht** erforderlich.
Das finale Programm kann [hier heruntergeladen](#) werden.

In Kooperation mit:

Minister für Bundes- und Europaangelegenheiten
sowie Internationales
des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen



Kölner Europagespräche | Blicke - Sichtweisen - Visionen

14 Mai 2019 | Köln



Vom 23. Mai bis 26. Mai 2019 finden in den Mitgliedsländern der Euro- päischen Union die neunten Direktwahlen zum Europaparlament statt. In Deutschland ist am 26. Mai 2019 Wahltag. Die Wahl steht dieses Mal unter be- sonderen Vorzeichen: Voraussichtlich wird die EU dann nur noch aus 27 Mitgliedsstaaten bestehen. Zudem besteht die Gefahr das EU- skeptische und rechtspopulistische Parteien ihre jüngsten Wahlerfolge auf EU- Ebene fortsetzen. In dieser angespannten Lage liegt auch eine Chance. Die euro- papolitischen Debatten verbreitern und intensivieren sich zusehends. Die Dringlichkeit mutiger Reformschritte liegt auf der Hand. Die Fronten sind klar. Alternative Programme für eine weitere Vertiefung des euro- päischen Projektes liegen vor. Die Risiken nationalistischer Tendenzen und eines Rückbaus der EU sind zu erkennen. Die Wahl ist als Richtungswahl für das Europäische Parlament sowie für die EU zu sehen. Die Wahl verdient eine hohe Wahlbeteiligung und eine seriöse Debatte im Vorfeld.

Dienstag, 14. Mai 2019, 19:30 bis 21:15 Uhr

Ort: Domforum Köln, Domkloster 3

Der Eintritt ist frei.

Hier können Sie den [Veranstaltungsflyer herunterladen](#).



Policy Lab: How to make the EU more democratic

29 - 30 Mai 2019 | Nizza

Am 29. und 30. Mai 2019 findet im Rahmen des Jean Monnet-Projektes DAFEUS das zweite von COMOS organisierte Policy Lab statt. Am Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) in Nizza werden in diesem Rahmen von etwa 15 Teilnehmer*innen darüber diskutiert, ob und wie die EU demokratischer gestaltet werden sollte und könnte, und auf dieser Basis konkrete Handlungsempfehlungen erarbeiten.

Weitere Informationen finden Sie auf der [COMOS Website](#).

COMOS Jahrestagung: The Future of EU Democracy



31 Mai - 01 Juni 2019 | Nizza

Die diesjährige COMOS Jahrestagung wird im Rahmen des Jean Monnet Projekts DAFEUS am 31. Mai und 1. Juni 2019 in Nizza am Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) zum Thema „The future of the European Union. Democracy in a multi-level and multi-national system“ stattfinden.

Vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Zukunftsdebatte und der anstehenden Wahlen zum Europäischen Parlament soll die Tagung dazu dienen, durch den Vergleich der EU mit föderalen und multinationalen Systemen die Stärken und Defizite des politischen Systems der EU zu identifizieren und konkrete Reformvorschläge zu diskutieren. Dazu werden sich in Nizza Wissenschaftlicher*innen, Vertreter*innen der organisierten Zivilgesellschaft und Praktiker*innen darüber auseinandersetzen, was die EU von föderalen Staaten lernen und wie die EU demokratischer gestaltet werden kann.

[Der Programmwurf kann auf der COMOS Website heruntergeladen werden.](#)



On the Occasion of project´s end: Farewell from the FEUTURE Coordinators

A Glimpse on the F(E)UTURE

Funda Tekin, FEUTURE Project Director,
Director of the Institut für Europäische Politik
(Berlin)

Three years ago, a consortium of 15 partner institutes from the EU, Turkey and the neighbourhood set out to map dynamics in and test scenarios for the future EU-Turkey relationship within the framework of the research project “FEUTURE”, funded by the H2020 programme. Along with the Commission’s funding no crystal ball was provided, and the aim was not to exactly predict the FEUTURE. Instead, we aimed for a **deeper understanding of what drives the relationship apart and what holds it together as well as of what this means for the future of the relationship**. Another aim was to **foster (research) dialogue within and between the EU and Turkey as well as the region**.

This task has been both interesting and inspiring as well as challenging and demanding. One of the main questions was how to deal with the task of **researching a moving target that seemed to increase its speed during the lifetime of the project**: from claiming to revitalize the accession procedure to calls by the European Parliament and single EU member states for suspending accession talks with Turkey; from high chances of solving the Cyprus dispute at the end of 2016 to closing the door on it for the time being in 2017; from acknowledging the mutual need for energy cooperation to rifts over energy drillings off the coast of Cyprus in 2018. Additionally, the EU and Turkey were both facing their own challenges in terms of migration, populism and nationalism as well as the UK’s decision to leave the EU and the failed coup attempt and the following crackdown on rule of law issues in Turkey. Last but not least, there were periods in which Turkey’s bilateral relations to individual EU member states were severely strained.

I am more than satisfied to be able to say that FEUTURE has been able to live up to its aims – mainly for three reasons:

- (1) FEUTURE applied a comprehensive and inclusive approach that within an integrated research design pursued a broad scope of subjects and features. FEUTURE was **intertemporal** in dealing with the past, present and future, **inter-disciplinary** in dealing with six prevalent thematic dimensions of EU Turkey relations in order to tackle the economic, energy, social, political, ideational and strategic narratives, drivers, challenges and opportunities embedded in the relationship, and **international** in dealing with four levels of analysis of EU-Turkey relations: the EU, Turkey, the

neighbourhood and the global scene, reflected also in the composition of FEUTURE's consortium and the Scientific and Policy Advisory Board.

- (2) FEUTURE did not shy away from thinking out of predetermined 'boxes' and explored new paths for the future of EU-Turkey relations. We acknowledged that realities might not only change fast but also in extremes meaning that so-called wild cards (unknown-unknowns; improbable but deeply disruptive events) can materialize and mix-up the entire f(e)uture. We also acknowledged that there are different as well as differentiated f(e)utures ahead, which means that the relationship requires considerations of different models of differentiated integration. There is no such pre-fixed model that one could pick from the shelves for application to the EU-Turkey relationship. But FEUTURE has developed the framework of "dynamic association" in which different paths of integration and cooperation are explored in parallel.
- (3) FEUTURE did not remain within the ivory tower but **closely engaged with stakeholders in Brussels, Ankara and national capitals in the EU** with two aims: on the one hand the stakeholder community provided helpful insights for advancing our research activities and on the other we were able to test our research results (in so-called Policy Challenge Sessions, for example). Additionally, the project engaged with **the f(e)uture generation of researchers and stakeholders** by organizing a simulation game in Nice and a Young Leaders Conference in Ankara.

These past three years have been thought provoking, inspiring, intense, demanding, challenging, eye opening and rich in terms of researching the FEUTURE. You can find our main research results compiled in no less than 32 research papers and one synthesis paper on www.feuture.eu and within an upcoming edited volume. I want to thank all FEUTURE researchers for our collaboration on this highly relevant project. We have been able to establish strong relations and therefore I am sure that there is a f(e)uture after FEUTURE.

The Rocky Road Towards the F(E)UTURE

Nathalie Tocci, FEUTURE Scientific Coordinator, Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)



We're nearing the end of our journey into the f(e)uture. It has been an eventful three years. Three years in which 15 partners, including both universities and think tanks, from Turkey, EU Member States and neighbouring countries joined forces on the **biggest ever EU-funded research project on the troubled relationship between the EU and Turkey**. We started off outlining three possible scenarios for EU-Turkey relations in a 2023 scenario: **conflict, cooperation and convergence**. We never assumed the f(e)uture would map precisely any one of these three stylized scenarios, but in analyzing the drivers within six thematic

areas, we did think and expect trends to point towards a possible steady state equilibrium in the EU-Turkey relationship in the decade ahead.

When we began our work, the f(e)uture looked in some respects more uncertain than it is today. True, Turkey's accession process to the EU had been in dire straits for some time already, and conflictual dynamics certainly characterized the political and identity dimensions of EU-Turkey relations. However, other signals – notably the 2016 EU-Turkey statement – held the promise of a restart of accession negotiations, alongside a deepening of cooperation in the areas of migration, as well as economy, security and energy.

As time went by, on the one hand things clarified, and not for the best. The EU-Turkey migration statement gave way to a transactional form of cooperation while doing nothing to reactivate accession talks. Cooperation continued in the economic and security domains, but on a whole, the relationship dangerously slid towards greater divergence and conflict. The attempted coup attempt in Turkey in the summer of 2016 followed by an accelerated crackdown on rights and freedoms, alongside the move towards an executive presidency characterized by an unprecedented concentration of power in one man's hands; Russia's ascendancy in the Syrian civil war, increasingly dragging Turkey into its fold; a European context marked by the ongoing rise of nationalist, racist and populist forces as well as the specific challenges posed by Brexit; and a global scene bedeviled by the demise of the international liberal order have all, invariably, pitted Turkey increasingly at odds with the EU. Even areas formerly thought to spur convergence between the two sides, such as energy, started moving in the opposite direction. On the other hand, while many, over these three years, often called for an impending disaster – a total breakdown of EU-Turkey relations – such breakdown never happened. And the FEUTURE project, including the very fact that a consortium such as ours has continued its work notwithstanding political trends, holds within it the explanation as to why such breakdown did not happen. And will not happen in future. **No definitive f(e)uture can in fact be painted.** The scenario we outline for the EU-Turkey relationship is an **inherently dynamic one in which no fixed steady state is in fact possible.** We define this as **conflictual cooperation.** The conflictual elements are clear, and some of the key drivers were listed above. These conflictual dynamics notwithstanding, the EU and Turkey cannot but cooperate with one another. This is because irrespective of how positive or negative relations are, the structure of the relationship itself is marked by deep and complex forms of interdependence. Across different thematic domains, Turkey and the EU are and will remain joined at the hip. Hence, while political and identity relations will determine the upper most limits of the institutional relationship – i.e. whether full membership was, is or ever will be a realistic scenario – the intricate interdependence in the economic, energy, migration and security domains is such that cooperation, while at times conflictual, will remain a necessity moving forward determining the lower-most limits below which the relationship simply cannot fall. The EU-Turkey relationship will therefore most likely continue oscillating between these upper and lower most limits, in a perennial dance of conflictual cooperation.

So what to do about this? The question we asked ourselves is how, given this scenario of conflictual cooperation, could the EU maximize the scope for cooperation while mitigating the prospects of conflict? And how can it at the same time embed such cooperation to the extent possible in a rules-based framework

thus instilling within the relationship incentives for convergence? Our proposal is that of a **dynamic association**, one which while still considering the sky as the limit – and therefore not advocating a once and for all suspension of the accession process – both seeks to maximize cooperation and **strives to embed such cooperation in a rules-based framework**. A modernized customs union upon which to add further building blocks of cooperation across the energy, migration and security domains, represents to us the most beneficial while not unrealistic way forward. Are we starry eyed, discarding the concrete political reasons why such proposal is not materializing today? No we are not. On the contrary, we believe that a dynamic association at once **pragmatically reflects the ups and downs and inherent interdependence of the EU-Turkey relationship, as well as the principled conviction that it is in the fundamental interest of both Turkey and the EU to embed the relationship within a rules-based framework**.



Driving the Analysis, Assessment and Advice on EU-Turkey relations

Wolfgang Wessels, FEUTURE Coordinator,
Director of the Centre for Turkey and
European Union Studies (CETEUS)

Looking back at FEUTURE's intensive work my main conclusion is that our project has served and will continue to broaden and deepen our analysis of difficult and complex issues of high political relevance for both Turkey and the EU and their relationship. It has driven a focused debate for giving advice on actions to follow. Our FEUTURE project had to confront specific challenges: since the application in 2015 the objects of research – Turkey, the EU and EU-Turkey relations – have undergone dramatic changes, which we could of course not predict in our original research design. We can however be satisfied that our studies documented in over 30 research papers were and are able to produce conceptual offers by which academic observers as well as stakeholders can analyze and assess this moving target.

Based on the intensive work on six thematic dimensions and narratives, FEUTURE offers a broad variation of relevant insights. Each of us learned from the expertise of the consortium's partners. Thus, the project has deepened our way to analyze the driving forces of this difficult and complex relations. Even more: any serious debate has to put EU-Turkey relations in a **comprehensive and inclusive approach crossing the frontiers of disciplines and special expertise**. Going beyond the specific focus we have thus contributed with our narrative-based scenarios to a highly controversial and topical debate about the nature and future of this specific relationship.

With the synthesis report and "11 Takeaways from and for FEUTURE" we offer an added value for the academic studies and political debate: in a comparative and comprehensive conclusion our assessment stresses the nature of the relation as a "conflictual cooperation" and proposes for action to pursue a "dynamic association". Both terms serve as stimulating points of reference, which each of us will further use and further develop in several ways and directions.

I see one more long-term impact of FEUTURE: members of our networks will continue to cooperate on that issue and continue to offer reflected and substantial contributions to this key issue of the future of Europe.

[Read more on our CETEUS Website](#)