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The Impact of Europeanization on the EU border conflicts

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List of Abbreviations

CFSP – Common Foreign and Security Policy

CSDP – Civil Society Development Programme

EEC – European Economic Community

EC – European Community

EU – European Union

EPC – European Political Cooperation

EMU – Economic and Monetary Union

FYROM - Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia

FIR – Flight Information Region

INTERREG – Interregional cooperation programme of the European Union

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IFF – Identification Friend or Foe

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PASOK – Panhellenic Socialist Movement

USA – United States of America

UN – United Nations

1. Introduction - setting out the research problem

1.1 Relevance of the subject

Debates about the role of the European Union in world politics have often been used as a research topic in many scientific articles and scholarly books. The European Union has often been called an "Economic Giant", (Bretherton and Vogler -1999: 67-92, Bull -1982: 149-164, Hill – 1990: 314-332) a regional organization whose decisions can influence the economic structure of the entire World and, simultaneously, it also has been called a "political dwarf" (Ehrhart -2002: 55-62, Piening – 1997: 17-23) an organization whose decisions have no or very little influence on world politics. One can endlessly elaborate on numerous facts supporting both views. However, if we narrow our focus down to a specific area, such as conflict resolution capability, that is to say, analyse the ability of the EU to deal with its own border conflicts, the ambiguity of the EU`s role becomes even more vivid. In the relevant literature, the EU is often hailed as a "Security Community" with a successful track record of conflict resolution (Adamson, Fiona B. 2001: 2, 277-303). Some analysts argue that the EU has a very specific discursive framework when dealing with border conflicts, which offers a solid base for political leaders from conflicting parties to legitimise their decisions and hence, stop any further escalations or even diminish conflicts all together (Belge -2004: 59). Bretherton and Vogler for example, argue that the impact of the EU on conflicting nations is so powerful that it can challenge or even alter the identity scripts of those nations' citizens. Opponents of this view acknowledge the economic might of the European Union but highlight its political weakness, and argue that as a political entity, the EU can offer nothing more than financial aid and economic programs. Some scholars suggest that the EU, in fact, does not have a coherent approach or even a policy of dealing with border conflicts (Piening – 1997: 21).

Why are analyses offered in the literature about the role of the European Union so ambiguous, and why is it vital for the EU to adopt successful conflict management policies?

As The European Union expands, it faces increasing numbers of conflicts on its external borders (see appendix B). After another round of expansions in 2004 and in 2007, the EU has ended up surrounded by five different conflicts on its borders, namely – on the Northern border - Northern Ireland, Russia/Baltic States, on the Southern – Turkey/Greece, Cyprus, Israel/Palestine and on the Eastern borders - Caucasian States (Walters, W. 2004: 675-697). Each of those conflicts has different backgrounds, reasons, structures and levels of escalation; however, they all have one

common feature, namely, a tendency towards further escalation. No doubt, this fact presents the EU with a considerable challenge and puts its own peaceful existence in grave danger. Despite differences in views and approaches, all analysts agree on one issue – unless the EU deals with those conflicts quickly and more importantly, successfully, they are likely to remain on the EU borders for quite a considerable time and hence, can seriously jeopardise the security of the Union (Bull – 1982: 156).

Analysing all five border conflicts in depth within the confines of this paper would be nearly impossible; instead, I have decided to make a detailed and comparative analysis of the Greco-Turkish conflict. This analysis will include conceptualisations of Greek and Turkish foreign policy as well as the perception of the conflict among core EU institutions, namely, the European Council, the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission and respective Member State representative offices. Although every conflict is different from another with respect to its cause and nature, the Greco-Turkish relations in my opinion, present some important insights which can be instructive for the EU when dealing with other conflicts.

Thus, this research thesis seeks to investigate and map the pattern of strategies employed by the European Union to portray various impacts on conflicting parties. In bringing together all the actors involved, the structure and pattern of conduct and process driven analyses, I hope to take the debate on the EU`s conflict management policies one step further and offer my reflections on how the European Union can transform relations between two adversaries from a line of conflict to a line of cooperation.

1.2 Greco-Turkish conflict in European context – formulating the Research Question

Analysing the Greco-Turkish conflict is a complex process, which entails centuries of arch-rivalry between the two countries. Nearly every study of this conflict underlines negative perceptions and selective readings of the history by both sides, which were, and to some extent are, maintained and inflated by lopsided education, literature and media (Ioakimidis P. C. 1994: 33-52, Aksu, F. 2001: 160-198).

The review of available sources has shown, that despite the vast amount of literature dedicated to the Greco-Turkish conflict and relations itself, scholarly sources explicitly dealing with the EU's[1] impact are amazingly scarce. In other words, most of the relevant articles analyse the facts, developments and policy shifts in the conflict either from Greek or Turkish perspective; however, they fail to emphasize the role and the impact of the European Union on those policy shifts. Even in a few articles mentioning the EU involvement, the insights remain somewhat scattered, un-systematized and more importantly under-theorised due to the lack of an analytical and theoretical framework. The ambition of this paper is to fill this gap and present a theoretically informed analysis of the nature, means and impact of EU involvement in the overall process of this complex Greco-Turkish conflict.

Despite the depiction of Greco-Turkish relations by outside analysts as mostly a continuous feud between historical enemies, actual chronological accounts between these two countries include relatively significant and sustained periods of accord. The most meaningful period of cooperation and collaboration lasted from the early 1930s to the late 1950s and comprised not only the normalization of bilateral relations, but also witnessed a fundamental change in the dominant perception of either side. Instead of playing a nationalistic card, political leaders from both sides started talking about shared identity and common values. Clogg (1992) and Bilge (2000) recall instances when the idea of a Greco-Turkish Union floated not only among elites but also in the broader society as well. However, as important as that period might be, it took place before the establishment of the EEC; hence it is beyond the focus of this research. (Clogg – 1992: 67-92, Bilge – 2000: 21)

The time period of our research interest started in the early 1960s. By this time, relations between the two countries began to sour up over Cyprus. In 1959, when both Greece and Turkey applied for EEC membership, the escalation reached such a high level that the countries, despite the formal alliance and common identity shared within NATO, started to mobilise around more nationalistic ideas. In both countries, it became quite common to portray the other side as an "outsider" and heavily promote "selective historical memories" (Rumelili – 2004: 27-48). It has to be emphasized, that even though political elites formally supported the reconciliation and the alliance between these two countries, they did nothing or very little to defuse antagonistic feelings in their respective societies (Rumelili – 2004: 29). Because conflicts have very a strong incentive to escalate rather

[1] The European Union is used as a general term in further discussions for the European Economic Community - EEC and for the European Community - EC

than diminish, superficial antagonistic feelings quickly gave way to mutual distrust and even blind hatred. Hence, not surprisingly, starting from the early 1960s, the two sides came very close to full scale war on numerous occasions.

The first serious clash between the two sides accrued during inter-racial violence in Cyprus in 1963. In 1967, a similar incident took place; however, this time, the dimensions were truly grandiose. As a result of further escalations, in 1974, Turkey launched a full scale invasion of Cyprus. The short but very violent military clash left Turkey in control of approximately one third of the island. On that memorable occasion Greece even withdrew from NATO in August of the same year and stayed out until 1980 (Athanassopoulou – 1997: 76-101). In 1976 and again in 1987, territorial disputes around the Aegean continental shelf prompted these sides to use military means, but luckily both incidents ended without any serious clashes.

The Imia islet crisis of 1996, however, is the most instructive of them all and illustrates the true picture of the state of affairs between Greece and Turkey. The incident started on the very inconsequential islet of Imia when Turkish a journalist, encouraged by wide public support planted the Turkish flag on the rocky islet, thereby declaring it as Turkish soil. During a very patriotic broadcast, he explained his action as "historically due justice" (Athanassopoulou 1997: 77). This of course, caused an immediate reaction from officials in Athens and Ankara, and it yet again came very close to military conflict. First of all, this incident shows the level of mutual distrust reached at this point between the sides. Even a journalist, from such a trivial action as planting a flag, could almost arouse a military clash between the two neighbouring nations. Secondly, it shows that selective historical memories are deeply rooted in both societies and were considered as "historical injustices". Thirdly, it clearly shows that as late as the 1990s, despite the long history of institutional relations with EC/EEC/EU, trivial disagreements between two countries could easily escalate to full scale military conflict.

Generally, these conflict periods were followed by short-term reconciliation talks and in some cases even led to quite reasonable agreements. A perfect example of such an agreement would be the "Berne Declaration", which Greece and Turkey signed following the 1976 crisis over the Aegean continental shelf. In the declaration, both sides agreed to undertake bilateral discussion which would lead to delimitation of the Aegean continental shelf flight control zone. This arrangement proved to be quite successful as it eventually settled the escalating issue of flight control between the two neighbours. In the same declaration, both sides took an obligation to refrain from any unilateral

actions which could jeopardise their bilateral relations. Similarly, in 1987 after another crisis around the Aegean, prime ministers, ministers of foreign affairs and other officials from both countries met repeatedly and discussed possible ways out of the gridlock. As a result of continuous meetings and discussions, both sides signed the "Memorandum of Understanding", where they agreed not only to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other, but also launched a pilot project promoting tourism, trade and better communication between the two countries (Haraclides – 2002: 315-332). Another round of reconciliation attempt took place in 1996 after the Imea crisis. This new round of talks was so "reasonable and promising" that Athanassopoulo called it "a blessing in disguise" (Athanassopoulou 1997: 83). This round of talks resulted in the 1997 "Madrid Declaration", where sides pledged not to use violence and military means in resolution of mutual disagreements and not to make any unilateral decisions. However, as already mentioned above, all of those reconciliation attempts were short-lived and built on a mountain of distrust which crumbled at the first sign of tension. Following the Madrid Declaration, which many contemporary analysts considered as a turning point in bilateral relations, the reconciliation achievement was easily reverted back to threat communications and distrust when Turkey constructed a new base in Cyprus and placed several S-300 strategic missiles there. The situation further escalated when Kurdish rebel leader Ocalan, who was considered as the most dangerous terrorist by officials in Ankara, was captured in Kenya, in the Greek embassy while meeting with Greek officials.

The most dramatic change of them all however, occurred in 1999 which manifested itself in yet unprecedented de-escalation of the Greco-Turkish conflict. In December 1999, the European Council meeting in Helsinki decided to grant Turkey the membership candidacy status. From this point forward, Greco-Turkish relations started to greatly benefit from conflict-diminishing effects. The de-escalation process started simultaneously in both countries and on all levels of civil society. My research on the nature of conflict communications stretching almost five decades and on the involvement of the European Union in that process has led me to identify 1999 as the turning point. The significant improvement of bilateral cooperation starting from this period entails not only the improvement in general strategic relations but also in various secondary issues such as tourism, illegal immigration, policing and security, energy and cultural cooperation. From 1999, Greek foreign policy towards Turkey was not only significantly softened but effectively turned in the opposite direction. In fact, political leaders in Greece, who were permanently blocking any EU

initiative of cooperation[2] with Turkey over three decades, became a prominent supporter of Turkish full membership of the European Union (Ayman – 1998: 21-22, Rumelili – 2003b: 212-249, Haraclides – 2002: 334-335). In addition, the analyses of post 1999 events clearly indicate that disagreements that would have quickly and easily escalated into serious conflict in the past were now carefully managed and contained by political leaders. For example, the crisis over "airspace violation" in July 2003, under any other circumstances would almost certainly have escalated into a serious clash. Instead, despite the usual threatening communications adopted by the General Staff of Turkey and the Defence Ministry of Greece, Prime Ministers and officials from Foreign Ministries from both countries have managed carefully and vigilantly to retain the status quo. Instead of portraying the other side as "outsider enemy", political leaders made several joint public appearances and successfully managed to defuse the crisis (Rumelili – 2003b: 225-228).

What caused such a dramatic change and, more importantly, what role did the European Union play in that transformation? The focus of this study is to answer this very question, in other words, to understand the reasons for such a dramatic change and to point out successful patterns of conduct.

Hence my research question is:

Under what circumstances can the European Union transform the nature of border conflicts from the line of conflict into the line of co-operation?

To answer this question, I will analyse and evaluate the trajectory of Greco-Turkish conflict at two junctions – the state of affairs before 1999 and the developments afterwards. My aim is to measure the effectiveness of EU influence in facilitating the diminishment of the conflict before 1999 and the fundamental transformation of the conflict after the Helsinki Summit.

2. Theoretical framework and methodology

2.1 Four pathway model

[2] In 1987 when Turkey has applied for EC membership Greece was the only member of the EU who opposed the application. In 1994 the customs Union agreement between the EU and Turkey was not finalized due to a Greek veto. Greece also has vetoed the release of financial assistance to Turkey on several occasions, including blocking EC`s "Matutes package" until 1995 and customs union agreement grant in 1996

The analyses of the influence and potential impact of the European Union on the trajectory of Greco-Turkish conflict, present us with two radical junctions. Empirical evidence shows that before 1999 the EU failed to exercise positive (at least any significant) influence on the course of events. That is to say, despite the long history of close institutional relations with the EU, the conflict between the two states remained factual and often escalated up to the brink of military clash. The decision of the European Council of 1999 to grant Turkey membership candidacy status witnessed unmistakable signs of progress in the conflict resolution process. The significant improvements of bilateral relations are visible not only in strategic spheres like border disputes, but are also evident in increased cooperation in spheres like communication, tourism, security and mutual financial and emergency aid[3] (Vathakou 2003: 57-59)

In order to analyse the pattern of Greco-Turkish conflict theoretically and to test the evidence empirically, I will use the conceptual framework adopted by Albert, Diez and Stetter (2004: 563-593). According to this theoretical framework, the European Union has four different pathways "to establish the conditions under which and the processes through which … as a regional organization it can act as an effective mediator in border conflicts" (Pace – 2004: 17-35). Within these different pathways, the EU can have positive or negative transformative impact on border conflicts both through integration processes within its territorial boundaries and through association agreements outside its territorial boundaries. Hence, it can be applicable to both member and non-member states (Albert, Diez and Stetter – 2004: 571).

Table 1. Pathways of EU impact

		Approach by EU	
		Actor-driven	*Integration Processes*
Target of impact	*Policy*	**(1) Compulsory Impact**	**(2) Enabling Impact**
	Society	**(3) Connective Impact**	**(4) Constructive Impact**

Albert, Diez and Stetter – 2004 Page. 572

[3] Improved communications and mutual aid can be observed during 1999 earthquake in Izmit and Athens.

2.1.1 ***Pathway 1.*** *Compulsory Impact*

This pattern of conduct works through the policy of carrots and sticks. Using the membership carrot the EU can effectively influence conflict parties by "compelling actors through the mechanisms of integration and association to change their policies vis-à-vis the other party towards conciliatory moves. … In membership negotiations, as well as setting the conditions for opening of membership negotiations, the EU [can] insist on the implementation of its legal and normative framework, the acquis communautaire, including the resolution the resolution of border disputes" (Albert, Diez and Stetter – 2004: 564-581). First of all, the carrots and sticks policy can only be effective if both, or at least one, of the conflicting parties desirses the EU membership and regards it as strong enough incentive to change its policies. Accordingly, if there is a lack of such a desire, then policy shifts can be considered as simple strategic behaviour and do not mean that compulsory impact had altered the beliefs about the conflict. Secondly, a condition for successful implementation of this policy is the credibility of the membership offer. Only if the party in conflict believes in the reliability of the offer, that is to say, if it considers membership as an attainable option, will it employ any policy shifts that would defuse the crisis. I will demonstrate this problem, which appears on the agenda repeatedly with both Greece and Turkey, further on. Last but not the least, the success of compulsory impact depends on internalizing normative and legal frameworks of integration by domestic actors within conflict countries as well as in the body they intend to integrate. Hence, this pathway can be very effective, especially if both conflicting countries have a strong incentive for EU membership. Such membership negotiations can stop, de-escalate or entirely defuse the conflict.

In comparison to the membership offer, other EU "carrots" such as customs union and association agreements can be considered as relatively less weighty. With regard to this discussion , the issue of alternative forms of Turkish membership in the European Union proved to be only a miner incentive for Turkey to change its attitude and to shift foreign policies towards conflict diminution. Financial programs, fiscal aid and free trade agreements are, of course, very important tools/carrots for the EU to use to influence a nation, especially if that countries is far away from the EU`s geographical boundaries; however, they definitely can not be considered as sweet an incentive as a membership offer.

In addition to these sweet carrots, the EU has a few bitter sticks at its disposal. Financial sanctions and various trade embargos have been quite effective EU tools/sticks to influence its immediate

neighbours or partner countries, but again, most important and the most bitter stick remains withholding the membership carrot or even declining it altogether.

2.1.2 ***Pathway 2.*** *Enabling Impact*

This form of EU influence is designed for specific actors within conflict parties. Namely, policies are directed to create a legitimate EU framework through which political leaders can justify and legitimise their policies aimed at resolution of the conflict. This is quite an important tool as in certain "conflict situations, civil society actors in favour of peaceful resolution often fall victim to marginalization and ridicule, or accusations of being traitors " also in some heated instances, "in which rally-around-the-flag drive policies, the public may push the governments and other political leaders toward further securitising moves" (Albert, Diez and Stetter – 2004: 564-581).

Enabling Impact can be very successful; however, it depends on two contextual conditions. First, the association with the European Union has to be seen as an overarching goal by the wider society and second, the legitimacy of association and integration references should not be limited to narrow political elite but rather should be applicable to a larger number of domestic players. Overall, the EU legal and normative framework can be effectively used to substantiate and promote unpopular policy changes or to "de-legitimize previously dominant positions". However, there are certain precautions which need to be considered. If used improperly, some governments, especially with a democratic deficit, can use the EU normative framework to push through policies and promote changes against preferences of their people.

2.1.3 **Pathway 3**. *Connective Impact*

The Connective Impact mainly reflects EU financial aid and organizational backing. Obviously, such financial and organizational support can not be considered as a direct attempt to defuse the conflict; however, "sustained contact within the context of common projects may … lead to a broader societal effect in the form of social networks across the conflict parties, which in turn should facilitate identity change" (Albert, Diez and Stetter – 2004: 564-581).

The European Union has various types of such financial programs, which mainly take the form of cross-border cooperation grants and funds for Interregional Programs. In some cases, they can be activities such as financial support for peace oriented NGOs in conflicting countries. The success of

such financial programs and grants depends on variables both within the EU and in conflict societies. First of all, it depends on how well the EU can support the already peace-minded part of society both in financial and organizational terms. More importantly, the EU should effectively reach out to other domestic actors which still maintain their orthodox beliefs and successfully "convince" them to adopt a more de-securitizing agenda. Second, it depends on how well the financial support is perceived and accepted by the conflict societies. If the EU support is seen as a rude intervention in domestic affairs, then obviously the success of such an impact may be minimal or even turn into a negative backlash.

2.1.4 **Pathway 4**. *Constructive Impact*

Within four pathways of EU influence on border conflicts, the Constructive Impact is considered the most indirect, but, if managed correctly, the most successful mode of conflict transformation. It aims at changing and re-constructing the identity scripts of conflicting societies, that is to say, the change in perception of one conflict party by another. This type of policy is "based on the assumption that an EU impact can put in place completely new discursive frameworks for creating novel ways of constructing and expressing identities within conflict regions. These new identity-scripts will foster de-securitization in a virtuous circle. Ultimately, this may lead to eventual resolution of the conflict, that is, the disappearance of articulation of the incompatibility of subject positions" (Albert, Diez and Stetter – 2004: 564-581).

Even though re-construction of identity script and changes in societal perception may be considered as the most successful transformative mode of the conflict resolution process due to its nature, such changes can not take place within a year or even a decade. Rather, it requires long stretches of time. However, the most crucial part of such a strategy is a persistent and methodological work involving all parties, which will ensure that positions once regarded as incompatible and held as unworthy even to consider, would transform into relevant strategy invoking previous conflict issues to loose their attraction.

2.2 Alternative views - Neo-functionalism and Constructivism

There are two other alternative views held in scholarly circles which can explain the influence of the European Union on its border conflicts, but which do not fit comfortably within the four-pathway model presented above. Namely, they are Neo-functionalist and Constructivist theories.

The Neo-functionalist logic rests on the belief that conflicts can be slowed down and eventually overcome by bringing the conflict parties together on the bases of pure functional matters. In other words, if conflict parties start to cooperate on practical matters, even on very inconsequential issues at first, over time, the process will lead to the shift of preferences and ultimately end up "in change of individual allegiances" (Haas – 2001: 91-108). Yet, there are two major drawbacks in this pattern of conduct. First, the cooperation has to start over technical matters rather then strategic, which would be the source of the conflict in the first place. Second, to come to a successful end, the process requires a long stretch of time and long-term policy shifts of subject positions. The logic of this theory is appealing; however, it is subject to many variations and changes over such a lengthy process of conflict development and can be easily jeopardised or even fail altogether if one of the parties windraws from cooperation.

The constructivist theory on the other hand, relies on the argument that the cooperation between the two conflict countries can be stimulated by the promise of increased wealth and "more jobs for people" (Pridham – 1991: 73-88). The logic put forward is that increased employment will take people out of the streets and change their preferences to more economically minded matters. Violent conflicts will no longer be a desirable option; rather, the promise of economic prosperity and consequently increased wealth in the population will alter their adopted positions. This argument has often been used during the early phase of conflict in Northern Ireland and articulated in many EU institutions, including the European Parliament (Hayward – 2004: 17-52).

Like the neo-functionalist view, the constructivist theory has its drawbacks. Most crucial of them all however, at least for research done for this thesis, is the fact that such economic stimulation of cooperation can not be directly managed by the EU and consequently, can not be controlled. Hence, this theory like its alternative neo-functionalist counterpart falls out of the scope of this thesis.

2.3 Methodology

While each of the four pathways presented in a theoretical framework can be successful, and in each case the European Union can achieve a positive impact on its border conflicts, the process of integration itself can present negative backlashes. For example, when some EU-neighbouring countries are integrated within the European Union while others are left out with nothing but sympathy, some Acquis communautaire requirements like visa regulation and prevention of free

movement of people and goods can be naturally seen as securitizing moves. This is true not only in the case of Greco-Turkish relations but also for other countries. When Poland, for instance, became a new member of the European Union in 2004, it had to satisfy the Acquis communautaire requirement and had to impose visa regulation policies on all of its non-EU-member neighbours like Ukraine. Before Poland was granted EU membership, about fifteen million Ukrainians freely passed the Polish border for employment, trade and other purposes. After 2004 however, less then ten thousand could do the same due to visa regulation (Pace – 2004: 23-24). Changes like that, to put it mildly, do not promote good neighbour relations. Likewise, integration in the EU legal body can enable some actors to adopt policies which in fact escalate the conflict rather than diminish it, as in case of Cyprus after its accession. After Cyprus became a member of the EU, Greek Cypriots quickly adopted discursive policies of a "European Solution" legally claiming the implementation of "four freedoms", which in turn would have been compromised under "Annan Plan for a solution in Cyprus" (Smith – 2007: 5-28). Finally, in some cases when one of the conflicting countries is a member of European Union, the integration process itself can promote the construction of a pan-European enemy identity. Again, in case of Greco-Turkish relations, the overarching perception in Turkey was that the EU was simply "captured by Greece" and was not considered as mediator for a long time (Rumelili – 2003b: 247).

Thus, considering all the variations of conflict development process, the role of the European Union as a mediator can not be determined in the abstract. Whether or not the EU has an impact on its border conflicts and whether or not this impact is positive or negative can only be established by methodological investigation and on empirical evidence.

The variations in Greco-Turkish conflict development process are wide indeed. They include such a variety of factors as Greek and Turkish domestic actors following their own preferences, the European Union with its various institutions - the European Council, the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission and respective Member State representative offices who's references rarely coincide are mostly diverse, influential external actors like the United States of America, the United Nations and the NATO. All these actors and factors have to be taken into account when analysing the pattern of events within EU-Greece-Turkey triangle. The overall goal of these analyses will be the attempt to prove the following Hypotheses:

Integration and open border policies promote peace and prosperity in the EU neighbourhood.

If I am successful, I will be able to demonstrate which policies of the EU were/are most successful in the Greco-Turkish conflict resolution process, hence applicable to other border conflicts.

In the following four chapters, I will scrutinize the pattern of events conducted within the EU-Greece-Turkey triangle and evaluate them through the prism of the four pathway model proposed by Albert, Diez and Stetter. In line with this conceptual framework I will analyse the EU decision-making process and examine the reasons leading to particular outcomes. Considering domestic and external factors, I will show that the EU as a regional organization, through integration and association arrangements, can transform the nature of border conflicts from line of conflict to line of cooperation. Given the fact that the European Union does not have a specific set of policies explicitly devoted to border conflicts, my analyses will rely on published scholarly sources and original document research. Likewise, I will use secondary literature, local Greek and Turkish newspaper articles (English translations), abstracts from speeches of political leaders and interviews with officials and NGOs from both countries. Gathered material will be used to provide supporting evidence for the analyses that follows.

3. Analyses of the EU Compulsory Impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict

According to the theoretical framework presented above, one of the most influential sources at the EU's disposal to change the phase of its border conflicts is the power to either offer or threaten to sanction the membership status of its neighbouring states engaged in conflict. By doing so, the European Union can effectively either force or entice those countries into resolving their disputes. The analysis of the Greco-Turkish conflict shows that such impact of the "carrots and sticks" policy has been limited and short-lived until 1999 and very effective ever since. Relevant literature and the review of the official documents show that when either Greece or Turkey had a pending application for membership for EEC/EC/EU, officials, policymakers and even journalists from both countries were carefully maintaining the status quo by restraining themselves from provocative statements and further escalations of the crisis. Instead, they vigilantly worked towards the resolution of the crisis and the improvement of bilateral relations.

According to Couloumbis (1995: 160-167) for example, the way the Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis chose to handle the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 was largely influenced by the fact that Greece had a pending application for EEC membership. Yannas (1994: 215-221) likewise acknowledges "the deep impact that the prospect of the EU accession exercised on post-1974 Greek foreign policy." The awareness of the fact that open conflict with Turkey over Cyprus could

jeopardise the EEC membership prospect had led Prime Minister Karamanlis to abandon the usual strategy of threat communications with Turkey and enticed him to adopt a deterrence policy instead. Similarly, during the Aegean continental shelf crisis of 1976 which erupted right after Greece filed the application for the EEC membership, *Footnote* Greece filed the application for the EEC membership in June 1975 Karamanlis handled his response carefully and vigilantly. Instead of resolving the crisis by military means, he took the issue to the United Nation's Security Council and later to the International Court of Justice "undoubtedly because such [military] action could hamper the EEC membership prospect" (Arvanitopoulos – 1994: 62-81). From 1975 till 1981 when Greece became a member of the EEC, the shift of Greek foreign policy towards reconciliation and peace talks with Turkey is obvious. Exactly these reconciliation attempts led to the Bern Declaration of 1976 where both Greece and Turkey pledged to refrain themselves from any unilateral actions that would jeopardise the bilateral relations. Karamanlis himself has repeatedly shown his readiness for dialogue. In 1978, following another clash over the Aegean continental shelf dispute, he met and discussed the possible non-aggression agreement and the Aegean flight corridor issue with Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit in Washington and later in Montreux. No doubt such policy changes "were mainly driven by Karamanlis`s desire to secure Greek membership of the EEC" (Pridham – 1991: 85-86).

During the same period, 1975-1981, the EEC itself took a pro-active approach to the Greco-Turkish conflict. After 1974 Cyprus crisis, the EEC, using its various organs repeatedly warned Greece that in case of open conflict with Turkey, its pending membership application would have been endangered. Immediately after the 1974 crisis for example, the EC Council of Ministers communicated its concern to the Greek government about maintaining a peaceful relationship with Turkey. On the other hand, it assured the Turkish government that the Greek membership application would not change the EEC stand on the conflict and would not have an effect on Turkish rights (Tsakaloyannis – 1980: 35-54). The European Commission has also showed its negative attitude towards the Cyprus crisis. In 1995, during the discussion about the Greek accession, it recommended to extend the pre-accession period. Among other requirements, the Commission had obliged Greece to settle its disputes with Turkey (Stephanou – 1991). Even though this recommendation was overruled by the Council of Ministers in 1996 due to "extensive Greek Lobbying" (Tsakaloyannis – 1980: 39), the EEC's pro-active approach to a conflict resolution is clearly visible.

The influence of Compulsory Impact is similarly visible during the Turkish application for the EC membership in 1987. After the eruption of second Aegean continental shelf crisis, the reaction from officials in Ankara was restrained and mild. According to Pridham this restraint was due to the fact that "[it] occurred right before Turkey has filed its application for membership in the EC" (Pridham – 1991: 73-88). Turkish political elite knew that since Greece, now a member of the EC, could easily veto the accession application and that the key to the membership prospect was the improvement of bilateral relations. This fact prompted Turkish Prime Minister Ozal to change the usual gather-around-the flag attitude towards the crisis. In fact, he "actively perused dialogue with Greece" (Birand – 1991: 27-39). Soon after Turkey filed an application for the EC membership, Prime Minister Ozal initiated peace negotiations with Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. The first such a meeting occurred in Davos, Switzerland at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Summit in 1988 and resulted in a "Memorandum of Understanding" where both sides agreed to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other. However, soon afterwards, Turkish efforts proved to be inadequate and the Aegean Crisis remained open. As a result, Greece openly opposed the Turkish accession discussion in the European Commission and finally managed to block the application in 1989.

As with Greece, the EC took a pro-active approach in the conflict resolution process with Turkey as well. On December 20-th 1989, the European Commission released its "Opinion" stating that Turkey was not ready to join the community. As an overwhelming reason for refusal, the Commission indicated the conflict with Greece in general and crisis over Cyprus in particular. In the document, the Commission specifically indicated that the conflict with Greece "leads [the Commission] to believe that it would not be useful to open accession negotiations with Turkey straight away… and these problem[s] constitute negative factors for Turkey's admission" (Commission Opinion on Turkey's request for accession to the Community - 20 December 1989 – http://www.ena.lu/commission-opinion-turkey-request-accession-community-20-december-1989-020005676.html). Later, in the 1990s, Turkey once again tried to tie its institutional relations with the European Union. First it engaged in a Customs Union association Agreement discussion with the EU, which came into effect on December 31, 1995 and later resumed negotiations about candidacy. Throughout the 1990s, the European Union, through its various institutions, had repeatedly reminded Turkey that the key to closer ties with the union was the resolution of the conflict with Greece. Such communications had especially intensified after interracial violence and killings in Cyprus in 1996. The European Parliament in its resolution of January 18, 1996 slammed Turkey for its inadequate actions. On October30-th 1996, the report by the European Commission

indicated that Turkish actions were "contradicting to the resolution of the crisis". The Presidency Conclusions of 12-13, December 1997 also emphasized the importance of Greco-Turkish conflict resolution for Turkish association with the union. It indicated "that strengthening Turkey's links with the European Union … depends on that country's pursuit of the political and economic reforms on which it has embarked, including the alignment of human rights standards and practices on those in force in the European Union; respect for and protection of minorities; the establishment of satisfactory and stable relations between Greece … the settlement of disputes, in particular by legal process, including the International Court of Justice; and support for negotiations under the aegis of the UN on a political settlement in Cyprus on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions" (Luxembourg European Council, 12-13 December 1997 – http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm). In the same period, in addition to the membership candidacy carrot, the European Union also employed another tool of influence at its disposal – the sticks policy. 1996 for example, following the Imia crisis, the EU stopped financial assistance to Turkey. Being a crucial part for the recently ratified Customs Union Agreement, denial of financial support forced Turkey to re-consider its securitizing moves towards Greece and prompted another round of peace-talks (Ugur – 1999: 33-54).

Even though rapprochement attempts such as the "Davos Process" were short-lived, one can easily track the pattern of the EEC/EC/EU influence exercised on both conflict countries during the periods when they had pending membership applications with community/union. However, analysing the trajectory of Greco-Turkish conflict before the Helsinki Summit decision of 1999 to grant Turkey membership candidacy, the influence of the EU had been limited, short-lived and ineffective. In fact, except for a few rapprochement attempts, Turkey escalated the conflict with Greece at every given opportunity. Apart from the disputes already cited, such as Aegean continental shelf or Imia islets crisis, Turkey also publicly threatened Cyprus with complete annexation if the latter joined the European Union. Documentation from the General Staff of Turkey also reveals invasion plans of Greece, its former NATO ally, if it extended its territorial waters for 12 nautical miles (Ugur – 1999: 67).

Why has EU influence been ineffective before 1999, especially on Turkey? The review of relevant scholarly and newspaper articles reveals two reasons. First of all, according to Albert and Barnett, when Greece and Turkey filed their respective applications for the EEC/EC membership, it came at a time when "the European Community was itself rather conservative about its potential as a mediator in conflict resolution processes" (Albert and Barnett 1998: 37). Instead, the community chose to

ignore disputes between its member and neighbouring states leaving the matter at the national level. When it comes to the Greco-Turkish conflict, according to Keohane, "the European Community was more worried about keeping both states anchored to the West" rather then in conflict resolution and dispute settlement between the two countries (Keohane – 2001: 34-35). Despite the short-term pro-active approaches by the EEC/EC, the initiative for Greco-Turkish conflict resolution before 1999 was largely left to other major players like the USA or NATO. Even in some instances when the union was showing such interest, the role of a mediator was left to individual member states and their diplomatic activities. However, in the 1990s, when the EU finally adopted the role of an active mediator, the membership carrot could no longer be used as an incentive for Greece, as Greece was already a member of the union, and it could no longer be used for Turkey either, as following the European Commission's decision of 1989 to delay Turkish accession negotiations until 1999, the possibility for membership was no longer credible to officials in Ankara. The second reason explaining the EU failure as a mediator in resolving Greco-Turkish disputes before 1999, especially favoured by Turkish analysts, is Greek membership to the EC itself. Pridham (1991: 73-88), Ugur (1999) and Rumelili (2004) argue that when Greece became a member of the European Community in 1981, the Community lost the ability to pressure Greek foreign policy. In fact, according to Turkish analysts, the EC became "captured" by Greece, which now had diplomatic leverage which Greece repeatedly and successfully used against Turkey throughout 1980s and 1990s. Greek scholars on the other hand, like Couloumbis (1995: 185-188) and Yannas (1994: 218-219) neglect the thesis of the "Greek Factor" arguing that membership to the EC had quite the opposite effect on Greece.

As expected, the situation was not as straightforward as either camp would have us believe. It is true, that when Greece became a member of the EC, it gained a certain amount of political leverage against Turkey and used this power to influence or veto some of the EC decisions regarding Greco-Turkish relations. However, this leverage had remained entirely dependent on Greece's bargaining power within the Community as a whole. For instance, when Greece opposed the recognition of the Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia, it seriously damaged its bargaining power and had to soften its stand. Examples such as the FYROM discussion proves that Greece, being a member of the European Union, can not make decisions unilaterally and the Greek lobby, however powerful, can not always "win the day" (Guvenc – 1999: 103-129). Furthermore, both camps neglect a very important question :would the Community institutions have diverged from adopted polices regarding Greco-Turkish conflict if it did not grant Greece the membership in 1981? Finally, the discussion misses possibly the most crucial point of all, namely the impact of the Europeanization process on

Greek foreign policy. After becoming the EC member, Greek foreign policy undergone complex and dramatic changes, manifested for example in the"Enosis reunification process". According to Ioakimidis (1996) the Enosis Reunification of Greek Cyprus with mainland Greece was entirely a by-product of this process.

As argued elsewhere, the 1999 Helsinki decision to grant Turkey membership status has witnessed remarkable improvements in Greco-Turkish relations. At this point, I would like to show empirical evidence of the correlation between these two events and present in-depth analyses as to how the EU Carrot and Stick policy has actually influenced both Greek and Turkish governments.

First of all, granting membership candidacy came with a certain condition. The European Council obliged the Turkish government to "to make every effort" to settle its border disputes with Greece. In its "Millennium Declaration" the European Council stated that Turkey "must share the values and objectives of the European Union as set out in the Treaties… In this respect the European Council stresses the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the United Nations Charter and urges [Turkey] to make every effort to resolve any outstanding border disputes and other related issues with Greece." It also made plans to "review the situation relating to any outstanding disputes, in particular concerning the repercussions on the accession process and in order to promote their settlement through the International Court of Justice, at the latest by the end of 2004" (The European Council – Helsinki, 10 and 11 December 1999 – http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACFA4C.htm). Hence, the European Council explicitly linked the prospect of Turkish membership to the EU with resolution of its border conflicts. Therefore, the Turkish government was enticed and to some extent "forced" to review its foreign policy towards Greece. The results were immediate and far more effective then anyone expected. Turkey stopped all securitizing moves and well established threat communications against Greece. After 1999, events which would have easily escalated into a serious crisis in the past now were carefully and vigilantly managed by the Turkish and Greek governments. For example, in July 2003, the spokesman for the Greek government - Evangelos Venizelos openly accused Turkey of "violating his country's airspace on Friday, a day when Greeks were celebrating independence from the Ottoman Empire" (Article from: Xinhua News Agency, Ankara – 14 July 2003). In response, the General Staff of Turkey denied all accusations and in return accused Turkish government of lack of support. "Sources in Ankara said that top Turkish military leaders were bothered by the Greek accusations and were unhappy about a perceived lack of support on the government's part in countering recent allegations that Turkish jets have violated Greek airspace" (AP Worldstream, 16

July 2003 - ATHENS, Greece). Despite the usual threat communications voiced by the General Staff of Turkey and Foreign Ministry of Greece, Prime Ministers from both countries had managed to retain the status quo and defused the crisis (Rumelili – 2004: 27-48). Encouraged by Turkey's earnest desire to improve bilateral relations, instead of vetoing the EU initiatives regarding cooperation with Turkey, Greece now became its prominent supporter within the Union, and openly supported Turkish membership.

Nevertheless, the membership carrot alone, however credible, could not have enticed Greece and Turkey to such dramatic policy shifts. There must have been some other source of EU influence on the Greco-Turkish conflict. I will next discuss how those sources are evaluated in the relevant literature.

4. Analyses of the EU Enabling Impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict

Apart from sanctioning or rewarding the conflict parties with the membership carrot, the EU often employed another type of influence, namely, it helped policymakers from conflict countries to legitimise alternative crisis-resolution policies. The European Union exercised such an influence both on Greek and Turkish political elites and national interest groups throughout the whole trajectory of the conflict. However, review of the literature and the pattern of events reveals, that such impact had been somewhat limited before the mid 1990s and was much stronger afterwards. In this section, I will discuss the nature and the power of the EU Enabling impact on trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict.

According to Platias, after the Turkish military invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Greek foreign and security policies underwent fundamental changes. The Soviet Union, a traditional source of danger before 1974, was no longer perceived as a major threat to Greece's security. Instead, Greek foreign policy makers held the view that Turkey, with its "revisionist policies in the Aegean, Thrace and Cyprus", now became a major national threat (Platias – 2000: 62-86). It was generally perceived, that Turkey was following a precalculated strategy of increasing claims on its former Ottoman Empire territories and despite the criticism from the international society, Turkey refused to adhere to the rules of International Law. In order to counter Turkish revisionist claims, Greek foreign policymakers adopted two major deterrence directions. First, they emphasised the necessity to increase Greek military arsenal and warfare capabilities, and second, they "started seeking external allies" who would ensure Greek national security. Soon afterwards, the deterrence measures

bypassed the political elite and developed into a pan-Hellenic cultural opposition to Turkey (Heraclidis – 2001).

When Greece became a member of the European Community in 1981, it was expected that Greek foreign policy, under the EC influence, would be softened. On the contrary, the Greek deterrence policies towards Turkey after 1981 were, if anything, refuelled and rearmed. Greek and Turkish analysts are surprisingly unanimous when it comes to explaining the reasons for this change. Ioakimidis (1996) argues that the EC was perceived and used by Greek policymakers as "bargaining power leverage against Turkey". The General belief was that the EC would finally develop a common foreign and defence policy, which in turn would serve as a safeguard against Turkey. This belief was so credible and promising that the Pan Hellenic Socialist Party, an extreme opponent of Greek association with the EC, was finally converted into a strong "integration supporter" (Rumelili – 2004: 35-36). Indeed, the analyses of post 1981 events confirm that Greece had repeatedly and quite successfully used its position within the EC/EU to pressure Turkey by means of threatening to block or vetoing certain initiatives. This novice policy was not only attractive and politically less risky for Greece but also more rewarding, at least before the 1990s.

Instead of directly challenging the Greek deterrence foreign policy towards Turkey, the EU had taken steadier and longer-term approach. This approach is commonly referred in the literature as the "Europeanization process". Keridis for example, argues that the Europeanization factor "embodies and best exemplifies the … linkage between domestic and foreign policy. It is the most powerful agent for the domestication of foreign policy and for the softening and broadening of national security towards low politics and economics. It demands the re-conceptualization of the nation-state and the pooling and sharing of national sovereignty" (Keridis – 2001: "xvi-xxii" - 16-22).

The deterrence policies exercised against Turkey throughout 80s had finally caught up with Greece in 1990s. "Greece's Hellenocentric traditionalist views have had its tall on Greek stand within the EU and incapacitated it to keep up with the EU economic Criteria" (Keridis – 2001: 19). In the beginning of the 1990s, after being the member of the Union for more then ten years, Greece found itself under harsh criticism for "being a drag for European economy… and for its incapacity to behave in a communitaire fashion" (Rumelili – 2004: 52). Greek political elite were left with all but one choice – to comply with community requirements. The events of late 1990s, namely the discussion about Economic and Monetary Union within the EU, had become a turning point for the Europeanization process of Greece. When Greece realized that it was far from fulfilling requirements of EMU, "which became represented as a national goal upon whose realization the

prestige of the country and its national pride depended", the political elite started looking for alternative policies which could strengthen the Greek position within the Union (Rumelili – 2004: 39).

The quest to secure Greek membership of the EMU had become a reference point upon which Greek policymakers could legitimise their "unpopular" decisions. Rumelili argues that the political elite in Greece became simply "compelled to abandon the economic excesses of the previous period, including the costly arms race with Turkey" (Rumelili – 2004: 33-37). Keridis also agrees with this notion suggesting that the election of Konstantinos Simitis as a head of PASOK first and as Prime Minister of Greece later in 1996, was a by-product of the Europeanization process of Greek foreign policy (Keridis – 2001: 27). Indeed, Prime Minister Simitis had a whole new approach with respect of Greece's stand within the EU in general and toward Turkey in particular. Among other things for example, he advocated that the traditional deterrence policy against Turkey had to be supplemented by the support of the Turkish European orientation. He also initiated a series of painful reforms for "Greek national Pride", including bringing to a close the costly arms-race with Turkey. Naturally enough, the reforms initiated by Simitis were severely criticised by the wider public. Freshly initiated policies had opponents even within the Prime Ministers own party. However, the argument that Greece had to adhere to the EMU requirements and needed further integration with the EU "provided Simitis with the legitimacy to press ahead with his reforms and convince his critics (Rumelili – 2004: 23-26). In other words, the danger of facing political defeat and stigma of being left behind within the European Union had given Prime Minister Simitis a powerful stand through which he could legitimise his decisions and reforms.

Why then did the Europeanization process take its toll only in mid 1990s and not before? And why did the Enabling Impact of the EU on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict take such different routes with respect of Greece and Turkey? Explanations offered in the literature are wide ranging, starting from socio-political reasons and extending up to cultural stigmas and syndromes. The most favoured explanation, especially among Turkish scholars, is a belief that, after being granted EC membership, Greece used its privileged position as an effective platform to pressure Turkey. Rumelili argues, that the very fact of Greek membership "has created and sustained understanding among Turkish political elite and wider society, that the EU simply could not be impartial with respect to Greco-Turkish disputes". In other words, the European Union became "captured by Greece." Likewise, other scholars share the same notion arguing that "the fact that Turkey is a country desirous to be a full member, necessitates to consider Greece's right to veto this request.

Nevertheless, Greek factor it is not the only impediment to Turkey's full membership in EU. In reality Greece was openly impeding the application for a full membership as well as the flow of the funds that Turkey needed for the actualisation of the projects in the process of becoming a full member and putting forth some prerequisite conditions…Contrary to Greece, Turkey does not deem necessary for a dispute between Turkey and Greece to be transformed into a dispute between Turkey-EU" (Aksu – 2001: 173). Hence, according to this view, the Enabling Impact was limited and the EU framework could not have been used as a reference to legitimise conflict-diminishing policies (that is before the mid 1990s) as critics would automatically frame such policies as concessions to Greece.

Another explanation of a failed Europeanization process is related to certain characteristics of the Greek culture. According to this view, Greece suffers from a "syndrome of the underdog culture". The argument goes that Greece, situated at a very important geostrategic position in the Adrian, has always been subject to foreign invasions and occupations. Obviously, these invasions were accompanied by interventions in the domestic political stage of Greece throughout its long history. It is also true, that starting from the period of Alexander the Great up to the World War One, Greece never really freed itself from the influence of foreign elements. The Macedonian empire, Persia, the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire and later, the European power games and the Cold War have naturally "...left a pervasive legacy and shaped a deep-seated syndrome of protection-seeking, even though protection was condemned as a deleterious phenomenon ending up leading to unacceptable interventions in domestic politics" (Ioakimidis – 1996: 39). Indeed, the "syndrome of protection seeking" is evident even as late as 1980s. In that respect, it is enough to note the statement by Prime Minister C. Karamanlis that "entry into the EEC could first and foremost free Greece from all forms of foreign interventions and dependencies" (abstract from article in Daily Kathimerini - 11.04.1978). Thus, according to this view, the resistance to the Europeanization process derived from the glorious and somewhat tragic history of the Greek state.

Turkey also, has its share of cultural stigma in the literature. Ugur for example, argues that the EU's unwillingness to admit Turkey into the Union had "bred and fuelled a dominant perception in Turkish political culture, aptly called – "the Serves Syndrome". Derived from the memories of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire by the western powers after the World War One, the perception of the "Serves Syndrome" holds the notion that the entire World, generally meaning the West, is conspiring around one goal – to weaken and dismantle Turkey. The Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, which divided the whole territory of the Ottoman Empire among the allied powers, had

become the embodiment of a Turkish national revival. The fear of an external plot, in fact, served as a fundamental part of the Turkish government's policy in the decades that followed. According to Dr. Kivanç Ulusoy, the historical legacy of the Treaty of Sèvres had even "revealed itself symptomatically in Turkey-EU relations, especially when they touched upon issues of high nationalist resonance, such as human rights and the Cyprus problem" (Ulusoy – 2000: 117). The conviction of "western enemy" was further strengthened by the EU institutions' attitude towards Turkey as well. In a series of resolutions, for instance, the European Parliament had repeatedly underlined the "lack of parliamentary democracy and respect for human rights in Turkey" and that "Turkey's policy towards the Armenians, Kurds, Greece and Cyprus were unavoidable barriers for her EU membership" (European Parliament, abstract from Resolution on 20 May 1988). The implementation of this form of EU-Turkish relations naturally became interpreted as discrimination against Turkey and in favour of Greece. A believe that, "Turkey is well aware of the fact, that Greece, unlike herself, is regarded as a 'natural' part of the West and of Europe" (Kramer -1991: 57) has arguably slowed down the influence of Europeanization process on Turkey.

No doubt, each of these cultural characteristics can be used and presented as determinants for explaining limited and inadequate influence of the EU Enabling Impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict. However, my position is that, in order to understand the reasons for the hindered Europeanization process, it is necessary to study the whole spectrum of social and discursive conditions and attitudes towards the European integration and stereotypical representations of Greek and Turkish cultures in Europe. This approach, in fact, requires more detailed research and can be considered as a topic for further studies.

5. Analyses of the EU Connecting Impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict

According to the four pathway theoretical framework, a third way of EU influence for managing its border conflicts is supporting and strengthening those civil society organizations that pursue and promote conflict resolution policies. In this section, I will analyse the role of civil society actors in Greco-Turkish relations and examine the extent of the EU involvement in that process.

Both Greek and Turkish scholars agree that the civil societies and the stubbornness of public opinion in their respective countries have served as a serious impediment for conflict diminishment until the late 1990s. Political analysts suggest that the negative attitude from civil society actors have restrained policymakers and political elites from following more rigorous policies for crisis

management and resolution. Birand, for example, argues that the failure of the "Davos rapprochement Process" in 1988, was due to the uncooperative position of public opinion and the unhelpful attitude of the press. He further suggests that, despite the earnest desire to reach a successful agreement with Greece, the position of Prime Minister Ozal was "hampered, rather then helped, in his pursuit for diplomatic solution by parliament, public opinion and the press. Prime Minister Ozal`s counterpart in Greece Andreas Papandreou also became a subject of severe criticism from the opposition and the press for "betraying the national causes" during the Davos process (Coufoudakis – 1991: 42). The most vivid example of public influence of course is the Imia crisis of 1996, when Turkish journalists are said to have almost "created a war" between the two countries by planting the Turkish flag on the rocky islet "of a size that was appropriate only for keeping goats but hardly of any other use". To fuel an already escalating crisis, the "Turkish newspaper Hürriyet… could not refrain from triumphantly publishing the photograph of the journalists planting the Turkish flag on its front page the very next day" (Hadjidimos – 1998/1999). In response, the Greek media had also contributed its share of venomous chauvinistic rhetoric, which made it nearly impossible for political elites to start a diplomatic management of the crisis. The situation in the Greek media and public opinion in general is colourfully illustrated by Richardos Someritis, one of few Greek journalists, who was brave enough to publicly critics his colleagues. In the letter to the president of ESIEA, Mr. Nikos Kiaos, he states: "many Greek journalists, mainly on radio and television, behave like soldiers in the front: they have chosen their camp, their uniform, their flag. If they are columnists, it is their right to do so. Nevertheless, how come that even the Patriarch is censored by many media?" He also stressed the fate of those who did not agree with general opinion by stating that "all journalists with a point of view different from the dominant one or who dared offer the information that others refused to give are being threatened and others have lost the right of expression" (abstract from letter to Mr. Nikos Kiaos, President of ESIEA by Richardos Someritis, dated March 31, 1999). As a result, the negative attitude of the public opinion and uncooperative rhetoric from media had led "two governments to find themselves in a position from which they could hardly back away… as the two publics were expecting their governments to save the nation's pride by keeping their flag on the islet" (Lenkova – 1998: 24).

The explanations for negative public opinion and an uncooperative attitude from Greek and Turkish civil societies towards conflict resolution offered in the literature are somewhat contradicting and puzzling. On the one hand, sources emphasize the importance of a liberal approach and a democratic peace process. Diamandouros (1997: 23-38), for example, argues that civil society should remain "uncontaminated" by government opinion and "make its own mind" about successful management

of the crisis. He suggested that the military coup in Turkey in 1980, resulting in the 1982 constitution, had severely restrained a flow of alternative ideas in Turkish civil society, which in turn could have been implemented in Greco-Turkish relations. On the other hand, however, they stress institutional implementations and constraints. According to Ioakimidis (1996), Greek civil society has become "weak and fragile because of the party politics" and some of the incidents between Greece and Turkey were further escalated because the Greek government could not direct its own public opinion to "the right channel".

Whatever the case, Greek and Turkish civil society actors started playing a vital and independent role in the conflict resolution process during the late 1990s. Civil society reconciliation initiated by a few courageous individuals had developed into widespread a process both in Greece and Turkey. From 1996 onwards, retired politicians, former ambassadors, journalists and other leading intellectuals had started gathering around various non-governmental organizations. Existing NGOs were revitalised and a new type of joint Greco-Turkish organization appeared. However, the real spark for the civil society reconciliation process and positive boost of public opinion was crossed with the devastating earthquake in August and in September of 1999, respectively first in Turkey and later in Greece. The unprecedented extant of suffering and loss of "twin earthquakes of Izmit and Athens", as it became popularly known, created a mood of empathy and stirred sentiments in both countries – newspapers and magazines published sympathetic articles in each others' languages; individuals and civil organizations called on their governments to change past securitizing policies, which in turn enabled political leaders 'to claim a popular mandate for changing policies historically supported by a large majority on both sides" (Gundogdu – 2001: 106). As a result, Greek Prime Minister Papandreou and his Turkish college Cem instigated a series of cooperation initiatives between the two countries later called "earthquake" or "seismic" diplomacy. Furthermore, according to Vathakou (2003: 77), exactly this change of public attitude enabled Greece to depart from its adopted policies of negative "conditionality" and make an "historical decision not to use its veto against Turkish candidacy" during the EU summit in Helsinki. However, as it turned out, Greece did not fully depart form its previous policies after the 1999 "historical decision", as it continued to threaten to veto entire eastern enlargement up to 2004 unless Cyprus was included in that process[4].

Nevertheless, the Helsinki decision of 1999 to grant Turkey membership candidacy enabled the European Union to strengthen the support of civil society actors and organizations in two ways.

[4] I am thankful to one of the interviewers who brought this to my attention – see appendix A.

First, on an institutional level, the candidacy status facilitated the allocation of more financial support. With more funding, the EU could now directly assist the development of those civil society organizations who promoted Greco-Turkish reconciliation initiatives. In 2002, following the EU initiative, the Greco-Turkish Civil Society Development Programme was introduced. With the budget of 8 million Euros, this programme was designed "to promote Greek-Turkish dialogue at the grassroots level and to enhance the capacity of NGOs in Turkey" (Belge – 2004: 87). In February 2004, the European Commission, within the INTERREG programme allocated another 35 million Euros for cross-border cooperation between Greece and Turkey. The importance of the new initiative was stressed by the Commissioner in charge of the EU regional policy, Michel Barnier, who stated that: "developing the cross-border co-operation between Greece and Turkey marks a historic milestone in the relations between both countries. This programme is primarily aimed at upgrading the infrastructure in the cross-border area and the development of cross-border co-operation in fields such as business development, environment or culture. I am sure it will have a noticeable impact for the people in the regions concerned and opens a perspective of strengthening relations in the future" (IP/04/179, The European Commission, Brussels, February 9 - 2004). According to one of the interviewers, this type of EU funding was and is very important especially to Turkish NGOs as they are more dependent on EU funding then Greek ones (Turkish-Hellenic Union solution - Photius Coutsoukis – see Appendix A).

Secondly and perhaps more importantly, the EU impetus had encouraged the formation of new discursive identities within Greek and Turkish societies. The policy of "Othering" the other side had lost its attractiveness. The negative representation of the other side such as "barbaric" or "primitive" had almost disappeared from newspaper pages and even though the new dominant perception of Turkey in Greece "is not yet monolith, … [it is] rapidly changing with a variety of constituencies" (Kiridis - 2000) . This new pluralistic perception of a "friendly Turkey" instigated or rather revitalized the issue of a common identity once again. It helped to trigger an understanding that "People who are pro-Europe in Greece are probably more like people who are pro-Europe in Turkey, than they are their compatriots, who might subscribe to some outlandish beliefs or conspiracy theories" (Konstandaras – 2002: 30).

Hence, we can safely assume that the non- governmental cooperation between Greek and Turkish civil society actors emerged as a bilateral initiative and the EU played an important connecting role in that process. In that respect, we can analyse the EU Connecting Impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict at two time junctions. The first part comprises a period before the late 1990s,

when the EU was supporting the long-term democratization process and the civil societies built up both in Greece and Turkey. This method mainly included indirect financial and legal support through which the EU could direct the policy changes. For example, the EU`s role is considered to be crucial in "ensuring a swift return to democratic rule after the military coupe of 1980" and credited for "lifting various institutional and political restrictions including the freedoms of expression and gender equality in Turkey" (Muftuler-Bac – 2000: 97). Similarly, the EU's indirect influence has also been effective in Greece and considered to be a driving force behind "Greek modernization processes whose logic dictated the transformation of political, social and economic structures" (Diamandouros – 1997: 34). Second, more direct connecting influence of the EU has begun through initiation of the Greco-Turkish Civil Society Development Programme by the European Commission. In addition to usual financial, organizational and technical support, the CSDP also launched a special Greco-Turkish Civic Dialogue project. As a result, the EU had created the basis for whole new partnership networks between the two civil societies such as joint Greco-Turkish peace orientated NGOs and business associations.

From the analyses above it becomes evident, that even though we can not entirely credit the EU for the initiation of the Greco-Turkish civil society dialogue, it certainly played an important role for bringing the two societies together.

6. Analyses of the EU Constructive Impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict

The fourth and final way of EU influence on its border conflicts is related to the EU's ability to change the construction of identities and customary perceptions through which conflicting parties view each other and perceive each other's actions. In that respect, the European Union can create a common sense of European Identity which might be used as a reference point for changing prevalent discursive identity constructions and consequently serve as a basis for peaceful community-building. In this section, I will analyse the role of the European Union and the Constructive Impact it exercised on the Greco-Turkish conflict.

Practically every study dedicated to the explanation of the Greco-Turkish conflict highlights the negative perception of the other side through selective historical readings. Negative, stereotypical representation of the "other side" has been vigorously reproduced and presented as undisputed facts throughout decades both in Greece and Turkey. Literature, education and the media have been used to penetrate nearly every sphere of societal interactions. For example, a general perception of the

Turkish nation in Greece until late 1990s (arguably even up to the present day, only in certain quarters of course), was that the "glorious Hellenic nation" is a neighbour of the "power hungry, Asiatic and barbaric Turks". (Haraclides – 2002: 318-319). Furthermore, Papadimopoulos (2000) suggests that "in the Greek school books, superiority of the Greek against of Turkish nation deriving from the memories of Ottoman oppression, combined with the icon of the Muslim, Asiatic, barbaric…neighbour, has generated not only a stereotype in Greek society, too difficult to be surpassed, but also a foreign policy aspect that may explain Greece's stance opposite Turkey". Similarly, Soysal and Antoniou (2000) in the review of the Greek education system note that "Greek textbooks do not neglect the period of Ottoman rule, since this period lasted over 400 years. However, it is conceptualised as a significant period in the 'History of Greece', but as having no relevance for the 'History of Greeks'. It is via this distinction that the Ottoman Turk becomes the Greek's 'other'(Haraclides – 2002: 331, Papadimopoulos - 2000, Soysal and Antoniou – 2000: 52-87). On the other hand, the perception of Greece in Turkey has been dominated by the memories of "Byzantine tricks, diplomatic intrigues" and the Greek invasion of a "weakened" Turkey after the First World War. Millas for example argues that, "The presentation of ancient and modern Greece in Turkish schoolbooks is uniquely different in Europe and completely alien to the Western historical interpretations". Furthermore, in the analyses of Greco-Turkish cultural relations Rumelili states "The hegemony of Euro-centrism in Turkey manifests itself in reactions that range from complete self-denial and identification with Europe to reciprocating the 'Othered' identity. The Turkish schoolbooks, especially after the 1980s, have gravitated towards the latter form of reaction, constructing a 'Turkish' history that is divorced from European, Greek, and other cultural influences, and adopted a narrative that depicts Europe as the other…" Consequently "…this historical narrative depicts Greeks as completely different from and hostile towards the Turks, and in collaboration with the European powers against the Turks. There is an effort to completely distinguish the modern Greeks from the ancient Greeks and depict the ancestors of modern Greeks as a backward people. An often stated argument is, that Europe, generally backs Greeks because it wrongly thinks that they are descendants of the ancient Greeks" (Millas – 1989: 54-55, Millas – 2000: 17, Rumelili – 2005: 43-54).

With this regard, mid 1990s is generally considered as a turning point in Greco-Turkish cultural relations. Following the reconciliation initiative by the Bogazici Univerity, Turkish, Greek and other critical South-eastern European historians have repeatedly come together in workshops and symposia to "purge the Greek and Turkish textbooks of chauvinistic content and demonising indications". As a result of these scientific workshops, scholars have published several critical

studies exposing the destructive images dominating literature, media and popular opinion both in Greece and Turkey. Thanks to devoted academic efforts and more similar studies dedicated to abolishing the habit of selective historical readings, the nation's awareness have started to shift from negative to more positive perceptions (Millas – 2000: 22-24).

The role of the European Union in re-writing the dominant identity scripts is often ambiguous and sometimes even paradoxical. Analyses of the relevant literature shows, that the discursive role of the EU in re-construction of Greek and Turkish national identities may not be a favourite alternative after all. For instance, Herzfeld argues that paradoxical Euro-centric status of Greece and the belief that the country is "spiritual and intellectual ancestor of Europe" have served as an obstacle for the Greek integration process in 'the West'. Kitromilides and Paparigopoulos argue that in order to "show its European roots" Greece managed to provide "a new conceptualisation of Greek identity, based on a threefold continuum of Greek history which incorporated the heritage of pagan Hellenism, the tradition of Orthodox Byzantium and the modern status of Greece as a secular European state. The effectiveness of this intellectual achievement as a focus of collective self-definition and the profound cultural and psychological needs to which it responded may explain its tenacity and resilience in Greek political thought to this date, more than a century after its original inception…thus, the classic Greek dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' is currently used within a new context. In antiquity it had served to distinguish between the Greek civilization and the 'barbarian' populations of rest of the Europe" (Herzfeld – 1987: 7-19, Kitromilides and Paparigopoulos – 1998: 59-71).

Hence, it becomes evident that even though Greece always considered itself as the natural part of the "West", it has never got used to its relegated position as a rural economic and cultural part of the European Union. This in turn, has positioned Greece in marginal and somewhat paradoxical identity situation in relation to the EU and resulted in a hesitant attitude towards the European integration.

Similarly, the literature reveals the ambiguous role of the EU with respect to Turkish identity script re-construction as well. On the one hand, it is argued that the prospect of the EU membership presents an impetus and aspiration for Turkey, deriving from Turkish desire to be recognized as a "European state". On the other hand, the EU membership is associated to the "European threat" deriving from memories of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire by European allied forces during the First World War. For example, Hüsamettin İnaç argues that Turkey's "aspiration to Westernize and to become part of the West is mixed with a certain ambiguity towards the West. Rightists and

Leftists, Islamists and Secularists, Liberals and Conservatives all share a certain feeling of mistrust and suspicion towards the West, which may be partly explained by Turkey's historical experiences about the Western powers…" he further suggests that the EU membership is sometimes "perceived as a power threatening to Turkish state…" and the "phenomenon of Sèvres syndrome feeds both nationalism and Euro-scepticism in Turkey" (Husamettin Inac – 2002: 17).

Hence, according to the literature, the ambiguity of the EU constructive role on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict can be considered as limited and sometimes even negative. Association with the EU has simultaneously been an aspiration and an obstacle for the European integration process both in Greece and Turkey. Rumelili goes as far as suggesting that, the influence of European discourse on community building in Greece and Turkey has reinforced and even legitimized "the two states representations of their identities as different from and as threatening to each other" (Rumelili - 2003a: 214-246).

7. Analyses of the Greco-Turkish conflict across actors – EU Institutions, NATO and the USA

In previous chapters, we have analysed different types of EU impact on the trajectory of Greco-Turkish conflict; however, at this point, we have to stress the well known fact that the EU is not a united body. Rather, it consists of various institutions with different powers, roles and influences. Namely, we can single out 5 major players when it comes to agenda-setting and policymaking in the Union - the European Council, the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission and respective Member State representative's offices (see appendix C).

Political analysts frequently emphasize that even though these institutions belong to one body, their goals and perceptions often diverge from each other. According to Pace, "a very good example of this is the case of Turkey's accession to the EU…" he argues that the European Commission "found itself on new territory when it had to deal with the Turkish Issue…" and even though "…the principle of enlargement and integration has always enjoyed the support of all EU parties… the case of Turkey has split the EU institutions like never before". Similarly in case of Greece, when it applied for the EEC membership in 1976, the Commission has showed clear reluctance to Greek membership application "as it did not want to Europeanize the Greek-Turkish conflict"; however, in 1981 the Council has overruled the Commission decision and Greece did become a full member of the Community (Pace – 2004: 38-39, Keohane – 2001: 23-48).

From the moment of the EC Conceivement, there was an urge for common policies, especially among the core actors. With regards to border conflicts, the first attempt to adopt coherent strategies was laid down during the first meeting of EEC member state's foreign ministers in Munich, Germany on November 19, 1970. The outcome of this meeting was creation of the new framework of "European Political Cooperation", which was designed to coordinate the EU foreign policies beyond the economic affairs into yet untried territory of political cooperation. Creation of the new EPC framework has enabled the EU to act unilaterally and deal with external foreign political affairs as single, united organization for the first time. Later, in 1991, the EPC was replaced with a "Common Foreign and Security Policy" by the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union (see appendix D). Since then, the CFSP attracted an increasing criticism in the growing number of academic studies on Union's foreign political affairs. Navarrete and Egea for example, suggest that the CFSP is still in a state of "embryo" and can be considered as "one of the EU's weakest flanks". Some analysts, especially American scholars, see CFSP as a "pretentious waste of time or even a failure, particularly when it is unable to solve complex international problems" and argue that it is a "nuisance, one that only interferes with, or even undermines, the efforts of powerful states like the USA to maintain global stability" (Navarrete and Egea – 2001, Gordon 1997/98, Hoffman - 2000). Even though the reasons given in the literature for CFSP`s weakness very widely, almost all scholars agree that the weakest point of the EU is the absence of a coherent approach among its core institutions.

When it comes to influence and agenda setting powers among the EU institutions, it emerges that the Council and the Commission often play the most decisive role, especially in "cases where the disputes are considered as bilateral issues between two states as in the case of Greece and Turkey" (Pace – 2004: 40-41). According to the analyses offered in the literature, the Commission often takes initiative as in case of Turkey's assessment towards the EU membership during 2003. In the report published 5 of November in EUoserver, the Commission President Romano Prodi took a pro-active approach to the Cyprus crisis, stating that: "It is high time to end the outdated division of Cyprus and its capital city… It would be a source of inspiration for us all if Turkish and Greek Cypriots were able to enter the EU together …The objective should be to reach a settlement on the basis of the Annan plan in time for a united Cyprus to accede to the European Union on 1 May 2004" (www.euobserver.com – 05/11/2003). Furthermore, Prodi did not hesitate to criticise the Council itself. On one memorable occasion he accused the Council in duplicity when dealing with Turkish membership of the EU, stating that "They [heads of the EU member states] are giving different messages to Turkey. When they are together with Turkish officials they say Turkey will become a

member of the EU; but they say to me in Brussels, please do not hurry about Turkey's membership" (abstract from the article published in Hurriyet, 30/04/2004). Yet, despite of the Commissions pro-active involvement in the EU foreign policy, the Council often enjoys the "decisive and final vice" as in the case of Greek membership in 1981. The analyses of two other EU institutions, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers offered in the literature, present rather unexpected results. The European Parliament, presumably one of the most powerful EU institutions is generally argued to be "less weighty… often split on bases of country representations… and driven by particular member state interests". For example, when it comes to Turkish membership of the EU, the EP is divided into several factions according to member state interests. German and Austrian MPs as well as Christian Democratic parties "are generally against the Turkish membership", while MPs from Great Britain and representatives from Labour and Green parties are in favour. Similar division is reflected of the Council of Ministers where anti-Turkish faction is strengthened by French and Dutch foreign ministers. According to Pace, divisions in the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers "depict their weak position in the context of the EU's role in the transformation of border conflicts" (Pace – 2004: 37). Overall, the ongoing discussion about Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU is a topic in itself, however within the confines of this research, we can safely conclude that the EU institutions vary according to their perceptions, attitude and influence on the Greco-Turkish conflict.

Other actors that are often discussed in the literature with regards to Greco-Turkish conflict are NATO and the United States of America. In terms of judging a degree of the impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict between the two, NATO emerges as most influential and surprisingly more from negative rather then positive side. The rivalry between Greece and Turkey within NATO has been the topic of quite a few empirical studies, where overselling number of scholars emphasize NATO's failure as a mediator. According to Krebs for example, "not only did NATO help revive the dormant Greco-Turkish feud at the height of the Cold War, but also its vaunted mechanisms of reconciliation have served to intensify the disputes. Rather than treat the multiple issue areas, the alliance has brought together as an opportunity to exchange concessions. The two countries have, in their quest for bargaining leverage and out of fear of establishing a reputation for weakness, sought to manipulate these linkages to their political and strategic advantage, broadening the conflict and producing escalating levels of tension". Referring to NATO's role as a mediator between Greece and Turkey, Moustakis argues that instead of preventing two conflicting states from using alliance as a leverage, it had adopted a "neutral policy" which had "honourable intentions to encourage states to settle their disputes" but "were not very effective". In fact, according to Rumelili, the adopted policy

as a neutral observer has paradoxically forced both Greece and Turkey to believe that NATO was not impartial and tilted in favour of either one or another. (Krebs – 1999: 343-377, Moustakis – 2003: 17-52, Rumelili – 2004: 42) For instance, as cited before, when NATO failed to take any preventing actions during the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus in 1974, Greece judged this action to be in favour of Turkey, withdrew from the alliance and stayed out until 1980 (see appendix E).

From mid 1990s, NATO tried to abandon its policy of neutral observer and took more pro-active approach. Following the Imia crisis of 1996 for example, Javier Solana, then Secretary General of NATO, proposed a Moratorium of Confidence Building Measures based on the 1988 Memorandum of Understanding signed by Karolos Papoulias and Mesut Yilmaz, respectively Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey. New pro-active approach initiated by Javier Solana had "some partial benefits". In July 1997, during the NATO summit, sides agreed to refrain from unilateral actions of violence[5]. In 2000 and again in 2001, Greece and Turkey have signed new sets of CBMs within the framework of NATO, which among other thing, ensured the demilitarization of Aegean continental shelf and increased a number of peace-keeping observers. In Congressional Report of 1997, Migdalovitz noted that as a result of the NATO rapprochement initiative, "…Greece rejected use of IFF because it carved out a special exception for the Athens FIR, which it said applies to all countries… Turkey called for an exchange of information concerning flights in the Aegean, which Greece also considered an infringement of its FIR responsibilities… Greece refused to disarm its combat aircraft in its national airspace, but said that training flights would not be armed… Greece reportedly agreed to hotlines between Athens and NATO and Turkey and NATO" and finally "the two sides began a test program of sending pictures of Aegean activity to NATO headquarters in Naples" (Defence Department briefing, May 15, 1997; Congressional Research Service Report 97-799, Carol Migdalovitz http://wikileaks.org/wiki/CRS-97-799).

Thus, the analyses of NATO's impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict, especially in comparison to the EU, present us with two important insights. First of all, similar to the EU, NATO is often criticised either, for being "captured" by one of the conflict countries, or for being neutral instead of taking more pro-active approach. Secondly, we have to emphasize that in comparison to NATO's military nature, the EU is a community building organization. And finally, the analyses show that being a member of military organization does not necessarily mean a peaceful co-

[5] Rumelili argues that this reconciliation initiative was actually a brainchild of the US state Department rather then NATO`s (Rumelili-2003b)

existence with other members. Hence, in conflict resolution process, a military alliance like NATO can not be considered more effective then regional organizations like the EU.

In comparison to NATO, the United States involvement in the Greco-Turkish conflict is argued to be rather modest and mostly limited to financial assistance. According to Stephanou, "US assistance was of critical importance for the economic recovery of Greece in the 1950s". The US financial support for Turkey is even grater, according to Congressional Report of 2002, "The United States contributes about 32% of IMF finances and has used its influence to support IMF loans for Turkey since 1999". Additionally and perhaps more importantly "the United States is Turkey's main arms supplier. Between 1993 and 2000, the United States signed agreements to sell Turkey $5.17 billion in arms, making Turkey the first or second ranking European purchaser in each year of that period" (A. Stephanou – 1997; Report for Congress, Turkey: Issues for U.S. Policy - May 22, 2002; CRS Report RL31113, U.S. Arms Sales 1993-2000 - September 5, 200 – http://www.stormingmedia.us/32/3282/A328274.html)

In terms of more direct involvement, the US had directly intervened in the Greco-Turkish disputes only on few occasions and only when the conflict states came very close to military clash. In that respect, the analyses of the literature show that the US involvement was quite effective and "prevented the outbreak of war on several occasions"; however, the general perception of the US involvement, especially favoured among Greek scholars is that, "given Turkey's strategic importance in the Middle East … the United States can not be neutral to Greek-Turkish disputes…" and in fact, "…backs Turkey in its revisionist policies against Greece". Arvanitopoulos for example, argues that, Greek policymakers considered the US's economical and especially military support to Turkey as a threat for Greek national security and this belief served as a driving force behind Greek desire to integrate into the EC (Coufoudakis – 1991: 40-56, Arvanitopoulos – 1994: 73-74).

Overall, based on the analyses of NATO and the US involvement in the Greco-Turkish conflict, we can safely assume that no other third party has exercised more influence on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict than the European Union.

8. Conclusions

8.1 Results of the empirical research

The aim of this master thesis was to investigate and map down the most successful conflict management policies employed by the EU to resolve disputes on and around its borders. Out of the five conflicts currently surrounding the European Union, the author has considered the Greco-Turkish conflict as most instructive and chose it as a subject for investigation.

In the introduction part, year 1999 was identified as a turning point in Greco-Turkish bilateral relations. With this regard, the ultimate goal was to seek the reasons for such a dramatic change and show the degree of the EU influence in that transformation. In line with the four pathway conceptual model proposed by Albert, Diez and Stetter, this paper attempted to answer a key question as to under what circumstances could the European Union transform the nature of border conflicts from the line of conflict into the line of co-operation? It was considered, that answering this question would help author to prove the following hypothesis - integration and open border policies promote peace and prosperity in the EU neighbourhood.

The empirical analysis of the EU involvement in the Greco-Turkish conflict has yielded several important findings. In order to map down the correct sequence of the results, we have to divide the research findings into two junctions - events accounted in Greco-Turkish relations before mid 1999s and developments after. The analyses show, that before mid 1999s:

- The EU chose to stay out of the Greco-Turkish conflict and adopted a position of passive observer. The intermediary responsibilities were largely left to isolated diplomatic activities of individual member states.

- Both Greece and Turkey had diametrically different perceptions about the EU involvement in the conflict. On the one hand, as already a member of the Union, Greece thought to use the EU as a bargaining leverage to pressure Turkey. On the other hand, without a credible prospect of the Union membership, Turkey considered the EU as an “outsider” and “captured” by Greece.

- Cultural characteristics, problematic identity relations with "Europe" and selective historical readings further impeded the Europeanization of policymaking both in Greece and Turkey.

- Without the EU active support, Greek and Turkish civil society efforts for reconciliation proved to be limited and short-lived.

- Despite the close association with the EU throughout the decades, relations between Greece and Turkey remained conflictual and often escalated to the brink of military clash.

From the mid 1999s the EU took a more pro-active approach towards the Greco-Turkish conflict, which manifested itself in de-escalation of the conflict and significant improvement of bilateral relations. From mid 1999 onwards:

- The EU showed a strong commitment to Turkish membership.

- With the 1999 Helsinki Council decision, the membership incentive/carrot regained its credibility for Turkey.

- The institutional implications of the membership candidacy allowed the EU to increase funding to those civil society actors and non-governmental organizations who followed reconciliation objectives.

- The EU became a popular reference point which allowed Greek and Turkish policymakers to legitimize their alternative rapprochement policies.

- There has been an increasing collaboration between Greek and Turkish historians to purge textbooks from chauvinistic rhetoric and even though the EU did not actually initiate this collaboration, it "helped to frame the process".

- Cultural and media relations between the two countries have elevated to new levels of cooperation.

- Finally, the minor disputes between the two countries that would in the past quickly and easily escalate into serious conflict were now carefully managed and contained by political leaders.

8.2 Evaluations of the empirical results

In line with the four pathway model, the results of the empirical analyses allow us to derive to a number of conclusions which identifies the most successful policies employed by the EU in transforming the Greco-Turkish conflict. Generally, in the science of conflictology, the line of reasoning is that the best path to peaceful resolution of the conflict is one that "offers most positive incentives and carrots rather then sticks" (Pace – 2004: 18). With that respect, the EU compulsory path can be considered as most influential and effective. The empirical results show, that the fear of jeopardising their EC/EU membership applications, forced/enticed both Greece and Turkey to refrain from any securitizing moves towards each other. In fact, during the respective pending memberships, each side showed readiness and attempted to initiate the reconciliation dialogue on several occasions. However, this pathway only works best as long as there is a credible membership prospective such as ongoing accession negotiations. As soon as the membership carrot loses its attractiveness, either in case of becoming a member, as in the case of Greece in 1981, or "deferring the matter to more favourable times" for membership, as in case of Turkey in 1989, the compulsory impact loses its transformative power.

In comparison to the compulsory impact, other EU paths are argued to be long term, limited and sometimes short-lived. The analyses of the EU enabling, connective and constructive impacts on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish Conflict has shown that, these pathways are closely entwined with the compulsory path and do not produce a clear "end product" on their own. Rather, their effectiveness depends on successful implementation of the first pathway and requires a "continuing process of action that evolves over time" (Pace – 2004: 21). Furthermore, if used separately from supporting weight of the compulsory impact, these pathways can actually produce disconnective and negative rather then positive effects. For example, because the EU was lacking an interest in Turkish membership throughout 1970s and 1980s, the Union was perceived as an "outsider enemy" by the Turkish public and any attempts by policymakers to use the EU as a reference point to legitimise their rapprochement initiatives were treated as "treason". Only after the EU showed a strong commitment to Turkish membership in 1999s it regained enabling power to impact Turkish public opinion and became effective reference point for policymakers. Similarly, in the case of the

connective path, the EU was unable to achieve positive impact before granting Turkey a membership candidacy. Only with the institutional effects of candidacy was the EU able to increase funding to civil society actors and non-governmental organizations, and managed to successfully "combine the objectives of Greek-Turkish cooperation … facilitate the formation of new partnerships between Greek and Turkish organizations and Turkish civil society development" (Rumelili – 2004: 43). Finally, analyses have shown that the EU constructive impact can be ambiguous and sometimes even paradoxical. Simultaneously, this path can be a great aspiration for conflicting nations to come to a peaceful solution and uncrossable "stumbling rock" for conflict resolution. As empirical finding attest, before mid 1999s the EU has failed in "identity script" changing and co-operative community-building both in Greece and Turkey. In fact, as Rumelili notes, the EU has actually reinforced and even legitimized the two states representations of their identities as different from and as threatening to each other.

Overall, the findings of the empirical research in line with the four pathway model of the EU impact on the Greco-Turkish conflict clearly show that before mid 1999s, the EU have failed to have a positive impact on the trajectory of the Greco-Turkish conflict. After the 1999 Helsinki Council decision to grant Turkey a membership candidacy however, the bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey have witnessed significant improvements on all levels. Hence, this conclusion enables us to answer the main question and to prove the hypothesis presented by this research:

The EU is best fit to have a positive impact on conflicts between its member and associated partner countries through integration and close association. Only under these conditions can the EU effectively transform the nature of border conflicts from the line of conflict into the line of co-operation. Hence, integration and open border policies do indeed promote peace and prosperity in the EU neighbourhood.

8.3 Implications for further studies

If one looks through the key peephole of a castle, one can only see a part of the building; however, the rest of the castle remains unseen and undiscovered. Similar to this analogy, this research has attempted to cover a small part of the complex and puzzling picture of the EU conflict management policies. According to the ancient Greek philosopher Heracleitos, the inevitable state of political life is change. The stigma of "Panta Rei" (everything changes) directly applies to conflicts on the EU borders and consequently affects the policies employed by the EU to deal with those conflicts.

Considering the shear number and changing nature of conflicts surrounding the EU, this research, to use an irresistible cliché, has barely scratched the surface. Hence, the implications for further studies are numerous.

First of all, with regards to the main conclusion, we have to emphasize that integration and association with partner countries does not necessarily mean enlargement. After all, the European Union can not expend forever. Rather, to quote Rumelili again, the EU can successfully supplant the enlargement with "offering to neighbours a more nuanced… clear defined gradation on integration/cooperation relations on a different basis". In that respect, investigation of implementation and effectiveness of the European neighbourhood Policy can be considered as one of the primary topics for further research.

Exploration of natural resources in general and energy security in particular is rightfully considered as one of the most powerful agents behind political interactions between the countries. As there is an ongoing dispute over defining the Aegean continental shelf and the Exclusive Economic Zone between Turkey and Greece, joint exploration of the Aegean natural resources can become an effective framework through which two former rivals can become successful economic partners. With that respect, possible participation of the EU in that process is another possible field for further research.

As noted before, other possible research fields may include the whole spectrum of social and discursive conditions, attitudes towards the European integration and stereotypical representations of Greek and Turkish cultures in Europe. The list is truly endless.

Finally, I would like to sum up my research by words of Kagan encouraging all further studies about the European affaires in general and the European Union in particular. "Although" argues Kagan, "the EU might not be described as a military power yet, but we can safely refer to this paradise as a model for peace that continues to attract new members". (kagan – 2003: 35).

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Appendix A

Questionnaire for interviews

This questionnaire is designed to investigate the role of the European Union in Greco-Turkish conflict resolution process. The main aim is to identify the points of EU interventions and to determine weather the EU had/has direct or indirect impact on evolution of the conflict.

1. Policy making process:

- Who is responsible for identifying the issue?
- Once the problem is identified how do you process information?
- Who is making decisions and how?
- Are any NGOs participating in decision making process?

2. How would you depict the conflict if you had to describe it in a few words?

3. How is the conflict perceived by different parties – territorial issue or human rights issue (respectively by Greece, Turkey and EU/Brussels)?

4. Would you say that the EU has equivocal approach towards conflict when it comes to member state VS non-member state (respectively Greece VS Turkey)?

5. How effective are the EU instruments in transforming Greco-Turkish conflict from line of conflict to line of co-operation – role of CFSP and Euro-Mediterranean partnership?

6. How do the conflicting parties communicate with each other and the EU?

7. Would you say that the EU is lacking political will to resolve Greco-Turkish conflict in general and the issue of Cyprus in particular and if so why?

8. In your opinion, what effect did the EU have on Greco-Turkish conflict – direct/indirect, positive/negative?

Depending on answer the following sub-questions would be:

- How would you explain the EU`s involvement/non-involvement?
- How would you explain the EU`s direct/indirect impact on the conflict?
- how would you explain the EU`s effectiveness/ineffectiveness?

9. What influence did the membership of the EU have on Greek foreign policy (as spill over by-product of Europeanization) and how have those changes effected Greco-Turkish relations?

10. Do different EU institutions such as the European Council, Council of Ministers, European Parliament and the Commission have different effect of Greco-Turkish conflict and if so, why?

11. In your opinion, have the Greco-Turkish conflict actually escalated of de-escalated after the involvement of the European Union?

12. Would you agree with the following statement - integration and open border policies promote peace and prosperity in the EU neighbourhood?

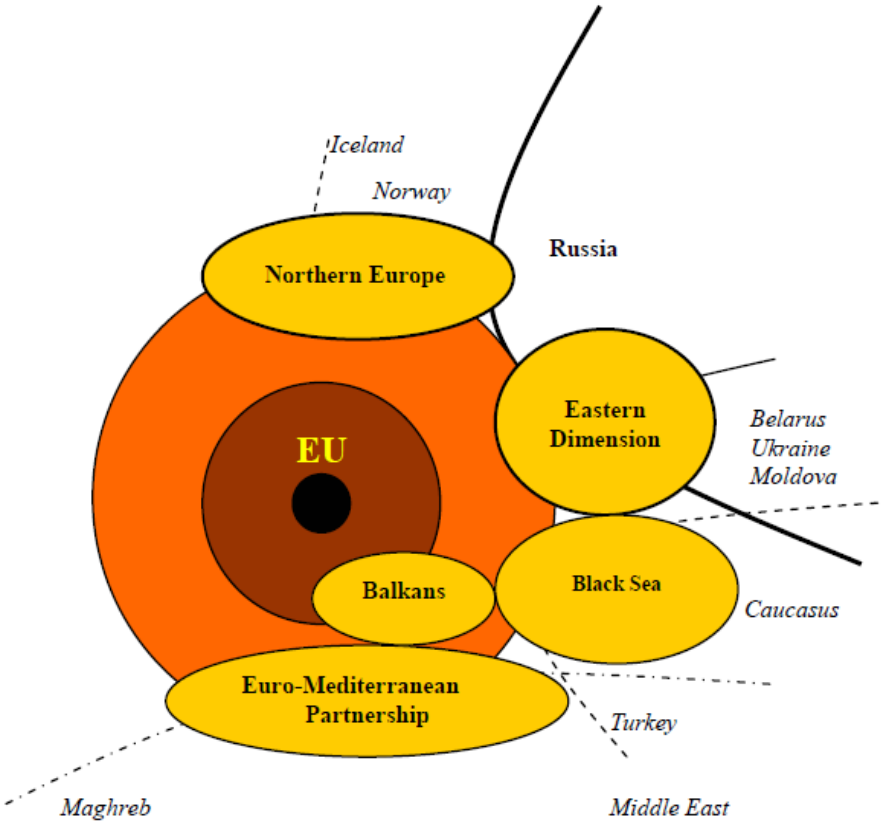
13. How do the conflicting parties perceive the involvement of the EU, as a "peace making friend" or as an "outsider"?

14. How would you characterize the EU as a multi-level organization in respect of Greco-Turkish conflict and can you draw parallels to other EU bordering conflicts?

15. Would you say that conflicting parties and the EU are doing everything in their power to resolve the conflict and is there any room for improvement?

Appendix B

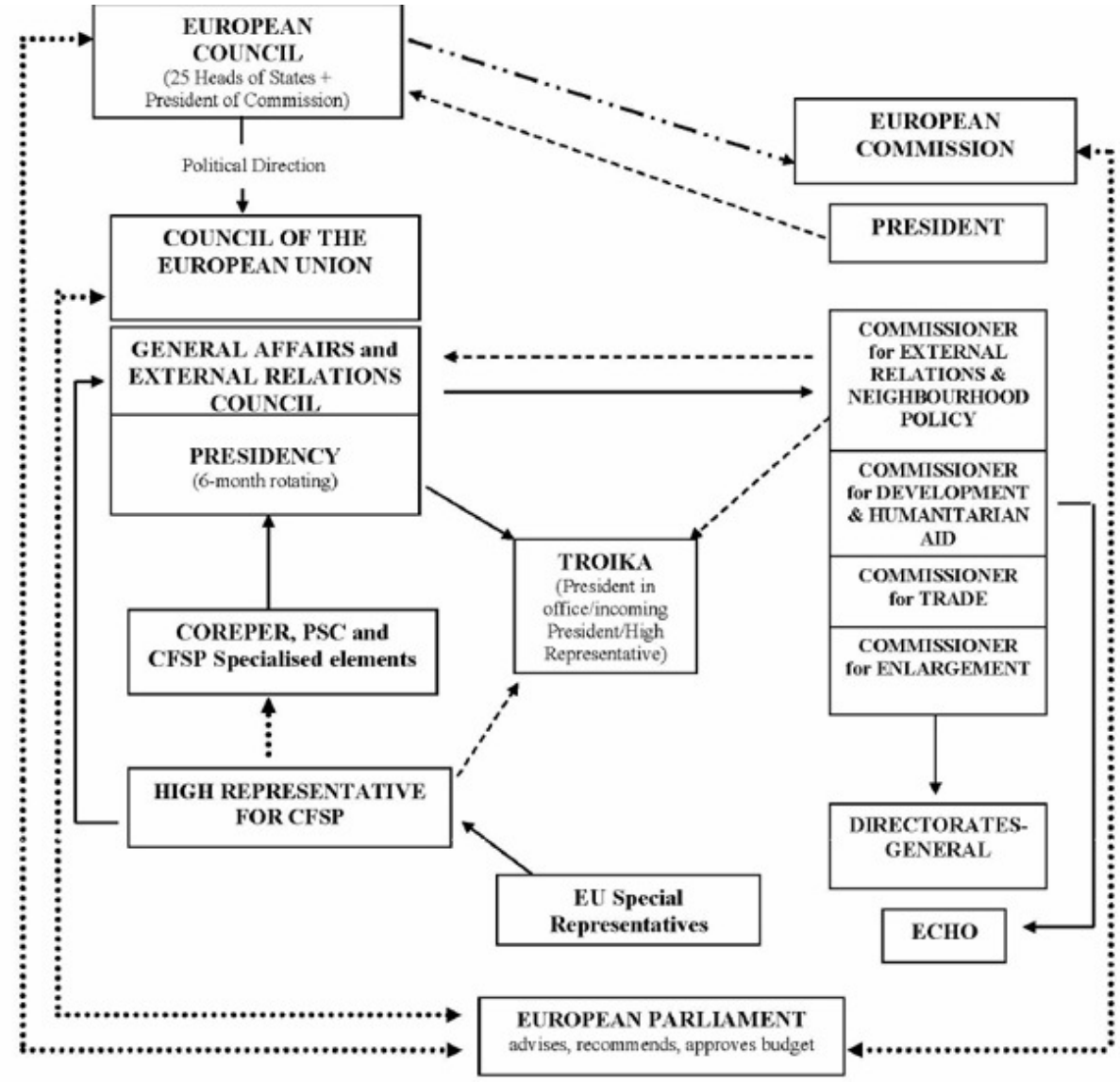
The European Union's neighbouring regions



Source: International Crisis Group. Working Document No. 226.

Appendix C

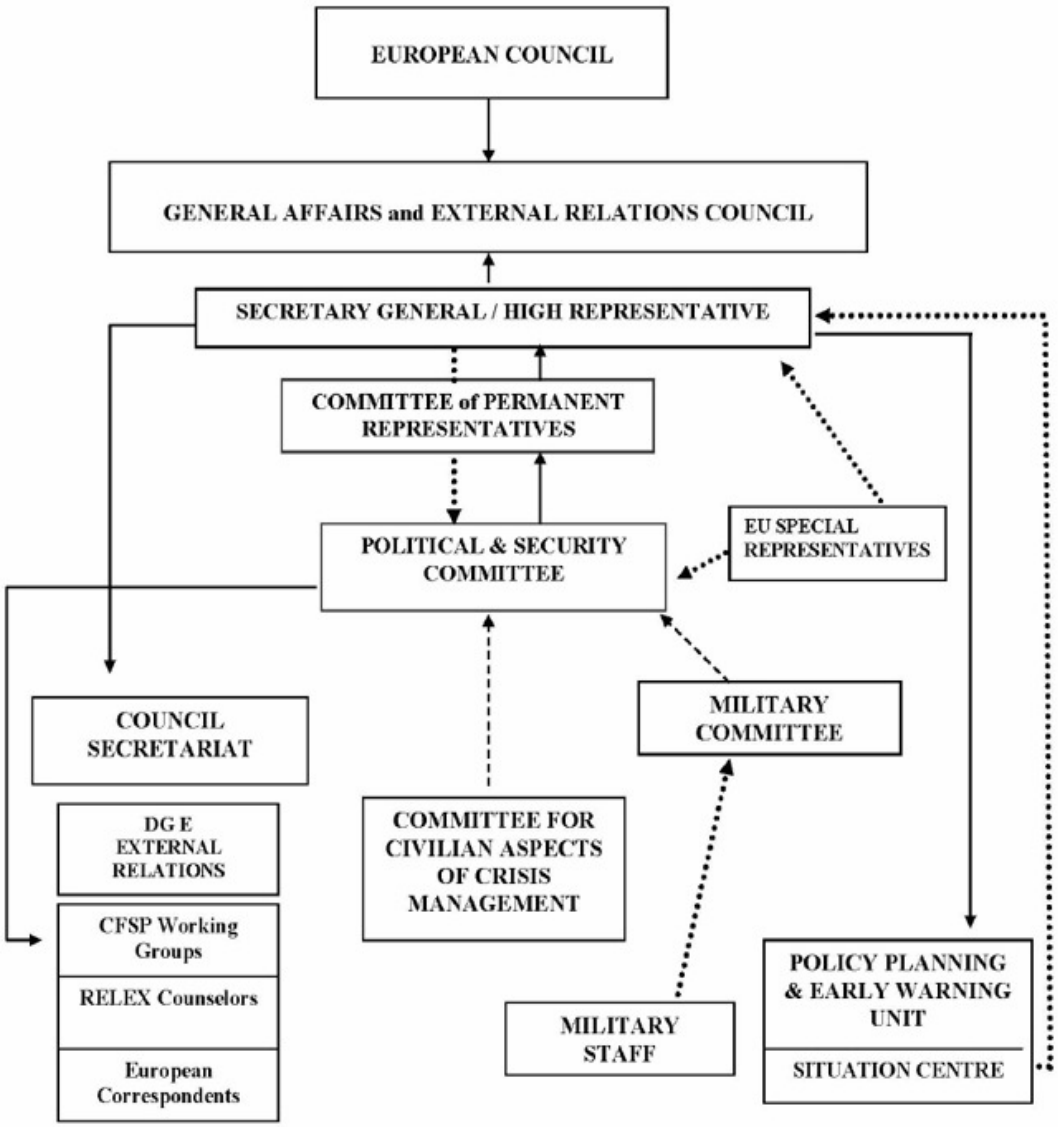
Structures for EU external action



Source: International Crisis Group, EU Crisis Response Capability Revisited

Appendix D

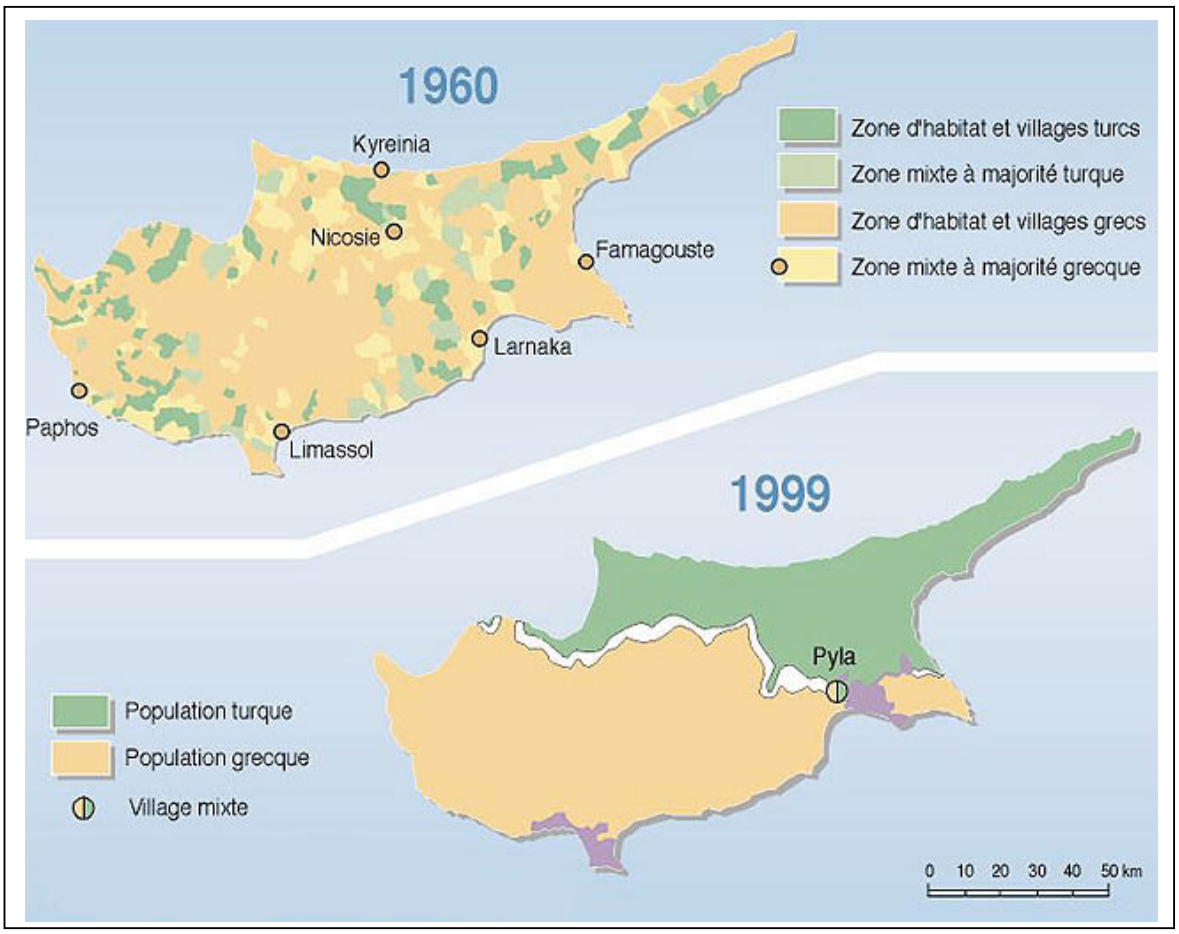
CFSP institutions and specialized elements



Source: International Crisis, EU Crisis Response Capability Revisited

Appendix E

Cyprus 1960 vs. 1999



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