



Lords of the Ring: Turkey, the UK and post-crisis CFSP

- Deepening institutional integration of the euro zone versus the EU's increasing economic and political globalization (the rise of economic and political ties with non-European countries).
- The rise of new giants (China and to a lesser degree India) and the US' maintenance of its position as the number one superpower versus the emergence of a dozen midsize powers on the global stage.
- Decreasing its own military capabilities versus increasing responsibility for security in Africa and Western Eurasia (the US shift to the Far East) and the rising military potential of the main players in the international arena (China, Russia, India).

- The EU may become a global superpower equal to China and the US only if its institutional integration in the economic sphere (the euro zone) is followed by the development of the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP).
- The future position of the EU in the global arena will be determined to a large degree by its ability to establish a new institutional setup of the euro zone and to accommodate Turkey and the United Kingdom, two countries which will remain outside the euro zone and Schengen in the foreseeable future but possess very substantial assets with regard to the CFSP.

- The EU's position on the global stage will also depend to a large extent on strengthening of cooperation with the United States in economic, social and political dimensions. Again, in this dimension the UK and Turkey's assets are their particularly strong relations with the US.
- The UK and Turkey can be called “lords of the ring”, namely important stakeholders in the external world simultaneously located on the institutional and geographical outskirts of Europe.

- Despite a certain divergence of their foreign policies, Turkey and the UK share long-term strategic goals and an awareness of a similar position versus the euro zone.
- The British-Turkish bilateral cooperation is on the rise and it can be described as the emergence of a strategic partnership.
- The position of France on the membership of the UK and Turkey in the EU will be of key importance for the future of the CFSP.

- The anchoring of Turkey and the UK in the EU will depend on the EU's ability to accept its own multitier character, namely the existence of two hard cores in particular dimensions (economy versus foreign and security policy). It means that the division between the core (euro zone) and peripheries will become an oversimplification.
- The main glue sticking the UK and Turkey to the EU will be the enlarged single market which will be one of the key pillars of the EU economic success and its position on the global stage.

- The better is the enemy of the good. The EU could allegedly become more coherent without Turkey and the UK but paradoxically it can have a much less efficient CFSP and CSDP because its global impact may be considerably smaller without both countries.
- Although, economic institutional integration and institutionalization of foreign and security policy are mutually interwoven, institutional development of the CFSP has been and will always be substantially outpaced by integration in the economic sphere.

- The accommodation of the UK in the EU may constitute the model for Turkey's accession to the EU. On the other hand, the UK leaving or being isolated in the EU would most probably radically decrease Turkey's interest in accession to the EU.
- Turkey in the EU will provide London with a strong partner in the outer circle of the EU which currently the UK does not possess.
- Turkey's accession will be an accomplishment of the EU project, the last missing element of the puzzle because Turkish accession will provide the EU with a member state which is a midsize emerging power with strong leverage in the Muslim world.



**Embassy
of the Republic of Poland
in Ankara**