Europe as a Security Community

The potential security implications of Turkey's accession to the EU are frequently debated in both the EP and the European Commission (see also Aydin-Düzgit, forthcoming) as well as across all the three member states under analysis, and these implications play a crucial role in the discursive construction of Europe as a security community. The analysis finds that this theme intensifies in the data particularly from the years 2002 and 2003 onwards, among those who argue both in favour of and against Turkish accession. Its intensity declines significantly after the opening of accession negotiations where attention shifts in all the discursive spheres more towards the domestic developments in Turkey. The discourse analysis reveals two dominant representations of Turkey that lead to this discourse topic: representation of Turkey as a panacea for the clash of civilisations and as a potential security threat for Europe.

**Turkey as a panacea for the clash of civilisations**

The notion of the clash of civilisations was first coined and elaborated by Samuel Huntington (1993, 1996) in the post-Cold War era, resurfacing strongly after the events of September 11 (Bottici and Challand, 2011). For Huntington, the dividing lines in the post-Cold War era would not be political or economic, but mainly cultural. His main argument was that in the post-Cold War world ‘the paramount axis of world politics will be the relations between “the West and the rest”, where ‘a central focus of conflict for the immediate future will be between the West and several Islamic-Confucian states’ (Huntington, 1993: 146). His proposition rested on an understanding of cultures and civilisations as essential and static, identified through certain geographic constellations. In the words of Said (2003: 69), this thesis...
constructs civilisations as 'monolithic' and 'homogenous' and 'assumes an unchanging character of duality between us and them'. The security-related discussions on Turkey as an aspirant for membership in all of the discursive sites are found to display a strong interdiscursivity with the clash of civilisations discourse by being based on similar conceptual grounds.

**European Parliament**

The delineation of strict civilisational faultlines in the clash of civilisations thesis may at first suggest that its usage in the security-related talk on Turkey, whose accession raises outspoken concerns on its 'Europeanness', is combined with a refutation of Turkey's accession. The analysis, however, suggests that this need not necessarily be the case. In fact, in the centre-right EPP-ED/EPP discourse on Turkish accession, the geostrategic importance of Turkey as a potential member is often justified through the conceptual lenses of the clash of civilisations discourse. This is visible mainly among those national groups that are sceptical of an integrated Europe and that hold a strong transatlantic outlook such as the British (pre-2009), the Southern member states (in particular the Spanish and the Italians) and the Scandinavian factions (mainly the Swedish), as in the following:

Throughout the Cold War, Turkey was a steadfast ally on the side of the West. Communism was kept at bay, partly thanks to Turkish loyalty towards the NATO Pact. That is something we must remember in this House today. There are substantial benefits to be had in terms of security policy from speeding up Turkey's integration into Europe. In my view, Turkey is the country that can build a bridge to the Arab world. I would therefore call upon us to act in the forthcoming process on the basis of Turkey's being 'a friend of Europe'.

(Seeberg, EPP-ED, 13 December 2004)

EPP-ED 2: Since I was first elected as a member of the European Parliament in 1999, I have been a member of the EU Turkey delegation of the joint Parliamentary committee and I have maintained my membership of that because I am very positive about Turkey's prospective accession to the European Union, and I have done all that I can to promote that in the best possible way. And why do I do this? Not because I have any particular links with Turkey, but first of all, I look at it from a sort of strategic political