European Union is nowadays facing one of its biggest challenges and opportunities since its foundation. An answer, which will be sent to Turkey, will bring overwhelming repercussions in wide and large Muslim world. The far-sight approach of European Council can open new stage in evolution of European identity. The European Union’s aim is a safe, secure and wealthy continent, capable to peacefully cooperate with other states.

This paper is an attempt to prove that:
1. Turkey’s membership in the European Union will be a significant and vital element of creating common future in the history.
2. Turkey deserves considering by EU as a state which has undertaken sweeping and overwhelming effort of reform packages according to EU’s conditions but as well in order to transform Turkish public administration, government and legal system into efficient and transparent political system¹.
3. Now is the most adequate time to take up membership negotiations if the Union is decided to pick up the gauntlet.

This challenge is highly demanding and without any doubts it will enforce the Union to undertake tremendous reforms into its political structure and in its approach

¹ United Nations, 2003 Regular Raport on Turkey’s Progress toward accession, p.16–22.
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to foreign affairs. But abandonment or postponement of starting the negotiations process is not a proper solution. It will not change the situation in the Union close neighborhood or make it any easier to cope with. Involvement in the political changes in the Middle East is a necessity. Opportunity to influence Turkish position and opinions in the peaceful process will be a strong tool of EU’s foreign policy. Further economical development will bring more stability to the society. Running accession negotiations will give a noticable evidence that already made great effort was not unprofitable and will encourage further difficult changes which may cause resistance of many groups interested in holding the status quo. Having started negotiations the EU’s side leaves itself a right to terminate talks if Turkey does not fulfill the agreements of negotiations. That will be a very efficient and providing safety tool which could help assure European public opinion that Turkey will be allowed to join EU only in case it widely and deeply maintains reforms required by EU’s negotiators.

Turkish path to the EU has been long and tremendously difficult. But Turkey’s efforts were appreciated, especially in December 2002 when Turkey was recognized as a candidate state. Conditions, which every country has to fulfill, were set equal for Turkey as well. “Membership criteria require that the candidate country must have achieved stability of institutions that guarantee the democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a well functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union; the ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union”.

In October 2004, European Commission presented the report in which you may find that: “The Commission is convinced that the negotiation process will be essential in guiding further reforms in Turkey” and that “Turkey has substantially progressed in its political reform process, in particular by means of far reaching

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3 H. Grabbe, From drift to strategy: why the EU should start the accession talks with Turkey, Center for European Reform, July 2004, p. 4.
constitutional and legislative changes adopted over the last years, in line with the priorities set out in the Accession Partnership”. In the conclusion Commission stressed that “Commission considers that Turkey sufficiently fulfils the political criteria and recommends that accession negotiations be opened”8. On the contrary, polls and surveys carried out through Europe express that public is mostly against Turkey’s membership9. This essay is a trial to present a positive impact of Turkish membership in European community.

HISTORICAL HERITAGE

Anatolia has been under Turkish domination since the eleventh century. Turks established the Ottoman Empire and then, in the middle of the fifteenth century they conquered the city of Constantinople. They may be recognized as heirs to Byzantine and the Eastern Roman Empire, as well as to a rich Greco-Latin and Judeo-Christian culture. It is clear that the territory which nowadays is a part of Turkey was one of the roots of European civilization. For a long time of its own history, the Ottoman Empire was an important member of European diplomacy. Being similar to other European powers, Ottoman Empire acted as a conqueror, however, it is important to mention that there were moments when Turkey stayed in a close alignment with most powerful European states – for example France. Long lasting and deeply set tradition of tolerance for another religions and sects enable thousands of Jews to migrate to the Ottoman Empire at the end of the fifteenth century where they found a safe haven after series of oppressions and persecutions which made them left Spain10.

Events of the 1856 gave significant evidence that the Ottoman Empire was a permanent part of European political system. “European Concert” marked Europe’s future for the next decades. Those influential political players like France, Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia and Sardinia found Turkish Empire, a proper partner in common interests. Since the middle of the nineteenth century Sultans begun major strains to westernize their falling realm. The main purpose of those reforms was to add new vigor into a declining empire. Reforms led to the abolition of typical Ottoman institutions, centralization of the state administration, modernization of the army and the adoption of new civil and penal codes. French language became quite popular among new elite and some high educated officers.

10 J.P Roux, Historia Turków (History of Turks), p. 98 and next.
After the defeat of France by Prussia in 1871 reforms petered out. This period of reforms deeply changed the empire, even if not all of its aims were achieved. Next years brought again huge influence from Europe, which inspired the ‘Young Ottomans’ movement to propose a liberal changes such like; constitutional government and political rights of citizenship. Promoting loyalty to the state but not to the Sultan raised tremendous opposition of the Emperor. Young Ottomans eventually withdrew from the political scene and created an extremely vital institution which played a huge role in the transformation of Turkish Empire – the first liberal opposition.

The path to establish constitutional monarchy was taken up. Ideal of liberty managed to survive in the political minds of the new elite. “Young Turks” decided to take it up. They were supported by officers’ elite and chose the way of revolution. Alike other political movements of the time, “Young Turks” were creating their ways of thinking about the new political scheme for Turkish Empire under great influence of European schools of philosophy and sociology. There is no possibility not to mention importance of the acts of the 1848–1850 called in Europe “People's spring” which underlined the national character of a single state and its right to live in freedom and independently.

“Westernization” became a permanent sign for the direction of the process of building Turkish national identity. Since that moment there wasn’t a situation when powers willing to proceed with reforms would put away European aspiration. Rules of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk regarded those ideas as a conceptual underpinnings of his reforms which turned the country into a modern and civilized state.11 “Peoples who are not civilized are condemned to remain under the domination of those who are. And civilization is the West, the modern world, of which Turkey must be part if she wishes to survive. The nation is determined to adopt exactly and completely, both in substance and in form, the way of life and the methods which contemporary civilization offers to all nations” – it was the keynote of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s domestic and foreign policy.

The programme of the reforms of home office included abolition of the Sultanate, the renunciation of the Sharia law, the adoption of a new Civil Code modeled on that of Switzerland, the replacement of the Arabic by the Roman alphabet, the elimination of words of Arabian and Persian origin, the substitution of Friday by Sunday as a day of rest, and the granting of political rights to women. These changes should not be understood to be done in purpose to the elimination of Islam and Islamic values altogether from Turkish historical consciousness. Atatürk’s main aim was to terminate the political functions of Islam and the powers of religious institu-

tions in Turkish law and justice, turning religion into a matter of personal conscience – and in this he was successful. Thanks to his reforms, Turkey began to develop into a modern secular state.

MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

There have been seen strong political ties between Europe and Turkey since the end of the Second World War. During the war Turkey gained a status of a reliable and responsible partner. In the beginning of the Cold War Turkey became extremely important in international policy due to its geopolitical position which allowed western states to control the situation in the Middle East and at the Russian's borders. Turkey was also determined to be regarded as a vital and reliable partner for the Western states. In August 1949 Turkey achieved full membership in the Council of Europe. European states agreed that Turkish Republic fulfilled its two conditions for membership – to be a European country and to respect human rights, pluralistic democracy and the rule of law\textsuperscript{12}. At those times the main strategic goal was to firmly integrate Turkey with the coalition of western countries therefore the question of Turkey's European credibility was never raised. Then, in 1952 Turkey joined the NATO\textsuperscript{13}.

It also acceded to the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). During those decades Turkey has become a full member of all major Europe-wide institutions, the European Union is the sole exception.

TURKEY'S ATTEMPTS TO JOIN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

There are main facts in the closest history which are necessary to mention concerning Turkey's efforts to be regarded as a state which deserves considering as an European culture country. Firstly, in 1959 Turkey applied for associated membership of the European Economic Community. It resulted in the Ankara Agreement signed in 1963 establishing an Association between the two sides. Agreement included decision encourage cooperation between the institutions of the Community on the


\textsuperscript{13} According to information at http://www.nato.int/docu/update/50-59/1951e.htm 10.11.2004
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one hand and the Turkish Parliament on the other. Text of the Agreement included Article 28 which expressed cautious prospects of full membership in the Communities. The possibility of accession to the Communities was left for further future, although giving the Turkey unclear perspective of partnership with European states. The Ankara Agreement also opened long path of common dialog between partners which brought them to establishing Customs Union. An Association Council was asked to examine, at regular intervals, progress made in implementing the Ankara Agreement. Eventually, the Customs Union entered into force in 1996. Turkey achieved wide range of privileges like abolition of customs duties, however, UE’s negotiators did not agree for the free movement of people, services and capital.

In 1987 Turkey applied for membership to the European Communities. European Commission finally managed to release an opinion in December 1989. The answer was negative for Turkey and pleaded on several grounds. The Commission stressed that due to the efforts undertaken in order to adopt to the Single Act starting negotiations in that time was impossible. There were some rumors that the Commission overestimated importance of its own inner reforms just only to present more smashing reasons to postpone starting negotiations with Turkey. Despite that, aiming to keep the statement well balanced Commission recommended “…a series of substantial measures which, without casting doubt on its eligibility for membership of the Community, would enable both partners to enter now on the road towards increased interdependence and integration, in accordance with the political will shown at the time of the signing of the Ankara Treaty”.

For the next time the Communities repeated typical for them feature based on postponing making the final decision in order to stimulate candidate state to put greater effort and maintain more compromised statement. Coming years were full of confirmation made by European institutions that Turkey is in a queue for membership in the Communities. However, during all those years since the December 1989 opinion was released, there have been no signs that the time of giving a precise date of starting the negotiations is getting closer. There have been consistent indication that Turkey still has political and economic problems, which in detail include Turkey’s human rights record. Over those years it was often mentioned that there were still huge obstacles in starting the negotiations with Turkey. At the meeting of the European Council in December 1997, in Luxemburg it was again loudly reminded, when the New Enlargement process was begun, excluding Turkey.

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15 According to European Commission opinion on Turkey’s request for the accession to Community, 20th of December 1989.
16 Referring to Luxembourg European Council conclusion, 12th and 13th December 1997.
The end of 1999 was definitely important for Turkey's relation with the Union, when a major breakthrough took place at the Helsinki European Council of 10–11 December. Turkey was announced to be regarded as a candidate state which is destined to join the European Union. Commission declared that there would be used the same criteria for Turkey as it was applied previously to the other candidates. European Community gave guarantee that Turkey will be able to benefit from the pre-accession financial and technological support. Further talks and agreement with Turkey were set to be based on all the Conclusions which had been published until that time by European Institutions. The main points which should be examined in the most detailed way were economic and law issues. European Union declared will to bring all necessary help during the negotiation process\textsuperscript{17}.

The next significant step toward the membership prospect was made in December 2002. During the Copenhagen summit European Council declared recognition of the important progress which has been done by Turkey in the period of time since the last examination report. The European Council encouraged Turkey to speed up its recent reforms process. The European Commission decided to submit a report and recommendation on Turkey's accession to the EU to the December 2004 European Council meeting. Commission announced that accession negotiation would then open without any delay if the report were positive for Turkey ability to start negotiations process\textsuperscript{18}. The main issue which shall be examined in the report was if Turkey met the Copenhagen political criteria. Commission was pressed by Turkish Government to set the certain date for opening negotiations, which finally did not happen. The nature and speed of the reforms in Turkey have visibly accelerated since that time and Turkish government has been demonstrating great involvement and dedication in fulfilling European conditions\textsuperscript{19}.

THE MOST PROPER TIME TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS

It is extremely vital for Europe to be able to send a powerful message to the close neighbours that European identity is opened-minded and able to cope with multicultural diversity. Quick start of the negotiations will confirm the Union's

\textsuperscript{17} Presidency Conclusions, Helsinki European Council, 10\textsuperscript{th} and 11\textsuperscript{th} December 1999.
\textsuperscript{18} "Postępy Turcji na drodze do członkostwa w UE : rezolucja Parlamentu Europejskiego z 15 grudnia 2004 r. w sprawie raportu okresowego 2004 i zalecenia Komisji Europejskiej odnośnie do postępów Turcji na drodze do członkostwa w UE", „Studia Europejskie” 2005, no 1, p. 149–164; R. Graczkowski, 
Turcja u Bram Europy, „Dziś” 2006, no 1, p. 75–82.
\textsuperscript{19} W. Chislett, 
Turkey’s EU membership: The moment of truth, WP 17/2004, Real Instituto Elcano, 19\textsuperscript{th} October 2004, p.12 and further.
nature as an inclusive and tolerant society, sharing common values of liberty, democracy, the rule of law and the greatest respect for human rights. Furthermore, it would give an affirmative sign to the rest of the world that Europe is going to take bigger responsibility in the shaping of the international policy. Region such as Middle East, the Mediterranean, Central Asia and South Caucasus are placed straight in the obvious sphere of influence and interests of EU and Turkey, therefore common acting in those areas may result in more effective results. Turkish accession would considerably strengthen the Union’s capabilities as foreign policy actor. “A Secure Europe in a Better World” and the “Wider Europe – Neighbourhood” projects created by the European Commission put great emphasis on the importance of the Southern periphery for European security, underlining the need to bring stability factors into the continent’s neighbourhood. It is highly possible and needed that Turkey would add a new dimension to the EU’s foreign policy efforts in such vitally important regions as the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Central Asia and South Caucasus.

TURKEY AND ITS REGION

Turkey entertains perspective relations with Israel and Arab world, too. Its membership would, without any doubt, increase the Union’s influence in the Middle East, which could be put to good use in common efforts towards peacemaking and stabilization in this strategically critical region. So far, EU has played slight role in searching for the solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, however, Union is providing a significant aid to Palestinian and possesses intensive commercial connections with Israel.20 There cannot be acceptance to the statement that Turkish membership would draw EU into the dangerous involvement in conflicts in the Middle East. Events which take place in this region already have huge repercussions on Europe’s safety and stability. Taking Turkey, with its pivotal position at the heart of the Euroasian region, on the EU’s board, would be beneficial to European actions in this area. Prospects of Turkey’s membership to European Community will influence on the EU to devote more resources and develop more coherent strategy toward this part of close neighbourhood. Furthermore, it will accelerate Union’s process of deepening involvement in this area. Stability of the countries in this region deeply influence Union’s condition.21

Thanks to the close geographical localization, enormously great number of young members of the population of the countries placed in the Middle East, richness of important energetic goods, common historical roots, potential large market for the products from EU led Europe to the necessity of greater involvement into this region. Only far-reached political and economical reforms, supported by high-end ‘know-how’, political endorsement, wider opening to the new states from this part of the world might secure peace and stabilization, sustained growth of economy, social development and rise of European standing in the international foreign affairs. Turkey’s accession would confirm and accentuate that European Union is ready to become a continent-wide, heterogeneous Community with a religious diverse population and political outlook that would be increasingly externally oriented.

The EU and Turkey alike should acknowledge this trend and maximize the potential profits for both sides. Turkey’s, Muslim state, membership in the EU could possibly show Union’s policy in the Middle East region as a more acceptable for the states and its societies.

Furthermore, Turkey has quite a lot to offer the EU. It may contribute expertise and knowledge of the Middle East region – Ankara possesses reasonably good relation with states located in that region, especially with Jordan, Egypt or Israel. Turkey has a considerable wide network of connection which could be also supported by its government’s political endorsement. Nevertheless, worth underlining are Turkey’s burgeoning economic ties which will be valuable assets for the Union.

Israel-Palestinian struggles have been a source of permanent instability influencing Europe for many decades therefore it is easily to recognize and create a big role which could be played well by EU-Turkey tandem in the most frustrating conflict in the Middle East. Turkey entertains constructive relationship with Israel. Military cooperation among those two countries is based on the bilateral settlement from the early 1990’s. EU has a long-standing partnership with Palestinians: it remains by far their most important donor and regularly repeats that there is only one acceptable outcome of the conflict: negotiated settlement. With second side – Israel, Union is strongly connected by economical ties and trade relation.

This could be useful when EU and Turkey would be standing on the same line during the negotiations with fighting parties. European Community and Turkey

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24 Further agreements: The Free Trade Agreement of 1997 between Turkey and Israel.
25 Turkey is one of the first states which recognised the Palestinian State in 1988.
could work together fruitfully on Israel-Palestinian conflict, trying to break the deadlock in the peace process. Both sides possess similar goals, however, they have individual starting positions and relative diplomatic strength which may affectively complement each other. However, it is necessary to stress that the efforts of bringing peace to the Middle East region are intensely frustrating job. Despite all those involvements of foreign states, any settlement the parts made, would depend mainly on their individual choices. Nevertheless, the partners such as EU and Turkey may play a useful and supportive role. Practically, there is a place for EU’s and Turkey’s activity in the area of supporting reforms of political institutions, especially local and central administration, preparing modern law codes, training police staff and border control process.

Recently has Turkey improved and strengthened its political relation with big neighbour – Iran. Visit of senior Iranian ministers in Turkey in 2003 and Erdogan’s travel to Tehran in July 2004 are the first evidence that both partners are keen on taking up a new stage of bilateral relation. Iran, as a possessor of enormously huge amount of oil, can not be seen outside political interests of Turkey and EU as well. But, not only simple economical reason should lead EU to engage in this area stronger and with more confident schedule. Turkey and EU are sharing the same interest that results in persuading Iran, that states greatness does not depend on possessing a nuclear bomb. Thanks to the fact that Turkish leader have access to Iranian leaders the power of influence may be more efficient. The main aim, regarding the interests of the whole EU is establishing Iran as a non-nuclear state without the desire of gaining it. The first step toward the normalization of Iranian standing is letting for the running the control by International Atomic Energy Agency. Next, if the conditions are completed, eliminating of economical sanctions.

SAFETY AND HOME OFFICE

It is worth to mention that Turkey, thanks to its location, is a potential place for the bases and due to military capability would be an important asset to developing European Security and Defense Policy. Following latest figures Turkey with its large military expenditure and manpower, has the capacity to contribute significantly to EU security and defense: Turkish military expenditure is among the highest of all members of NATO. Almost eight hundred thousands military personnel constitute largest part of the forces of NATO’s European members, Turkey has increasingly cooperated on European Security and Defense Policy matters since the mid-1990’s.26

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Turkey has proved its ability and willingness to make considerable contributions to international peacekeeping operations, sending troops to Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, also to Kosovo and cooperated with EU’s policy and military missions in Macedonia. Nowadays, Turkey is one of the strongest NATO partners, it has established a transparent orientation toward the European Security and Defense Policy, contributing on the further improvement of ESDP efficiency to cope with the treats to security and stability like organized crime, illegal migration and international terrorism. Result of Turkish membership in EU would be closes cooperation in Home Affairs, what could led to increase of the stability and safety in the region and its neighbourhood. Organized crime since many years located its paths of transportation through the Turkey’s territory. Now, there would be a great chance to strength the cooperation between EU and Turkey in order to organize more efficient control and watch over the borders. Only with Turkey inside Union Europe can create a secure sphere along its borders and increase its safety.

**REFORMS**

Turkey has been able to achieve tremendous changes and reforms during recent years, partly due to the close and realistic prospects of the EU’s membership. However, mainly because it was the indispensable condition to transform country into modern state recognized as a reliable to the Western civilization. It is clear that progress which has been made in transformation is truly impressive. Abolition of the death penalty, safeguard against torture and the reform of the prison system. What is more, notorious laws against journalists were canceled\(^\text{27}\).

Furthermore, Turkey recognized international human rights legislation over national laws. Last two years were a period of time in the Turkish post Second World War history when it has achieved more sweeping and overwhelming reforms then in the whole previous decade. Clearly visible progress has been achieved in the political matters and legislative system, in public administrations and government. The place of parliament in decision-making system has been strengthened. Powers and functions of the National Security Council have been significantly reduced therefore military interference in the political process has become gradually smaller. What is more, wider rights and freedoms were sent to the religious and ethnic minorities (Kurds) therefore the shape of the state has changed profoundly\(^\text{28}\).


\(^{28}\) Ibidem, p. 20–23.
However, there is still great necessity to encourage Turks to implement those legislative changes into everyday life. In this case, Turkey membership to the European Union would secure lasting of those changes not only on the pages of legal acts but also in the human minds and gradually transform people habits and customs, take out old superstitions and improve the development of the society into fully participant democracy. Kurdish minority, estimated at about 20 millions as it has been mentioned, greatly benefited from the reform measures. Kurds’ voice is one of the strongest one among the advocates of Turkey membership in Union.

Mainstream of Kurds politics is focused on the ongoing efforts toward the success of accommodation process. Kurds realize that there is no more positive scenario for their minority then living in a state which will be a member of European Union. That would be a strong guarantee that the right and privileges of any group would not be abused. If Turkey fail the accession prospects or if its perspective of membership is delayed into the unknown future it will destroy political strategy of the main stream of Turkish Kurds and may led to increase of the influence of the radical groups standing in the opposition. This would result in wider instability in the whole region and straightly leverage prospects of Kurdish peaceful accommodation and living.

While Turkey was heading toward the Union, in recent years, its relations with Greece have been gradually improving, resulting, that now Greece positively supports Turkey EU membership. “Turkey will find Greece by its side, in every effort to converge with the constitutional, political and economic issues of the Union.(…)the climate in our relations with Turkey has certainly improved.” Furthermore in government policy speech in Parliament regarding the Foreign Affairs claims were heard that: “We seek cooperation with all our neighboring countries. We are working for the normalization of Greek-Turkish relations in the belief that this will prove to be in the interest of both peoples. We support Turkey’s European perspective. Without territorial claims and violations. With respect to International Law and human rights; and, of course, with the solution of the Cyprus problem.”

Turkey rapprochement to the EU should have beneficial effects on relationship with other neighbourhood countries. More intensive people’s flow between neigh-

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29 Follow the estimations at http://www.redacservices.fr/ofk/pagesanglais/mutlu2a.htm
bours would bring better understanding of common history, difficult relationship from deep past and hopefully help in solving problems.

Possibility for the separated alliance Turkey with countries of Central Asia or the Black Sea region is absolutely weak or even just a mere illusion therefore Turkish Government has undertaken tremendous efforts to adopt society to the European standards in all aspects. There is widely seen and heard great expectation to take an irreversible step toward EU’s membership in closest future. Society is able to suffer due to the huge number of difficult and demanding reforms only in the situation when the prospects of joining European Union will be clearly scheduled. A negative decision undertaken by the European Council would be regarded as a simple confirmation of Turkey’s deeply rooted perception of rejection by Europe. Turks might find explanation that Europe for the next time in history abused Turkey’s less then perfect compliance of membership criteria as a smart excuse. Putting off Turkish membership talks would weaken Erdogan’s government and may even bring the transformation process to be halt. Such a perspective is not convenience for European policy and would bring great break-through to EU efforts heading to influence Turkish policy by the ‘soft power’ tools.

ECONOMY

Turkey is mainly seen in European’s imagination as a large and poor country. Probably, the last factor may be a reason why starting accession talks with Turkey would be beneficial for European policy in a big scale. Negotiations with Turkey are predicted to take from ten to fifteen years and will not be probably easy and straight therefore Turkey’s possible date of full accession may be possible about 2018. This is a long period of time therefore it is highly hard to calculate the cost of enlargement EU including Turkey. The predictions should not be made on the basis of current EU policy and the condition of Turkey economy at this stage because it does not bring realistic results.

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EU took up a discussion concerning the transformation of its Agriculture Policy and Regional Policy. All those issues are directly connected with EU’s budget agenda for the years 2007–2013. Obviously, if EU does not modify its regional and agricultural policy it will be absolutely impossible to include Turkey into generous financial system of money transfer to farmers which in this time is a major part of EU budget’s outgoings\(^{37}\). Without tremendous reforms of agricultural policy there is only one possible scenario for Turkey – membership based on unbalanced relation\(^{38}\). Running membership negotiations with Turkey would support and strength the pressure to deeply modify agricultural policy what would be by the same way advantageous for the European Community as well.

There are suggestions that Turkey in EU would led to the ‘explosion’ of the EU budget a due to this reason Turkey for a long time should stay outside the queue to EU. Already, there is a proposal that the Union’s budget will be capped at somewhere between 1.24 and 1 percent of EU GDP. The last one is a proposal made by six major contributors to the EU budget\(^{39}\).

What is more, the nature and the amount of money transfers to Turkey would depend on a variety of changing factors. In addition, there are strong suggestions to restrict the amount of transfers to a maximum of 4 percent of the recipient country’s GDP. The result would be a limitation of the absorption capacity. Experts claim that the confidence generated by accessions negotiations would bring rapid benefits for the Turkey economy, including inflow of foreign direct investment, sustained growth rates and the elimination of periodic crisis that have plagued the Turkish economy for decades.

Last economical crisis in Turkey, in 2001, caused by poor public finance management and fragile banking system, led Turkish economy to a fall of GDP by more then seven percent, dangerous raise of interest rates, collapse of national currency and increase of public debt to extremely high level\(^{40}\). In the answer to those huge and demanding complications Turkish government, in cooperation with the international financial advisers, introduced far-reaching reform scheme which included clean-up of the banking system and guarantee of independence to the Central Bank.

Having introduced difficult and long-distance reforms Turkish economy demonstrated its flexibility and dynamism. In one year time, growth came back to the level

\(^{37}\) I. Begg, *The EU budget: Common future or stuck in the past*, Centre for European Reform, February 2004, passim.

\(^{38}\) H. Grethe, *Effects of including agricultural products in the Customs Union between Turkey and the EU: a partial equilibrium analysis for Turkey*, New York, Peter Lang 2004.

\(^{39}\) According to the press information at [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3322947.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3322947.stm)

of more than seven percent, inflation indicator dropped and Turkish national currency - lira – has begun to regain its lost value. In fact, those examples prove, that close partnership with international institution would enable and efficiently empower Turkish ability and willingness to introduce and perform economical reforms which could bring a long-ranged and far-sighted efforts heading toward the fundamental changes into the structure of financial system and industrial framework.41 Transparent prospects of EU’s membership and accession’s negotiation would increasingly influence Turkish government to develop country’s economy especially in such a fragile sectors like agriculture.42

MIGRATION

Modern Europe is threatened by the visions of the great hordes of Turks entering the Union’s after Turkey membership in EU. Most of those opinions are based on the experience of European societies which tried its first connection with Turks in 1960’s and 70’s when several states decided to invite groups of unskilled Turks due to the shortage of labour-force at the continent. Huge part of the immigrants of that time did not manage, in fact, comfortably accommodated in European communities and nowadays there are areas when the next generations of those people live but still without gaining European identity. Many of those temporarily employed Turkish workers decided to settle permanently in the large cities of their host countries. After having gained those experiences the immigration policies have become more restrictive.

During the decades, considerable number of Turks presented willingness to incorporate themselves into the political, economical and social system of their new countries. Significant part has acquired citizenship and with many more planning to apply. An emerging middle class of Turks-citizens has created new ventures, mainly in sectors connected with tourism, telecommunications, architecture and construction. There are groups involved in political parties and participate in their activities on local level. Integration, however not haste or event fast, regarding the general progress, usually takes place in the third generation.43 The progress of the integration

can be measured by the mastery of the local language, improving location on the social ladder and rise in “mixed” marriages.\textsuperscript{44}

The scale of migration from Turkey to the countries of the current Union will depend on many factors, some of them in EU and other in Turkey, therefore it is closely impossible to demonstrate concrete consequences of Turkey’s membership. Main factors will be: demographic development, economic situation and migration policy.\textsuperscript{45} Moreover, Turkey’s birth rate has sharply fallen during the recent years. The total fertility rate stands at 2.5 and has fallen down from the 3.5 in 1970’s. Furthermore, this trend is supported by Turkey’s population growth rate which has fallen to 1.4 percent according to the latest UN figures. Regarding the previous enlargements conditions, especially the last one ten-members entry, it is highly possible that if Turkey manage to join EU, it will be forced to agree for a long-lasting delays for its citizens to the full access to the labour market.

Due to the size of the country and its population the conditions determining the free people movement will be quite demanding, including even ten years postpone of the full access and special settles about further limits depending on individual decisions of EU member states.\textsuperscript{46} In addition, Commission announced that permanent safeguard against migration could be considered in order to avoid serious disturbances on the EU labour market – Olli Rehn, the new European enlargement commissioner, announced that he would insist on permanent safeguards clause for Turkey. This would allow the EU to close its borders to large numbers of labour migrants at any point in the future - not just for seven years, as it is in case of Poland and the other former communist states which joined European Union in May 2004.

However, profile of future labour force migration will be deeply different then previous in 60’ and 70’ when mostly engaged people from rural regions moved to the big cities of Europe. Fallowing the predictions, the next migration is likely to include more professional and well skilled-people because since the 1960’ Turkey has developed some well organized universities. This will reduce the integration difficulties which were common for uneducated immigrants thirty years ago.

addition, the relatively modest migration expected from Turkey would constitute one of the positive economic aspects of Turkish accession.

The inflow of well educated professional staff with not only practical skills set on the high level but also open-minded and fundamentally educated in general knowledge may sustain and efficiently support the raise of European labour-market based on high-end know-how and IT technics. If high skilled Turks-professionals find its place in hospitable and tolerant Europe they will send transparent message that Europe is not a hostile and prejudiced continent but it can be o seen as a honest, hospitable and credible partner for Muslim states, therefore Turkish successful membership would be regarded as an efficient tool of foreign policy for European Communities creating its image among countries in the Middle East. Economic development in Turkey will also provide come back of some immigrants who have not found its place in European society.

If Turkish economy collapses into recession, European leaders may expect much larger inflow of immigrants, many of them unskilled and coming from rural regions. Succeeding Turkey means wealthy, prosperous and safe Europe and Old Continent should take notice that unstable and volatile economy in Turkey, at the boarders of European Union will cause enormous inflow of immigrants from Turkey who will be extremely hard to control. That will force EU’s institutions to provide bigger amount of resources into controlling borders and enactment of immigrants. Those people who leave Turkey only due to the fact of its weak economy and lack of prospects for better living conditions will not accommodate well in European societies. Rift between newcomers and natives will be so difficult to alleviate that it could require giant spending for social care system. Necessary deportation would bring enormously hostile reaction in poor countries and strengthen the support for radical groups organizing public opinion against Europe as a whole continent. There is no need to declare that this would be the worst scenario Europe could imagine.

CONCLUSIONS

The decision which was announced by Governments of member states in 2005 during the EU’s summit was difficult and enormously demanding a lot of political far-sighted approach. Keeping its standing close to the polls’ result could force

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European leaders to the stance that it would be safer for their political career not to take a risk of launching membership negotiations. However, this did not bring solution to the issue of Turkish aspiration to the EU. The only benefit which it could bring to its domestic policy is getting populous support from ultra-radical opponents against enlargement of European Union.

1. The postpone of starting the negotiations will give simple point for opposition groups in Turkey whose interests will be disturbed by the reforms which are necessary during the negotiations to the EU.\(^{49}\) Those domestic forces which are against Turkish membership will be arguing that European states have been cheating Turkey along those decades. That EU promises were just a neverending story of growing demands which are set only to make it impossible for Turkey to get closer to European Communities. EU may, by this way, lose its opportunity to influence Turkish reforms and turn Turkey into the power of radical groups, which could definitely terminate the reforms and withdraw many of political and legislative changes which have been enforced by the Erdogan’s government since it came into power. In case of such a scenario EU will lose its chance to use membership negotiations as a smart and efficient tool of influencing deep reform process. The prospects of membership have been the EU’s single most effective foreign policy tool.

2. During its path to join EU countries across the continent have managed to consolidate democracy, opened up their economies, strengthened their public administration and improved their relation with neighbours states. It is clear that EU’s sustain pressure has empowered positive changes in Turkish political system. But, it must be absolutely clear, that powers of modernization could only be able to keep the upper hand if the EU offers Turkey visible and measurable progress toward accession. Both sides realize that it will take many years before Turkey meets all the criteria for the EU membership. To make sure that Turkey will be keen on enforcing those tough reforms, the most proper way to consolidate its efforts, and to bring down the risk of political turbulence, is presenting clear agenda for the negotiations with Turkey and running transparent talks. Turkey needs to know that it will become a full-participant member of European Community as soon as it completes all the conditions of membership.

3. EU’s ability to shape international events by attraction then coercion has become EU’s latest most impressive example of ‘soft power.’ This form of chang-

ing the rules of government is relatively cheap, voluntary and hence long-last-
ing. Power of the process of membership negotiations was exampled during
the EU – Eastern European countries and therefore there is a potential pos-
sibility that it may play similar role in negotiations with Turkey.

4. In the moment of time, when European Union is planning to play a more
significant role in the international foreign policy, there is no more efficient
way to promote universal values of Europeans heritage, like democracy, rule
of law, respect of human rights and gender’s equality, then beginning the
membership negotiations with Turkey. Since the Attaturk’s revolution Turkey
has proved its positive orientation toward the European Communities. Start-
ing the accession talks with Turkish Republic will initiate a brand new stage
in the evolution and transformation of European cultural and historical iden-
tity. Positive changes in Turkey will bring overwhelming benefits not only to
its own society and European Union but also will help in promoting the most
appreciated values of Europe’s identity among the neighbour states of EU. This
will strength EU’s ability to influence and support peaceful reforms in those
countries. For the next time, membership negotiations will be the most influ-
ential and attracting tool of EU’s ‘soft power’.

5. Negotiations could provide beneficial results also in countries around Turkey
therefore it may led to create an “Axe of friendly states” surrounding the
European Union. Turkey’s membership in EU will increase Communities
ability and force to take more active role in international system of defense
and stabilization. Economic growth, extension of human right, efficient justice
system and increase of civic society of neighbours states is a guarantee of
European safety and prosperity in a long-distance perspective therefore EU
should be determined to undertake demanding efforts in a prospects of bring-
ing far-sighted benefits for all the partners.

6. Wider and hospitable Europe will emphatically change its image in Muslim
states. The evolution of European picture in the societies of Muslim countries
could be very important regarding the perspectives of Europe. Populations in
those states will be still growing rapidly therefore it is the case of historical
importance to provide those countries an opportunity for sustained growth
of their economies. There is no reason to close the enlargement process and
by this way create a new “Berlin Wall” on the south-east EU’s borders. However,
border-lines must be well secured but at the same time provide an abilities to
co-operate. Only open-minded policy for the states of this region may help
Europe. The Turkish example might be a good beginning.

7. The overall impact of Turkish membership in the European Union is hardly
to estimate in this stage due to the expected changes in EU’s institutions and
budget, but also thanks to predicted reforms of Turkish society and economy. Changes expected by EU’s conditions during the negotiations talks will force Turkey to develop its standards to EU’s expectations and therefore Turkey which will join the Europe will be fundamentally transformed. According to international affairs, European Union which will manage to successfully incorporate Turkey will be able to become important pillar of the system of stability in the world. In spite of modern domination of United States of America in foreign policy history taught that American domestic policy may force its leaders to withdraw from engagement in international community therefore creating “European System of World Stabilization” may be possible to achieve in close co-operation with Turkey. Having left Turkey outside EU borders led Europe to reduction its political power and standing to the position of local organization unable to influence and shape matters of consequence. There is an opportunity for Europe to become a ‘global player’ in international policy in case the USA decides to turn its attention to the domestic policy. This shift should be regarded not as an impossible despite modern USA’s deep involvement. Furthermore, according to economical conditions influencing European stability and safety, Turkey’s EU membership will secure vital transportation lines of gas and oil to the Europe. Old Continent must pick up the chance of long-time engaging Turkey in European system. Now, it is high time for it.