

THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE EU: CURRENT AND PROSPECTIVE PROBLEMS*

*Gizem Onay***

On December 17th, 2004, the EU has given a date to Turkey for starting the negotiation talks on October 3rd, 2005. This decision established a new era's starting point between the EU and Turkey. Negotiation talks are a long and complex process which may take up to 10-12 years for Turkey as a candidate state to become a full member.

The aim of this paper is to define the main subjects and the obstacles in the negotiation process regarding the position of the two sides. Accession negotiations are primarily being enforced in a technical level but the most important phases are being enforced in the political level. This includes: determining the principles and strategies of the negotiations and giving the final decisions. From this angle, the negotiation process will be evaluated as an entire process that has "political" and "technical" dimensions. Therefore, the obstacles to the negotiation process that Turkey and the EU might face will be separated into two types: Political obstacles and Technical obstacles.

As a concluding discussion, the paper is going to discuss the overall economical-political implications of success or failure in the general negotiations reflecting empirical positions. Hereby the paper is going to divide the chapter into two: Success in the negotiations and Failure in the negotiations. Therefore the Political and Economical Implications to the EU and Turkey will be discussed.

Key Words: Negotiations, Turkey, Implications, Agriculture, Obstacles

* Regarding the limited amount of pages imposed for the conference paper, the different ideas argued in this article are just briefly detailed. Those arguments will be developed during the discussion sessions.

* *Aalborg University (Denmark) Master on European Studies / Thesis writing student
Professional Association: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality - BIMTAŞ / EU Expert
E-mail: gizem.onay@gmail.com

On December 17th, 2004, the European Union gave a date to Turkey for starting the negotiation talks on October 3rd, 2005. This decision established a new era's starting point between the EU and Turkey. By making substantial progress with reforms for fulfilling Copenhagen political criteria, Turkey proved that she is having the same values and principles than the EU. However, adopting and implementing the EU's *acquis communautaire*, which arranges the social life with law and rules, still needs a more broad transformation.

Negotiation talks are a long and complex process which may take up to 10-12 years for Turkey as a candidate state to become a full member. The aim of the accession negotiations is to determine in which conditions the candidate country can join the EU, to help the country with the implementation and adoption of the *acquis communautaire* in an effective way, and finally to make the country reach its final goal, the full membership.

MEMBERSHIP PROCESS

The state makes its official application to the European Council to become a member of the European Union

↓↓

The European Council asks for the opinion of the European Commission concerning this application

↓↓

The European Commission delivers its opinion to the Council

↓↓

The European Council, only with the unanimity, decides to start the negotiation talks with the candidate state

↓↓

The European Council carries out the negotiations with the EU Presidency

↓↓

With the proposal of the Commission and the approval of the Council, the EU decides its negotiation position on the candidate state

↓↓

The draft of the Accession Agreement is established between the EU and the candidate state

↓↓

The European Parliament accepts the agreement with the majority voting

↓↓

The European Council accepts the agreement with unanimity.

The candidate state and the member states officially sign the agreement

↓↓

The member states and the candidate state ratify the agreement

↓↓

After the official ratifications, the candidate state becomes a full member state

NEGOTIATION PROCESS WITH TURKEY

The first step of the accession negotiations with Turkey started on October 3rd, 2005. In the screening process the differences between Turkish laws and the Union's *acquis communautaire* are being determined and Turkey's home works are being prepared. There are 35 subject titles for Turkey to negotiate on.¹ However, in the screening process, not all the *acquis* will be compared at once. Some parts of the *acquis* will be screened just after starting the negotiations process. For instance, while the Free Movement of the People is being negotiated, the agricultural *acquis* will be screened.

After completing the screening process, Turkey will determine her negotiation position on each chapter. She will notify the EU how she is going to adjust the EU's acquis to make them her own, how she will implement the acquis with an institutional structure formed specially for it.

If Turkey has a concern about the adjustment of some particular chapters of the negotiation which may create important economic problems or damage to her national interests, the Turkish government will be able to insert some transition periods and derogation demands to her negotiation position papers.

Once Turkey determines her first negotiation position about the first subject title, she will deliver her position document to the EU Presidency. According to this document, the EU will determine its own position and will deliver this document to the Council. If the Council accepts the EU's position with unanimity, the negotiations will then start actively. The negotiations will continue between the EU and Turkey on two levels. The ministers of Turkey and the EU will discuss about basic strategies and the political issues during the Intergovernmental Conferences which will be held two times a year. Concerning the real negotiations which are the technical level, COREPER and Turkey's Chief Negotiator group will meet every month.

In the last part of the negotiations, all the chapters and the negotiations will be closed in the Intergovernmental Conference. After completing the negotiations, the EU will prepare an Accession Agreement. The last form of the agreement will be given in the Intergovernmental Conference by the representatives of Turkey, the Commission and the Council. Then, just after the Parliaments approval, the agreement will be delivered to the Council's approval. If the Council ratifies it, the membership of Turkey will be sent to the member states' parliaments for the approval of their assemblies, or submit to a referendum. The membership of Turkey will be fulfilled when its membership will be ratified by all the member states.

Adopting the acquis and implementing the legislation is a foremost exercise. Accession negotiations are primarily being enforced in a technical level but the most important phases are being enforced in the political level. This includes: determining the principles and strategies of the negotiations and giving the final decisions. From this angle, the negotiation process will be evaluated as an entire process that has "political" and "technical" dimensions. Therefore, the obstacles to the negotiation process that Turkey might face will be separated into two types: Political obstacles and Technical obstacles. Finally, the obstacles to the negotiation process that the EU might face will be discussed.

OBSTACLES IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS REGARDING TURKEY

Political Obstacles

Concept of an open-ended negotiation process:

There have been many arguments during the EU Summit in 17 December about the open-ended negotiation process concept between Turkey and the EU. With the rejections of Turkey during the Summit, "These negotiations are an open-ended process, the outcome of which cannot be guaranteed beforehand"² statement has been softened and the sentence "The shared objective of the negotiations is accession"³ has also been added to the Presidency Conclusion. Together with this, it has also been emphasized that if Turkey cannot fulfill all the obligations needed for the EU full membership, she should still be fully tied to the European structures.

With an optimistic point of view, the expression “open-ended negotiation process” might have been thought parallel with the sentence of the Commission, which states that Turkey can provide successfully to conclude all the accession negotiation process by showing her decisiveness on implementing the reforms.⁴ With another expression, if Turkey continue her reforms and fulfils the requirements for the EU membership, then the negotiations will end successfully.

With a pessimistic point of view, it is also possible to interpret the expression “open-ended negotiation process” as an interim formula for the countries which does not support Turkey’s membership and for the countries whose aim is to not to offer more than a privileged partnership status. Furthermore, the fact that neither the previous negotiation processes nor the Strategy Paper for Croatia have that kind of legal decision might support the pessimistic point of view.

Suspension of negotiations probability

The EU took the decision to start the negotiations with the 12 countries from the last enlargement wave before they fully adopt the Copenhagen Political Criteria and stated that the EU will monitor the developments after all. During the process of the negotiations however, the removal of the deficiency did not take place as the EU had stipulated. This situation created a blockage in the process and the suspension of the negotiations had sometimes come to the agenda. Therefore, due to the past experiences, in both the Recommendation Report and the Presidency Conclusion of the EU Summit on 17 December 2005, it has been stated that if a serious contravention occurs concerning the liberty, democracy and human rights, the Commission may then recommend the suspension of the negotiations.⁵

Unanimity

According to the Presidency Conclusions – Brussels, 16/17 December 2004, during the negotiations, for the opening and closing of every chapter, the Council will be acting by unanimity on a proposal by the Commission, in every Intergovernmental Conference.⁶ This subject may be considered as one of the hardest obstacles that Turkey might face during the accession negotiations.

According to the treatment, any member country may use the ‘veto card’ against. They may use their veto during the screening process, the preparation of the position papers, the opening and closing of every chapter, in every meeting that will be held in a political level as well as in the preparation of the Accession Agreement and in its ratification process by their parliament.

Technical Obstacles

Closing the chapters

After the last enlargement experiences, the EU has realized that changing legislation is not enough for the full membership because the implementation and enforcement of this legislation is more important than just changing it. Hence, Turkey is going to have to prove that she is also implementing the laws; otherwise, the chapters will not be closed. Between the years 2001 and 2004, Turkey carried out two main constitutional reforms and eight legislative reform packages.⁷ However, for closing every chapter, Turkey’s enforcement results will be measured. The EU has monitored the candidate countries’ implementation results from the progress reports, accession membership documents as well as from the national programs. EU

has made this strategy, based on commitments more difficult, within the negotiation principles that have been determined under the Strategy Paper (1999). Therefore, the EU has created a linkage between the concrete membership preparations and the negotiation process.⁸ According to this new procedure, to close negotiations chapters requires the harmonization of the national program to the Union's *acquis* as well as the implementation of this *acquis* in an effective and satisfactory level.

OBSTACLES IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS REGARDING THE EU

Integrating a country like Turkey will not be easy for the EU. The areas that the EU might be strained are;

Budgetary Issues:

The EU has been recently criticized regarding its budget for the next period 2007-2013. This argument is already creating question marks concerning the regional and agricultural funds allocation with the widening of the EU due to two more enlargement waves. Turkey which is a more problematic country will strain the EU's economy during the negotiations⁹. The probable main costs that Turkey's full membership might load to the EU's shoulders include: funds for structural adjustments which needs to be transferred from the Union's funds, aid for institutional preparation as well as development aids. Therefore, it seems like the EU is going to have many arguments about the funds and aids that is going to be supplied to Turkey during the negotiation process, regarding the funds, aids and financial relations.

Agricultural and Regional Policies:¹⁰

Agriculture seems to be one of the hardest subjects for the both sides. It will be difficult for the EU to respond to the costs and it will require necessary reforms. For Turkey, it will require structural adjustments and development of rural employment. Therefore, the discussions about the budgetary issues will keep on going as well as about the necessary regional and agricultural reforms which need to be decided and implemented by the EU.

EU's Domestic Policies:

In France, opposition to Turkey's future membership has been used against the European Constitution by the French extreme-right parties, the "Front National" and the "Mouvement Pour la France". The French "No" to the Constitution at the 29 May 2005 referendum is not a direct consequence of Turkey's future possible membership to the EU. However, while the European Union door half-opened to Turkey; the general opinion of the European population was still against this idea.

CASE STUDY: AGRICULTURE

Agricultural policies, which contains an important part of the *acquis* and to which serious economic resources have been transferred, carry a lot of importance regarding the adjustment and the harmonization efforts for the candidate countries. Likewise, harmonization of the national policies to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has been the most struggling subject for the countries who have joined the Union on May 1st, 2004. This subject has obliged most of the candidate countries to ask for transition periods.

It is one of the most important subjects that Turkey needs, in order to carry out the required harmonization process. It is also known that the functioning mechanism of the agricultural

sector, its institutional structure and its position in the economy is very much different than the Union's agricultural sector.

Agriculture, with the opening of the negotiations, will be one of the most important subjects of the pre-accession preparation period due to both its importance in Turkish economy and its immense effect on the budget.

The anxiety created by the famine during and after the Second World War, the need to protect the income levels of the agricultural sector working population in Europe (most of the active population at that time) and the wish to suppress the deep differences between the member states' national agricultural policies, steered the European Community to establish a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The CAP depends on the common governance of the agricultural policies of the member states, both in economic and political matters.

The Common Agricultural Policy, which integrates the member states' agricultural policies, has a very broad extended mechanism functioning around rules that have been constituted to protect the determined common prices. The policy aims at sustain and extend a modern system for agriculture which guarantees to its community an equal life standard, a supply of food at logical prices for the consumers and the free movement of the goods within the Union. It contains almost half of the EU budget, most of the *acquis* is composed of the agriculture and it is one of the policies that keep the EU bureaucracy occupied. The agricultural sector is seriously secluded and financed in the Union. Additionally, CAP is reasonably comprehensive and complicated in application.

In the adjustment provisions that will be carried out in the full membership frame, all the rules will be determined by the Accession Agreement between Turkey and the Union. The adjustment of the CAP carries a big importance for Turkey, who is in a situation of an agricultural country; whose exports mostly depend on agricultural goods, who already is in the Customs Union.

The first obstacle that Turkey might face during the adjustment and negotiation process might be the absence of a national agricultural policy. Contrary to the EU or other states, and except some commitments in the Constitution, there is no specific agricultural policy determined with legislative power in Turkey. In the different governmental periods, political parties have mostly tried to implement policies depending of their party programs. However, even the successive ministers of a same government were implementing different policies. Consequently, there is no national agricultural policy comparable to the EU's Common Agricultural Policy. Therefore, Turkey can not really negotiate for its interest and has to agree on the whole CAP.

Second of all, there is a lack of statistical information in Turkey. Turkey's agricultural statistics are not gathered efficiently. The land, farmer and animal registration systems are poorly developed. The numbers in this field comes out eight or ten years behind. Therefore, it will be difficult for Turkey to adjust her agriculture to the Union's organized, modern and registered agricultural policy, when its present agricultural situation can not even be determined.

Besides the structural differences of Turkish agricultural sector, the dynamic structure of the CAP, which is often renew with reforms and the transposition of the EU agricultural legislation into the Turkish one are other observable obstacles.

One of the most important problems about the harmonization of Turkish agriculture to the CAP is the financial matters. As Turkey is mostly concerned about providing enough support to Turkish agriculture by the harmonization to the CAP, the EU is on the other hand concerned about the burdens that this harmonization will place on the EU's shoulders. The EU, in the framework of the budget discipline and considering the agricultural potentials of the candidate countries, starts to reduce the agricultural expenditures just before the acceptance of every new member. This kind of implementation may also occur before the full accession of Turkey. In the recent years, the Union has developed a more organizer role and provides less financial support to the field of agriculture.

It is obvious that before establishing a sufficient infrastructure appropriate to the Union's system, it won't be able to implement the CAP in Turkey. Besides, it has also been emphasized, both in the Regular Report and the Effect Report for Turkey, that the deficiencies of the infrastructure should have been eradicated.

In the Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession in 2004, October 6, it has also been stated that the agricultural chapter contains many compulsory set of laws and in order to enforce them successfully, an efficient administration is a must for the performance of the CAP. It has said that, agriculture is still the most important sector for Turkey and little improvement has done since the last Regular Report. Some of the EU companies had complained about the technical barriers and about the contravention of the Customs Union. There are also bans on livestock and meat imports. The Commission states that the reform process is going so slow and also no progress has seen in the establishment of a Paying Agency, the Integrated Administration and Control System (IACS), and the Farm Accountancy Data Network as well as the rural development. Implementation of common market organizations mechanisms has not even started. The Law on Agriculture Producer Unions has been adopted by Parliament, but the regulation was adopted without taking into consideration of the Commission advice.

The Commission also had some positive evaluations for Turkey regarding the agriculture. Lifting of the ban on energy drink had been adopted in 2004. The reform process has had positive impact on the level of the trade distorting types of support. About the quality policy and organic farming, Turkey has made substantial progress towards EU-like system. A new department has been established under the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs to deal with organic farming. Regarding fruit and vegetables, similar marketing standards to the EU is being applied. Some rural development projects have been implemented like irrigation, land improvement, village road construction, forest road construction. About the food safety, in order to avoid aflatoxin infectivity, a plant hygiene action plan has been prepared.

In the overall assessment of the Report, it has been stated that the establishment of the necessary administrative capacity and the preparing of rural development strategy have been pointed out as the main priorities for Turkey. Turkey is encouraged to improve her laboratory infra structure and to carry out a risk analysis system. Hygienic conditions in food processing needs to be improved. It is also stated that authorities are shared between Ministries or departments within the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs which creates inefficient administration due to unclear responsibilities. For that reason, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs should make clear the authorities.

The Commission concludes the Report by highlighting the main priority which is the establishment of rural development strategy and underlining the fact that the level of alignment with the *acquis* is very limited.

If we look at to the Report about the “Issues arising from Turkey’s membership perspective”, it is again mentioned that the agriculture is very important for Turkey in social and political terms. Turkey’s area of 79 million hectares is allocated to agriculture and this number is almost in line with the EU27 average which is 48 percent. Very big part of Turkey’s rural population is engaged on subsistence and semi subsistence farms. Because of that, besides the actions for improving the competitiveness, there is also a need for economical development for the rural areas, as well as for creation of alternative income sources. As Turkish agriculture is employed most of the rural work force, it has been stated that Turkey will need important resource for these efforts.

The likely effects of the accession regarding the agricultural policies and adjustments for the both sides have been mentioned in the assessment of the Effect Report. It has been stated that in order to avoid shock effects of the accession; removing the restrictions over the EU exports gradually, as well as restructuring and modernization of Turkish agri-food sector plays very important role. Turkey has the capacity of playing an important role in the EU agriculture due to its production potential in some sectors, but; as Turkey already is favoring from important special treatment of its exports to the EU, the effect of her accession on the EU market will be limited. The social impacts of the accession in Turkey might be so considerable because the agriculture sector, which employs most of the rural population, depends to the subsistence and semi subsistence farming sector. The capacity of the other economical sectors depends on ability to absorb the transfers of the work force from subsistence to semi subsistence farms. Regarding the agricultural policies, the agricultural reform programme is still not complete. The reforms should be directed to the needs and necessities of the Common Agricultural Policy. The main target in the pre-accession preparation period should be restructuring and modernizing of the agricultural sector and establishing a rural development strategy which aims to revive the economy in rural areas.

The Commission states for basic principle that Turkey has to accept the *acquis* in the form as it then implements. This would most likely require some transition periods, even after the accession, to maintain the borders for a transitional arrangement. By taking into consideration the scale of the adjustments that Turkey needs to implement, this would be done in order to avoid a sudden shock at the accession. The transitional arrangement has also been found useful by the Commission in order to eradicate the fears of the member states considering some sectors.

SUCCESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

Political Implications for Turkey

European Union plays a very important role which increases for Turkey in an axis that extends from the Balkans to the Central Asia. Even the political balances changes between the member states, a political cooperation exists in platforms like NATO, UN, European Council, for joint actions, for common positions to solve conflicts and to share information. After Turkey’s accession to the EU, the importance of this country will increase very effectively regarding its national priorities.

As an EU member state, Turkey’s movement area to protect her national sovereignty rights is going to widen. It should be taken into consideration that in the EU, countries like England, France, Poland and Greece are protecting their national sovereignties very carefully. The last developments in the Middle East emphasized the fact that Turkey’s relations with USA will gain more stability with the EU process.

Another important beneficiary is going to be the relations between Turkey and the 3rd world countries. The ties between England and Commonwealth, between France and Francophone platform, between Spain and Latin American countries and the special relations between Poland and Ukraine, is strengthening their positions within the EU. Turkey's relations with Caucasian and the Central Asian countries will procure the same kinds of benefits to Turkey.

Turkey's security and defense policies importance are also going to increase by becoming a full member of the Western European Union and European Security and Defense Policy. As part of the full accession to the EU, Turkey will also be given the opportunity to reconcile the Turkish state and the Kurdish population, improve its relation with Greece and play a constructive role in the Cyprus conflict.

Political Implications for the EU

Turkey's accession is going to contribute to the regional stability of the EU and to the protection of strategic interests concerning the EU's energy resources regarding the Middle East. This accession will increase the importance of the EU in the Middle East and accelerate the Union's already deepening involvement in the region. Over the years, the EU has built up a dense web of relations with the countries in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. No one should expect quick results in the Middle East, given the exceptional levels of instability, political tensions and economic deprivation (And?). Turkey, as a Muslim country and due to her own relations with those countries can help the EU to protect its interests in the region.

For instance, Turkey's growing political ties with Iran are an asset for the EU as it seeks to expand its influence and save the deal forged in October 2003 on Iran's nuclear programme. Turkey could be a useful bridge between the West and Iran. As Iran's nuclear programme issue moves to a crisis point, Turkey and the EU have a shared interest in seeking a diplomatic and effective solution. Both Turkey and the EU will want to forestall a US military attack to Iran. Turkey's contributions on this issue may be helpful to solve the problems of the region.

Turkey's accession to the EU might give the opportunity to the whole Middle East, Caucasia and Central Asia regions to not be left to the USA. Due to the rich energy reserves such as petroleum and natural gas of those regions, Turkey's accession might give the EU a chance to increase its energy safety.

Turkey's strategic importance has showed itself very clearly in the Cold War era. Due to her control over the Straits, the Middle East, and over the Black Sea where Europe has important economic and political interest, Turkey became the main ally of the EU against the Soviet Union. Turkey being a member of NATO since 1952, by having one of the largest army in Europe, and by also contributing too many peacekeeping processes, Turkey should be considered as an experienced military country. Therefore, it will be able to well contribute to the defense policies of the EU as well.

On the other hand, some argues that its geographical location will create problems for the EU. Turkey's neighborhood is mainly surrounded with conflicts and crises. With the accession, the EU will share borders with the regions which holds religious fundamentalism, terrorist activities and any kind of conflicts. NATO's risk assessments show that Turkey is in the centre of a risk triangle including Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East; therefore she is having the most uncovered status in the NATO.¹¹

However, considering the fact that Turkey has been an ally of NATO since 1952 and that it has an important geo-political experience about conflict-prevention and resolution due to her geo-strategic position; we can say that Turkey would be a positive feature for the defense and security policies of the EU.

Economical Implications for Turkey

Turkey would profit to a large extent from the membership of the EU. Accession will enhance Turkey's growth by increasing trade and investment due to higher Foreign Direct Investment inflows. However, Turkey's income level will need time to reach the EU level, even with the considerable stimulus that the EU membership would give to Turkish economic development.¹²

First of all, sustainable constancy will be guaranteed in the economic and financial policies of Turkey. Once the stability ensured; political and economic impediments will be provided and the number of foreign investments in Turkey will therefore increase. The fulfillment of the technical legislation of European Union after the full membership will also raise the competitiveness of Turkish firms. Turkey, inside the EU, will be able to protect her economical interests in the global stage more straightforwardly.

In an atmosphere where economic stability is established by with the EU membership, inflows of foreign capital will speed up, local investments will raise and the unemployment rate decrease.¹³

Economical Implications for the EU

Turkey's EU membership seems to be asymmetric in the means of economic effects and beneficiaries. With another saying, Turkey will greatly benefit from the membership but her positive effect on the EU's economy will be limited.

First of all, Turkey's accession will give the opportunity to close the young labor force deficit of the EU. The demographic measurements show that the birth ratio in the EU is seriously decreasing and the old population ratio increasing. If this tendency continues, the social security system will face with serious problems and the EU will face a deficit of qualified young labor force in the years ahead of us.

In this matter, Turkey, whose almost 90 percent of the population is below 64, and who has one of the largest labor pools in the EU is going to help the EU in the matter of qualified labor force. Indeed, a large amount of the young Turkish labor is graduated from university and provides significantly talented executive level personnel. Integration of such a wide and competitive force to the aging EU could benefit the entire community in the future.

On the contrary, there is a fear of a huge migration flow from Turkey to the EU and that would create unemployment and ruin EU's economic stability. Sübidey Togan made a prediction about this migration in his article. Using the calculations obtained by migration equations, he published that the Turkish population of immigrants would be about 2.2 million in 2000 and would increase to about 3.5 million in 2030. This is with the supposition that no restrictions are sited on migration. Therefore he states in his conclusion that the Turkish migration flow to the EU will have a positive effect on the welfare level of the member states.¹⁴

Furthermore, if we assume that Turkey's stability will get strengthened by the negotiation process, that its foreign trade and investments increase and that its economic grow in stability; Turkey's GDP will, according to the predictions, get closer the EU average, the Turkish labor force opportunities to have a descent work in Turkey increase and the migration flow to EU stay low.

Turkey is also a gateway to energy resources because of its location at the door of the Middle East and Caspian petroleum and the Central Asian natural gas to the west which is regarded as the future energy reserves of the world. Turkey's geographical location will connect the EU with the newly emerging Caucasian and Asian nations as well as with certain Middle Eastern markets. Furthermore, Turkey, with Russia, is the leader in Black Sea Economic Corporation. Turkey will become the EU's eastern access to the Central Asian countries and will bring in new height and opportunities to the whole community.

Turkey's accession to the EU means a widening of its market and an increase of the foreign trade and the investments. By including Turkey, the EU's internal market will gain 70 million consumers; The EU will be at the door of the Middle East markets and increase its chance to expand to the Central Asian market more effectively. After the accession, EU companies will expand more to the Middle Eastern, Russian and Middle Asian markets and this expansion of EU market will contribute to the EU's economy. The expanding of both the internal and external market, in parallel with the increasing of the foreign trade and investment opportunities arise new possibilities to decrease the unemployment of the whole EU community.

FAILURE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

Turkey's accession to the EU is important concerning several global issues: the struggle against international terrorism, the refutation of 'the clash of civilizations' claims and concerning the establishment of the multi-cultural peace project. By integrating Turkey into the EU, the region will become more stable and the threat of terrorism coming from there might decrease. A rejection, in the contrary, would cause an opposed result by strengthening the radical, traditionalist, religious or extremist groups who do not accept the reforms made in the way of harmonization to the EU, who are against the democracy and in general, against the "Western" civilization values and way of living. The reinforcement of theses groups would reverse the negotiation and normalization process. They would also reinforce the crises-poverty-corruption triangle by taking advantage of the internal security problems and by narrowing the civil politics.

Through those kinds of crises, the external world's trust on Turkey would decline and the struggles against each other of its different society groups as well as the radical-militant orations would arise simultaneously. In a country where freedom and competition does not exist, there can not be any self peace, and so, there can't be any effectiveness or production. This would therefore not create any enrichment. That is why the failure of the EU negotiation with Turkey might result in a larger and illegal immigration from Turkish citizens who can not feed themselves in their home countries.

In conclusion, the exclusion of Turkey from the EU will serve and strengthen the radical ideas that Islam and the West are ancient and forever enemies, that there is no possibility for peace and that the Western culture only sees the democracy and the enrichment that provide enough for its own citizens. This situation might strengthen the present terrorism threat. From this perspective, not accepting Turkey into the EU will support and even reinforce 'the clash of civilizations' theses.

Endnotes

¹ For the countries who will start the negotiations in 2005, the subject titles have been increased from 31 to 35.

² Presidency Conclusions – Brussels, 16/17 December 2004

http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/83201.pdf

³ Ibid.

⁴ Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's Progress towards Accession: Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, 6.10.2004, COM (2004) 656 final, s. 10.

⁵ Presidency Conclusions – Brussels, 16/17 December 2004

http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/83201.pdf

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Detailed in European Commission (2004) "*Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession*" 6th October SEC (2004) 1201

⁸ Composite Paper: Reports on Progress Towards Accession by Each of the Candidate Countries, 13.10.1999, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_10_99/pdf/en/composite_en.pdf

⁹ Hughes, Kirsty, "*The Political Dynamics of Turkish Accession to the EU: European Success Story or the Most Contested Enlargement?*" pg 41, 2004: 9, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ögütçü, Mehmet, "*Turkey's place in the new architecture of Europe: An Updated Assessment*", Turkey Economics Papers Archive, October 1992,

<http://www.econturk.org/Turkisheconomy/ogutcu8.pdf>

¹² European Commission Report: *Issues Arising From Turkey's Membership Perspective*, Brussels 2004, pg 15, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_2004/pdf/issues_paper_en.pdf

¹³ *The Likely Effects of Turkey's Membership Upon The EU*, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, December 2004

¹⁴ Sübidey Togan, *Economic Aspects of the Accession of Turkey to the European Union*, Intereconomics, Hamburg: Nov/Dec 2004. Vol. 39, Iss. 6; pg. 300

Reference List

Composite Paper: Reports on Progress Towards Accession by Each of the Candidate Countries, 13.10.1999

European Commission (2004) “Regular Report on Turkey’s progress towards accession” 6th October SEC (2004) 1201

European Commission Report: Issues Arising From Turkey’s Membership Perspective, Brussels 2004

Hughes, Kirsty, “The Political Dynamics of Turkish Accession to the EU: European Success Story or the Most Contested Enlargement?”, 2004: 9, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies

Öğütçü, Mehmet, “Turkey’s place in the new architecture of Europe: An Updated Assessment”, Turkey Economics Papers Archive, October 1992

Presidency Conclusions – Brussels, 16/17 December 2004

Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey’s Progress towards Accession: Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, 6.10.2004, COM (2004) 656 final

Sübüdey Togan, Economic Aspects of the Accession of Turkey to the European Union, Intereconomics, Hamburg: Nov/Dec 2004. Vol. 39, Iss. 6

The Likely Effects of Turkey’s Membership Upon The EU, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, December 2004

Web Sites

http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/83201.pdf

<http://www.econturk.org/Turkisheconomy/ogutcu8.pdf>

http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_2004/pdf/issues_paper_en.pdf

http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_10_99/pdf/en/composite_en.pdf