

**T. C.**

**BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY**

**ADVANTAGES**

**AND**

**DISADVANTAGES OF**

**EU MEMBERSHIP FOR TURKEY**

**M.A Thesis**

**FETHI GURUR TULGAR**

**ISTANBUL, 2009**



**T. C.**

**BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
EUROPEAN UNION STUDIES**

**ADVANTAGES  
AND  
DISADVANTAGES OF  
EU MEMBERSHIP FOR TURKEY**

**M.A Thesis**

**FETHI GURUR TULGAR**

**Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. ESER KARAKAŞ**

**ISTANBUL, 2009**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP FOR TURKEY**

Tulgar Fethi Gurur

European Union Relations

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Eser Karakaş

May, 2009, 64 Pages

The main goal of Turkish Republic is to reach the modern civilizations level. Turkish Republic continually aims to improve and reach the modern civilizations level as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk mentioned. The modern civilizations are the nations that Turkey fought for the independence.

Is the membership to the EU the way to reach the modern civilization level as Atatürk said?

The benefits and the possible disadvantages of EU membership for Turkey are mentioned in this study.

In the first chapter the historical background of Turkish and European nations is mentioned. Then the improvement of the dialog and relations between the Turkish Republic and the EC is explained. The relations and the conflicts between Turkey and the European Union till the present time are mentioned in chronological order.

The advantages of the EU membership is tried to be explained in the second chapter. The possible changes in effectiveness of Turkey in the international area, defence and security, home and justice affairs and understanding of democracy in Turkey are explained the political dimension. The economic advantages of the membership are explained right after the political dimension. Furthermore, the possible social and cultural changes with the membership is also tried to be mentioned.

In the third chapter the difficulties that the membership can cause is explained. Is the EU the modern civilization that Atatürk said? Is the EU necessary to reach the modern civilizations level? In addition to that the possible cultural conflicts and the problem of the loss of sovereignty are tried to be explained. Finally in terms of these advantages and disadvantages the membership is discussed. Is the membership beneficial or not for Turkey?

**Key Words:** European Union, Economic Development, Democratic Reforms, Loss of Sovereignty

## ÖZET

### ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP FOR TURKEY

Tulgar Fethi Gurur

Avrupa Birliđi İlişkileri

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Eser Karakaş

Mayıs, 2009, 64 Sayfa

Muasır medeniyetler seviyesine ulaşmak her zaman Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yegane amacı olmuştur. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün de belirttiđi gibi Türkiye Cumhuriyeti daima gelişme ilerleme ve kendinden daha gelişmiş milletlerin seviyesine ulaşmayı hedeflemektedir. Gelişmiş milletler bağımsızlığımızı kazanmak için savaştığımız batılı devletlerdir. Bu devletler günümüzde Avrupa Birliđi çatısı altında yer almaktadırlar. Türkiye'nin ulaşmayı hedeflediđi muasır medeniyet seviyesi Avrupa Birliđi midir? Bu çalışmada Avrupa Birliđi üyeliđinin Türkiye'ye olan faydalarından ve bununla beraber neden olabileceđi kimi zararlardan bahsedilmiştir.

Birinci bölümde Türkler ile Avrupa medeniyetleri arasındaki tarihsel bağdan, ilişkiden bahsedilmiş ve daha sonra Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ve ile etapta Avrupa Topluluđu'nun daha sonra Avrupa Birliđi'nin kurulması ile beraber gelişen diyalog ve ilişkiler incelenmiştir. Günümüze kadar Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliđi ilişkilerinde geline seviye, inişler-çıkışlar kronolojik bir şekilde anlatılmıştır.

İkinci bölümde Avrupa Birliđi'ne üyeliđin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne katicakları anlatılmıştır. Üyeliđin getireceđi yenilikler siyasi, ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal boyutlar altında açıklanmıştır. Avrupa Birliđi üyeliđi ile beraber Türkiye'nin uluslararası alandaki etkinliđindeki muhtemel deđişim, güvenlik, ülke iç işlerinde olabilecek reformlar ve demokrasi alanındaki deđişimler siyasi boyut altında tartışılmıştır. Üyeliđin ekonomik olarak Türkiye'ye katacakları, üyeliđin ekonomik boyutu, siyasi konuları takiben açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Buna ek olarak üyelikle yaşanabilecek muhtemel sosyal ve kültürel deđişimlerde ele alınmıştır.

Üçüncü bölümde Avrupa Birliđi üyeliđi'nin neden olabileceđi bir takım olumsuzluklardan bahsedilmiştir. Avrupa Birliđi üyeliđinin gerçekten Atatürk'ün belirttiđi muasır medeniyetler olup olmadığı sorusu sorulmuştur. Muasır medeniyetler seviyesine ulaşmak Avrupa Birliđi üyeliđinden mi geçmektedir sorusu incelenmiştir. Üyelik ile ortaya çıkabilecek muhtemel sorunlardan bahsedilmiştir. Avrupa kültürü ile yaşanabilecek kültürel çatışmanın yanısıra egemenlik ve bağımsızlığın devri konuları incelenmiştir.

Son olarak bütün bu bilgilerin ışığı altında Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliđi üyeliđinin yararının mı yoksa zararının mı fazla olduđu konusu tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Avrupa Birliđi, Ekonomik Gelişim, Demokratik Reformlar, Egemenliđin Devri

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>VI</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EU TURKEY RELATIONS.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>3. ADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP OF TURKEY .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>3.1. POLITICAL DIMENSIONS.....</b>	<b>16</b>
3.1.1. Effectiveness of Turkey in the International Area.....	16
3.1.2. Role of Turkey in Middle East as a Model State.....	18
3.1.3. Defence and Security.....	20
3.1.4. Effect of EU to Turkish Justice and Home Affairs .....	21
3.1.5. Democracy.....	22
<b>3.2. ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS .....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>3.3. SOCIAL DIMENSIONS.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.4. CULTURAL DIMENSION.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>4. DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP FOR TURKEY.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>4.1. IS EUROPEAN UNION THE MODERN PATH THAT ATATURK SHOWED?46</b>	
4.1.1. Roots of European Culture.....	48
<b>4.2. INDEPENDENCE AND SOVERIGNTY .....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>5. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>58</b>

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Agence France Presse	: AFP
Conformité Européenne (European Conformity)	: CE
Economic and Monetary Union	: EMU
European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund	: EAGGF
European Coal and Steel Community	: ECSC
European Community	: EC
European Community Council	: ECC
European Economic Community	: EEC
European Foundation for Quality Management	: EFQM
European Regional Development Fund	: ERDF
European Social Fund	: ESF
European Union	: EU
Foreign Direct Investment	: FDI
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	: FYROM
Gross Domestic Product	: GDP
Gross National Income	: GNI
International Monetary Fund	: IMF
Motherland Party	: ANAP
National Welfare Party	: MSP
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	: NATO
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development	: OECD

Organization Security and Cooperation in Europe	: OSCE
Republican People's Party	: CHP
Small and Medium Enterprises	: SME
The European Free Trade Association	: EFTA
United Kingdom	: UK
United Nations	: UN
United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization	: UNESCO
United States of America	: USA
Western European Union	: WEU
World Trade Organization	: WTO



## 1. INTRODUCTION

“Our great ideal is to raise our nation to highest standards of civilization and prosperity.”

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

When Atatürk said this, he was trying to establish the reforms to the state. There were big changes both in the state and lives of the people. The baby, The Republic of Turkey, was tried to be kept away from the old style of eastern treatment and it was tried to be treated in a modern, western way. The main goal of the state was set by the founder of the state. The main aim of Turkey was reaching the level of modern civilizations. The modern civilizations were the states which Turkey fought for her independence. Although, Atatürk fought with these states, he did not ignore their level of modernization. At the end of the war Atatürk showed to his people that they have to work hard to modernize their country and carry it to modern civilizations level, to European states level.

The relations between Turkish people and the European civilization have a deep and long history. The relations go back till the Seljuk Empire times then it continues with the Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire recognized as a European state with the Declaration of Paris in 1856 (Eldem 2005).

Afterwards, the relations changed their dimension with the foundation of Turkish Republic. As Atatürk said, the modern developments wanted to be adapted to the state without changing the Turkish traditions and culture. The main way to reach the modern civilizations level was taking and internalizing the developments in the west with protecting the Turkish culture and essence for Atatürk. The relations were a little bit distanced till late 1950's.

1959 was a very important date for Turkey. The Turkish government applied to European Community to be an associate member. The second important date is 1963. The Turkish government signed the Ankara Agreement with the EEC. It was the first financial protocol between the community and Turkey (Euractive 2004).

Forty nine years passed from the application of Turkey to the Community. Lots of things have changed both in the EEC and Turkey in this half century. Now Turkey is a candidate country. But still it is mentioned that Turkey and the EU need like fifteen more years for the membership of Turkey. The long process and the accession of Turkey is a totally different question. The question that I tried to answer in this here is; shall Turkey be a member of the EU. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the EU membership for Turkey? Is it going to be good for Turkey or is it a thing that will make Turkey loose her values? Is EU membership the way to reach the modern civilizations level as Atatürk said?

In the first chapter it is mentioned about the brief history of EU-Turkey relations. The important turning points and the style of negotiations mentioned in this chapter. As I said above the relations are continuing for almost fifty years and there are many important issues which affected the EU and Turkey talks and EU membership of Turkey. Turkey could be a member state now, and also Turkey could be still a non candidate state. In this fifty year the world had changed. The powers, ideologies, states and geographies which are navigating the world politics had changed (Huntington 1996). The content of EU-Turkey relations changed too in this extends. The background of EU-Turkey talks and conflicts and agreements tried to be enlightened in first chapter. With knowing the history and main changes till this time, we can easily understand the present time and have predictions for the future.

In the second chapter of my work I tried to mention about the advantages of the European Union. First of all I talked about the political dimensions. It is obvious that the EU is one of the biggest economic and political powers in the world. It is a union that acting globally. Being an important and big part of this globally acting union is going to bring lots of gains to Turkey. In this extend, it is mentioned about the effectiveness of Turkey in the international area as an EU member. Furthermore, the effectiveness of Turkey in the neighbouring regions like Middle East and Balkans

is mentioned in this dimension too. Defence and Security is another very important part in politics of both the EU and Turkey. The possible benefits of Turkey in this area with the full membership are mentioned. Moreover, the huge changes on justice and home affairs are going to occur with the membership and these changes are going to bring some advantages to Turkey. Turkey is reforming her justice system and preparing her self to the membership. In addition to that, democracy is one of the most important issues in this membership process. This is explained by Churchill (2008), “Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried.” So, Turkish understanding and execution of democracy is changing with the EU. Turkey is understanding and internalizing democracy much better with the EU and the reforms.

Secondly, the economic dimension of the EU membership explicated. The possible affects of EU membership on issues like, the foreign investments, competitiveness, economic effectiveness in international area, sustainable development, transparency, research and development, agriculture, the understanding of quality and environment tried to be explained.

Thirdly, the social affects of EU membership was considered in this chapter. The standards of social security is very high comparing to Turkey and the social security system in Turkey is going to advance with the membership. Consequently, this is going to effect the living standards of people directly. In addition to that, the education system is going to improve and the opportunities to have education in Europe are going to increase. The EU effects on administrative and judicial structure, regional policies and government mentioned too.

Finally, the cultural interaction considered in second chapter. The possible changes in Turkey about the environment policies and standards, participation to democracy and cultural, political, social understanding explained. The consequences of harmonization of Turkish and European cultures tried to be mentioned as well.

In the last chapter, the possible disadvantages tried to be explained. Actually, every member state of the EU prepared a sectoral analysis about the effects of the EU. Some of the sectors are going to develop and benefit a lot from the membership but some sectors are going to be effected oppositely from the membership. Because of this the states made the analysis to understand the effects of the membership for their states. They designated the advantages and disadvantages of the membership

and then they decided to be a member. Unfortunately Turkey has not prepared such analysis yet. So, I was not able to focus on concrete issues. I was not able to say that the industry sector or agriculture sector is going to be effected badly from the membership. As a matter of fact, there are many debates going on in Turkey about the EU membership. Some of the elites are against the EU membership. They also can not and do not mention about the concrete disadvantages and losses which may occur with the membership. The elites who are against the membership support the ideas that EU membership is not the way that Atatürk tried to show to reach and go beyond the modern civilizations level. It is supported that the EU membership is removing the Kemalist ideas from the structure of Turkey.

Besides that, it is also supported the EU membership is meaning to lose the sovereignty that Atatürk gave to the nation. For some Turkish elites being a EU member means to lose the independence and sovereignty that Atatürk and the Turkish nations achieved to keep against the western states.

These issues are mostly discussed in Turkey about the EU membership. Some elites are seeing the EU as a secret enemy of Turkey which is trying to divide Turkey and weaken it.

It is really hard to gather ideas from the pool which is full of conspiracy theories and ideas which are not supported academically.

When the EU and member states are analyzed, it is very easy to see the economic, social, cultural and political developments. Turkey is a candidate country right now and EU is effecting Turkey in every dimension with the accession process and applying the *acquis*. The advantages and disadvantages are going to be explained in following parts and it is going to be easy to see if EU is the way to reach the modern civilizations level or not

## 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EU TURKEY RELATIONS

Every country has milestones in their history. For example, if we look at Turkey, some of these milestones are declaration of the republic, initiation of Atatürk's reforms, the adoption of new values, the transition of the multi party political system and the beginning of market economy. Turkey's EU membership will be a turning point in Turkey's historical evolution. It is mentioned by Demirel (2002, p.3), *When Turkey's sophisticated political, economic, social and global dimensions are considered, Turkish membership to EU clearly has unprecedented potential to Turkey's destiny.*

The endeavour of Turkey's EU membership is not a recent problem. Turkey equates the values of civilization in being a part of Europe. The EU issue, for Turkey, is not only an issue of accession; it is an issue of concept, it is an issue of assertion.

The values which Turkey adopted by Europe are universal. These values are not in monopoly of a geographical unit or a nation. The values adopted by Europe do not belong only to the European people or the European continent. Therefore, Turkey's desire to be a member of the EU stems from this notion. Turkey is making great efforts to attain the level of Europe. This is an assertion of the republic in its 85<sup>th</sup> year. This is exemplified by Özel (2004, p.1), *It is important to understand Turkey's relations with the EU in the context of Turkey's quest for modernization along western lines. Without the passionate attachment to that goal, those powerful enough to block the process would have succeeded in their task*

The great Atatürk aspired to create a modern, civilized and prosperous country when founding the Republic. He found these ideas in Europe, not in anywhere else. As a matter of fact, after fighting the entire western world and defeating it, he did not say *,I am angry with Europe*, but immediately extended his hand to Europe. As Özel (2004, p.1) mentioned:

*The republican reforms undertaken by Kemal Atatürk, Turkey's founding President and his colleagues aimed at creating a modern, secular state. The fundamental ambition of the new republic was the attainment of a level of "contemporary civilization," a formulation for European civilization. Therefore, the revolutionary regime in Ankara pursued the country's integration into the European political order since its inception.*

The strong nationalist movements that emerged in Europe during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century triggered the dissolution process of Ottoman Empire. However, the same nationalist movement also made Turkish national awareness to fade in. Ottoman Empire dissolved as a result of the nationalist ideas but, the Republic of Turkey founded with the ideas based on the same nationalism. The main aim on liberation was establishing an independent nation state and at the same time, making this state concurrent to the European model with the reforms. The main ideas, principles again based on the European model even though the war against Europe. Freedom, nationalism, constitutionalism, secularism, humanism, democratization and industrialization tried to be adopted in principle to be a modern state.

The nation and the state system that formed the fundamental basis of the Republic of Turkey led her into a process of organic harmonization with the west. Turkey has become a member of European-centred western institutions such as the Council of Europe, NATO, and OECD. Moreover, Turkey was among the founding members of two of these institutions. Turkey adhered to the Council of Europe in 1949, became a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952 and an associate member of the Western European Union (WEU) in 1992 (Littoz-Monet 2004, p.2).

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk fought with capitalist world and he aimed to reach Europe without harming the idea of the battle that he had made. All other Turkish governments followed the path that Atatürk made and the Menderes Government applied to the European Community Council, the most important economic institution of Europe, in 1959 July 31 regarding the 238<sup>th</sup> article of the Rome Treaty to be an associate member just nineteen months after the ratification of Rome Treaty and at thirty sixth year of Turkish Republic (Hellenic Resources Network 2007).

Full membership or joining to the EU is to be discussed for developed countries. The country which wants the membership has to have a developed economy which can deal with results of the full membership. A country which becomes a member of the EC encounters with big good supply of other members. To take advantage of the common market the new member has to have the capacity

to supply goods to the market like the other members. As a result, to be a member of this union the state has to complete some levels of industrialization. The Ankara Agreements signed with the EC in 1963 and in this agreement the membership discussed for far future. The 28<sup>th</sup> article of Ankara Agreement says that as soon as the operation of this Agreement has advanced far enough to justify envisaging full acceptance by Turkey of the obligations arising out of the Treaty establishing the Community, the Contracting Parties shall examine the possibility of the accession of Turkey to the Community (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2007).

The Rome Treaty which started the European Economic Community gives every European country the opportunity to be a member with article 237/1 (European Union 2007). The political union which is going to be build with European Community is very important on this membership request. The candidateship is the first step of the membership for the weaker economies comparing with other European countries like Greece and Turkey. These economies can not carry the burden of the membership so these economies need to be stronger before the membership.

Turkey is the second country who wanted to be a member of European Economic Community after Greece. It is obvious that Turkey application of Greece is an important factor on Turkey's application. The foreign minister of that time, Fatih Rüştü Zorlu, said that If Greece jumps to an empty pool, we are going to jump without any hesitation. They are sinister; we can not leave them alone (Archive of newspaper articles 2007). Main view of that time was, Turkey has to take her place in Western communities and she should not leave Greece alone.

As a matter of fact, the foreign minister, Fatih Rüştü Zorlu, made a diplomatic move to accelerate the process. He met with six ambassadors of member states and said: How can you compare with Greece and Turkey? Is the potential of a small country equal to Turkey (Archive of newspaper articles 2007)? This effort was successful and the EEC started to balance their relations between Athens and Ankara.

Greece started to negotiations in first of May 1960 and in April 21 it is decided that both countries applications are going to be considered parallel. First obstacle to Turkish negotiations was the coup d'état (Dictionary 2008) in May 27 1960. The relations were stopped because of the break away from democratic regime.

In the first negotiation part, in 1959, the customs cooperation was discussed. Furthermore, the possible membership planned to be in 12-24 years, the representation of EEC institutions discussed, the support for 200 million dollars decided to be given and the conclusive aim is declared as the full membership to the public.

In the second part, in 1961, there was only one meeting. Turkey insisted on partnership for customs but the community wanted the economic cooperation on the forefront. But after the death penalties of some ministers and prime minister the negotiations stopped.

In the third part, in 1962-63, first the veto of De Gaulle removed for the start of the negotiations. In the EU-Turkey negotiations history İnönü was one of the most determined and fast deciding leader of Ankara. For example he said: I am worried that we may have some problems. But there is no harm going near to Europe. Still, we may cancel this treaty if the burden becomes too heavy (Archive of newspaper articles 2007).

Turkey encountered with some economic difficulties because of some external factors in second half of 1970's. These difficulties affected the relations between Turkey and the community. The community expanded in 1973 and the concessions given to the community has increased. The free trade zone which is created by the agreement between EFTA (The European Free Trade Association 2007) and the community gave harm to Turkish economy. The foreign trade deficit increased between Turkey and the community.

In Association Council meetings some of the problems solved temporarily but Turkey could not get anything about the decrease on tariffs. Turkey stopped her amenities one sided regarding to Additional Protocol in 1976. That means that Turkey is not going to do tariff reductions for 1977 and 1978.



Meanwhile, there was no political stability in Turkey. The government fell down with an enquiry and the president gave the duty to institute a government to the leader of CHP (Republican People's Party). Bülent Ecevit, the leader of CHP, instituted the new government in 1978.

In 1979, exportation of café, game cards, instruments and posters is banned. The community decided to double the loans to Turkey because of the bad economic situation. After wards, Bülent Ecevit, the prime minister resigned because of the economic and political situation. The new government instituted after that in 1979.

Greece went through democratic regime after the fall of military government because of Cyprus Peace Operation. The technical negotiation started with Greece in 1976 and Greece signed the accession treaty in 1979 in Athens. At this time Turkey made a major mistake by missing the Europe train. Emile Noel politician who born in Istanbul and who worked for the community for years said that: Turkey should have put her full membership demand like he did for the association agreement when Greece made a demand for the membership. Ecevit did not do that, he was in a coalition with Erbakan. Erbakan was always against Turkish accession to the community. Erbakan stopped Ecevit after Ecevit stopping himself to ask for full membership. The Islamic powers managed to stop Turkey's Europe move in late 1970's. Europe had to be careful about the balance between Turkey and Greece, that Europe did till Greece's membership. Obviously Turkey would be in a better situation. Now, after 1981, Greece is present in all institutions of the community. Turkey is out of these institutions. The only thing which bonds Turkey to Europe is the Association Agreement which deadlocked for twenty years. If Turkey made a demand for the membership with Greece, we would have considered the Turkish factor in all negotiations with Greece. However, Turkey did the opposite and declared that they do not want the membership. As a result, the agreement which we made with Greece did not take the concerns of Turkey which Turkey has not mentioned, in to consideration (Cerrahoğlu 1995).

At the end of 1979 the government changed again and the new government gave big importance on negotiations with the community. Turkey had policy of integrating to international economy with 1980 decisions and this removed some obstacles lying between the community and Turkey. After four years in the Association Council meeting in 1980 first time Turkish membership has been

mentioned. The foreign minister of the time stated that Turkey is going to apply for the membership in a year. The purpose was to avoid Greek veto. In the next Association Council meeting the community made some concessions about the agriculture and exportation of agricultural products.

The Islamist party in the parliament, MSP (National Welfare Party), interpellated the foreign minister to stop the process of improving relations with the community. This interpellation had been accepted and the prime minister had to ask for resignation of the foreign minister. Also he had to make a statement that Turkey is not being a member of the community for now. Finally, in September 12 1980 the army arrested the administration and annihilated the parliament. The relations had a new phase after this coup d'état. The second military intervention twenty years after the first one and seventeen years after signing the Ankara Agreement made the relations stop for six years with the community. The Community decided to freeze its relations with Turkey and block the signing of the fourth Financial Protocol. The collapse of the democratic regime meant that there was no further chance for Turkey to be accepted as a candidate for full-membership status in the foreseeable future (Littoz-Monet 2004, p.2). After these events in Turkey, The Community Council made a gentle declaration that the relations are not going to be stopped and they are going to give time to Turkey. However, the Parliament made a hard declaration that Turkey has to give a timeline for the return to democratic regime. In spite of this hard declaration, the parliament rejected to stop the relations between Turkey and the community.

As a result of the pressure on Turkey, the timeline for returning to democracy announced. But with the effect of people who are against Turkey in the community, the relations are stopped till the reestablishment of human rights and democratic freedoms.

There were election in Turkey in 1983 and the new government has instituted with a majority. This new government of ANAP (Motherland Party) endeavoured a lot to arouse the relations with the community, liberalized the economy and tried to structure the market economy. Furthermore, in 1985 the Prime Minister Turgut Özal stated that Turkey is going to ask for full membership when the conditions are good enough. 1986 the relations have started again. In the same year ministry founded responsible from the relations with the community and the prime minister announced that Turkey is going to apply for the membership in 1987.

The European Community Commission replied for the announcement of Turkey in 1989. The community said that they can not take a new member before the internal market establishment (1992), and Turkey has to develop on economy, social and political areas. The Commission rejected Turkey's application in 1989, on the basis of its economic instability and its human rights record. However, the Commission explicitly authorized Turkey's eligibility for membership (Littoz-Monet 2004, p.2).

The Technical Cooperation Program was signed in 1992. In this time there was a common thought in Europe. The cooperation with Turkey wanted to be increase and the relations wanted to be improved. The council mentioned about Turkey's importance as a regional power and improving relations with Turkey would be beneficial for Europe.

Turkey applied to the commission and gave a cooperation list to the community to improve the relations on the areas that not need political decisions. As a result, a working programme signed between Turkey and the community which is setting the topics of preferential cooperation. With this, the new process has begun on relations.

In this extend, the issues about possible Customs Union membership had been discussed in technical level by the commission. In these discussions the Orientation Comity which will have Turkish and Community authorities established to watch the process and set the methods of Customs Union membership. In this comity the economic aspect of EU-Turkey relations, coherence to trade policies, the Customs Union affect on agriculture, the free movement of manual labour, the freedom of settlement and receiving service right, competition law, the state supports, the cooperation in customs, the technical standards and institutional cooperation discussed apart from the Customs Union (Karluk 2007 p.375).

The union could not make a decision for a time on Customs Union because of the Greek veto. From time to time, in the summits, the union was stating that the Customs Union needs to be completed and started to apply and the relations with Turkey should continue like this improving manner.

There was another crisis in 1994 in Turkey-EU relations. The European Parliament decided to freeze the operations of Joint Parliamentary Committee. So, the relations were again in a crisis while Turkey was on path to Customs Union. In this decision first time all parliamentarians united against Turkey. The ban of Democratic Party and violations on human rights caused to this crisis between EU and Turkey.

The European Parliament suggested a high levelled special relation to Turkey with removing Turkey from the enlargement list in Luxemburg Summit. It is stated that the relations with Turkey are different from the relations with Eastern European States. However, Turkey's big importance for European Union and need for special treatment also stated.

Turkey's role and affect on decision making process of European Institutions after her membership is a big fear for the Europeans and this fear causes to some problems from time to time. If Turkey becomes a member with the population of 70,586,256 (Turkish Statistical Institute 2007), she will be able to make major changes in European Unions institutional structure. Turkey will be most represented state with UK, France and Italy after Germany. This situation causes to some problems in EU members and Commission. Turkey will be able to make alliances in the Commission and make pressure to have decisions in favour of her. As Littoz-Monet (2004, p.3) mentioned:

*Further progress was achieved in 1995, when the Association Council adopted the agreement creating the EC-Turkey Customs Union, which entered into force in 1996. The EC-Turkey Customs Union was the EC's first substantial functioning customs union with a third state. A consultation body, the Customs Union Joint Committee, was set. The launch of the Customs Union, which allowed Turkey preferential access to the single market, was an important step in Turkey's progress towards becoming a more competitive economy.*

Turkey became a full member of the Customs Union in 1 January 1996 and almost 60 per cent of Turkey's trade is now with European states. There are criticisms that Turkey has experienced losses from its participation. People criticised this membership that Turkey gave her trump, her bargaining tool to Europe. They asked that, why should the European states take Turkey to the union after Turkish membership to the Customs Union. The European Union members got what they needed; they are able to sell their goods in Turkey without high tariffs with Turkish membership to the Customs Union.

Then, in December 1999, Turkey became a candidate state for the EU membership at the Helsinki summit. Turkey was accepted in principle as a candidate State for membership, whose application was to be assessed on the basis of the same criteria as other candidate States. These criteria are the Copenhagen criteria set at the Copenhagen European Council in June 1993 (Littoz-Monet 2004, p.3). Copenhagen (European Council 1993, p.14) criteria are:

*Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.*

Turkish existence in the candidate countries list after the Helsinki Summit increased the business of the relations between the European institutions and Turkish governmental institutions. On the other hand, all governmental institutions in Turkey increased the speed of their works. This type of changes on Turkey right after the declaration of the candidateship is called the Helsinki moment. Knaus (2005 p.52) stated that:

*The Helsinki moment is reached only when a state is offered a place at the European table and an opportunity to become a full member of the EU family. Only such an offer can activate real domestic engagement in the state-building process and a sincere outside commitment to helping the country catch up politically, socially, and economically.*

The Council of the EU adopted the EU-Turkey Accession Partnership in March 2001. The Accession Partnership was to assist Turkey to meet the accession criteria, especially meet with political criteria and end the problems about human rights. The Accession Partnership focused on the priorities that had to be in light of the Copenhagen criteria and the *acquis communautaire*.

Again in March 2001 Turkey adopted the National Program of Turkey for adoption of EU laws. In December 2002 the Copenhagen European Council concluded that if the European Council in December 2004, on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission, that Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria, the EU would open accession negotiations with Turkey without delay (European Council 2002). At the same time, extending and deepening the cooperation in the framework of the Customs Union stated by the EU. Furthermore, it is also decided to increase the financial support to Turkey for the pre-accession process. In October 2004, the Commission presented the 2004 regular report on Turkey's progress towards accession and recommended the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey in this report (Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Customs 2007).

Turkey's membership in the union will be an important step forward in the process of European unification and integration. The EU will see a reaffirmation of its values in this process. Turkey's membership will test the comprehension of the union in the basis of the principles of an established democracy with the rule of law and respect for human rights, sustained by a functioning market economy. This will convey a strong message on the validity of European values of tolerance and respect for cultural diversity. Turkey's full membership in the EU may have wider geo-strategic implications, in particular with respect to globalization. The EU with Turkey as a full member will certainly have a different outlook and a global reach. Turkey has acted together with Europe as a member of NATO in defending the European values during the long years of cold war. At that time, Turkey was recognized as a "frontier" in its defence of European values.

Now, when we look twenty five years ahead, Europe can not ignore a significant phenomenon. This is the role to be played by Eurasia. Eurasia is a new political formation that emerged after the dissolution of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, stretching from the Adriatic Sea to the Great Wall of China. Turkey is located at the centre of this new geography. Turkey is not a patron of this new geography, but just located in the middle of it, both geographical terms and in terms of influence.

Turkey will serve as a bridge in carrying European values through Turkey and Caucasian to the Altai Mountains. The OSCE (Organization Security and Cooperation in Europe) has 54 member states. Kyrgyzstan is a member of this organization, Uzbekistan is a member of this organization and Kazakhstan is a member of this organization. All these countries will be defending European values in the future. That is why; these values are not monopoly of the European people and a given geography. Turkey will provide a great service in defending European values in the Middle East.

In spite of the difficulties till now, the relations between the EU and Turkey gained speed after the Helsinki Summit. Both sides are happy from this situation because Turkish accession to the EU will bring economic and political advantages to both sides. Both Turkey and the EU are faced with similar global challenges, the solutions to which can be better found by working together (Domanic 2006, p.2).

### **3. ADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP OF TURKEY**

European Union is one of the biggest economic and political powers of the world. EU is a globally acting power. It has now twenty seven members and it is still enlarging. Taking this information to account we can easily say that the EU is an opportunity for the states. The member states and the neighbouring states are getting lots of benefits from the union. It has lots of advantages for Turkey too, that I tried to mention in here.

#### **3.1. Political Dimensions**

The political dimensions of the advantages of EU membership for Turkey can be listed in such topics: the effectiveness of Turkey in the international area, defence and security, justice and home affairs of Turkey and democracy.

##### **3.1.1. Effectiveness of Turkey in the International Area**

By ratifying the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the EU had considerable improvements on the aspect of political integration. Three pillars, European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy and Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters, established by the Maastricht Treaty and their influence expanded by the time, till today. The position of High Representative created for the coordination of foreign relations and there had been progress for the creation of European Army.

The crisis in Bosnia showed Europe that the Common Foreign and Security Policy are not that successful yet. Therefore, the EU tried to increase its influence in FYROM and Kosovo, in addition to that tried to play a role in the promotion of peace in Middle East. For some, the EU is an economical giant but political dwarf. Hence, the EU endeavours to empower its political position and increase its ability to act independently from USA. By completing the establishment of monetary and economic union, strengthening the defence and security policies and finalization of structuring institutions will create the strongest economic power



in the world with half billion inhabitants and increase its effectiveness in international area. Nas (2003, p.3) explained this:

*Turkey is a country that has assigned almost all of its armed forces to NATO. Moreover it actively participated in NATO air operations in Kosovo and the international force in Afghanistan. Turkey gives importance to peace and stability in its region and the wider world and values international cooperation in this regard.*

In this situation, with the full membership, Turkey's both regional and international effectiveness are going to increase. Therefore, this increase of effectiveness in both areas is a good advantage for a state and its policies. As a result of full membership, Turkey will join to decision making process of the EU but considering the geopolitical status she will play a active role in this decision making process. Hence, Turkey will be able to create solutions to global conflicts in EU platform. In addition to that, the economic growth which is going to be supported by the union will be an advantage on effectiveness in international area for Turkey.

First of all, Turkey as a member of the EU will generate more policies concerning the Middle East. These will include policies revolving around political, economical and social problems. Turkey has a strategic position in the area and will be able to implement policies for stability of the Middle East region and introduce peaceful solutions to the conflicts in the region. Turkey has historically, cultural, political, social and economical bonds within the region. Thus, Turkey will play an active role on improving and deepening the relationship between the countries of the Middle East and the EU. "Turkey's EU membership will not only affect the Turkic World (Turkey, Northern Cyprus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan) but also the whole Muslim world. The Arab countries in particular strongly support to Turkey's EU membership expecting the membership will make contribution to regional stability and integrity. Syria and Jordan for instance perceive Turkey as the representative of the region in Europe. Syrian Prime Minister Naji Otri once said that Turkey is representative of Arab and Muslim world (Hakim 2005):

*We observed this decision (Turkey-EU Talks decision) with great happiness. We are not only happy about this decision but we also support it... Turkey is getting closer to the EU and it will make us stronger also. The EU process is not only good for Turkey, but also for the Arab world. We hope the full membership happens in 3-5 years. We believe Turkey will do so. Of course Turkey will prove the counter argument of the civilization clash scenario. Turkey's entrance to the EU as a Muslim country will serve to tell the problems of Islam world to the West. We see Turkey as representative of the Arab and Islamic world in the EU, and this gives authorization to it.*

Turkey's influence will be increase in the Balkan region too. EU member Turkey will be able to act on conflicts more efficiently and create solutions by using the strong relations with Balkan states. That means she will be a leader in the region for handling the conflicts.

By the membership, there will be new dimension in our relations with Middle Asia and Russia. Turkey will be able to protect her profits more effectively in energy issue as well as the political and economical issues. With the economic gains as a result of the membership, the economic relations with the Middle Asia will improve and the Turkish investments in the area will increase. This will boost the political and economic effectiveness of Turkey in the Middle Asia.

To add, by being inside of an union which is targeting the political effectiveness, is going to support Turkey's policies about disarmament, contestation with crime and drugs, environment and global commerce.

### **3.1.2. Role of Turkey in Middle East as a Model State**

Turkey is founder member of Council of Europe, a NATO member and acting in Europe Security System for more than 50 years so with the full membership she will be even more European. Full membership is going to bring institutional and judicial reforms and strengthen the state's democracy, economic stability and maintenance of sustainable development. In this situation, Turkey is going to be the only democratic, secular, Muslim state with properly working market economy. This is going to prove that there is no contradiction between Islam and modernity. In this position Turkey is going to encourage Middle Eastern country's democratization movements. Moreover, she is going to be model

in economic and social spheres too. In hence, liberalization and opening to foreign investments are going to speed up, corruptions are going to reduce and there are going to be positive and effective changes beginning from gender equality till community reforms in Middle East.

Fares Braizat (The Deputy Director and a researcher at the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan - Amman ) told the AFP (Agence France Presse, global news agency) that Turkey's full membership to the EU will be an encouragement for the region (Hakim 2005):

*Turkey's negotiations with the European Union are a sign of encouragement... For the Arabs it means that Turkey could play a significant role within the European Union regarding the EU policies towards the Arab and Muslim regions. Turkey is seen by Muslim countries as a role model that has successfully balanced tradition and modernization. The Arabs look up to Turkey as a model for bringing modernization and democracy... This could inspire Arab countries that if you introduce democratic reforms, it would mean you have the advantage of being considered for a better partnership with the European Union.*

With Turkey being a model for the Middle Eastern states, her relations with these states are going to improve and she is will be able to be more effective in solving the conflicts of the region. The European Union supports the attempts to solve the problems and to develop the regions; for example Greece in Balkans, Spain in Mediterranean had the support of the EU for solving problems and developing the regions. Turkey is going to act in Middle East with the support of the EU, like Greece and Spain did in their neighbourhoods. As a result of the full membership, there will not be any problem between Turkey and Greece and the relations will advance, so this is going to be an example for Middle Eastern countries on solving the conflicts and problems. All these progresses are going to increase Turkey's effectiveness in the region.

EU member Turkey will expand her influence in Middle Asia too. The Turk Republics in Middle Asia are going to take Turkey as an example on having a transparent, operative and modern government system and they are going to develop their economical relations with the EU through Turkey.

All these developments are going to expand Turkey's influence in the regions that I mentioned before.

### **3.1.3. Defence and Security**

As we all know after the II. World War in the Cold War, NATO was the most important institution for defense and security. NATO was supported mostly with the American military and technology. It was an important opening to international area for Turkey to be a member of NATO in 1952. By this membership her militarily security supplied in the name of "hard security". But for us this was not enough, and Turkey wanted to be part of the economically, socially, politically and culturally developed west. As a result, in 1963 Ankara Agreement signed with ECC and first steps are taken in "soft security" area for Turkey to supply her own security.

In scope of "hard security" the EU tries to establish a common defense and security policies and concerning to that, more operational Rapid Reaction Force is being formulated. But this Rapid Reaction Force causes some problems because this force has the right to operate in the country which has located very strategically but a non EU member. This situation causes problems for both sides. Turkey had some gains by the membership of NATO and WEU (Western European Union, WEU's role and operational capabilities have developed considerably since 1991. This development is based on close cooperation with the European Union and NATO. Today, WEU has the necessary instruments to undertake any European-led crisis management operations and is working to develop them further as preparation for the establishment within the European Union of a crisis management capability in accordance with the decisions taken at the Cologne European Council in June 1999. WEU also provides for its 28 nations a genuine framework for dialogue and cooperation on security and defense matters) but it is stated in Köln Summit that Turkey's gains are not really considered. The problems about this issue seem solved for now but all problems will be finalized by the full membership of Turkey.

Turkey is going to be a “wing country” of the union and will solve the problems with Greece in Aegean Sea. Thus, Turkey’s western border will not be a potential threat anymore. Turkey is going to get the EU support and will strengthen her political position in the east and in the south so Turkey will have major progress in relations with neighbour countries. As a result, NATO member Turkey will be in a stronger position in international area as an EU member.

In addition to that, with the full membership status Turkey’s border control with Greece and Bulgaria will lose its priority and the Aegean Sea will be EU inner sea. Thus, Turkey’s defensive expenditures will decrease. In 2000 the defensive expenditure of Turkey is 4,5 percent of its GDP (Turkish Grand National Assembly 2007).

Furthermore, remaining defensive expenditures will go to modernisation, so Turkey will be able to have a more effective army. By having more effective and mobile army, Turkey will be able to act more actively in the new formed defence and security system which is generated with the 9/11. She will also play an important role for the coordination of NATO and European Security System.

#### **3.1.4. Effect of EU to Turkish Justice and Home Affairs**

Turkey is located in a region which drug smuggling and people smuggling are very high. So, EU membership is going to help her to strengthen the preventions on these issues. The legislative basis for a more effective policy to counteract illegal migration has been already put into place within the Turkish legal system, as acknowledged in the 2003 EU Commission’s Progress Report on Turkey (Apap 2004, p.42). As a matter of fact, Turkey’s borders are going to be EU borders so, the border control and security are going to be more important and they will be supported financially and technically by the EU. The EU policy is to develop a common system for immigration and asylum and a single external border control strategy. The aim is a common asylum policy, working towards the long-term resident status of refugees and developing the return and readmissions policy (Euractive 2007). Being inside the EU, there is going to be only single type of regulation about illegal

entrance and exits plus, visa controls are going to be more strict and suitable to Schengen System. This is explained in Euractiv (2005):

*The Schengen accord seeks to remove border checks on people moving between member states within the EU. An important part of this plan was the reinforcement of external border controls and the Schengen Convention, now incorporated into EU law, provided for cross-border police cooperation, information exchange, surveillance and cross-border pursuit.*

In addition to that, the migration policy is going to be re-managed and is going to have more rational; by this the lacks about this topic are going to be fixed.

Full membership will also support Turkey on fight with terror besides drug smuggling and illegal migration and increase her effectiveness. Turkey is doing judicial reforms and she already abolished the death penalty so by these improvements the criminal return procedure is going to be much more easier especially the criminals who responsible from terror crimes. Turkey is going to be in decision making process of the EU therefore, particularly on fight against terror she will be able to suggest reforms and act effectively.

### **3.1.5. Democracy**

The fundamental rights and freedoms are very important in EU political system. In this extent the EU ratified the Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Commission, 2000, In Nice, EU leaders, the European Commission and the European Parliament proclaimed the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. The charter draws together for the first time all the personal, civil, political, economic and social rights into a single text. The charter sets out the range of civil, political, economic and social rights of EU residents. It is divided into six sections, dealing with dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizen's rights and justice. The charter draws from the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights, the case-law of the Court of Justice of the European Communities, national constitutional traditions, the Council of Europe's social charter and the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers. But it goes beyond enshrining traditional human rights by addressing specifically modern issues such as bio-ethics and protecting personal data) to define the civil, political, social and economic rights of EU citizens and people living in the EU by the Nice Summit in 2000. The EU is really giving huge efforts to increase the improvements in nation states and secure these rights on the EU level.

The EU sees this issue as extremely important for that reason; with the full membership these fundamental principles are going to grow stronger in Turkey too. The process of democratic development is going to speed up and the knowledge and comprehension of the intricacies and foundations of democracy is going to paramount. Democratic and transparent government concept will be stronger, the local governments are going to advance and demands of the civil community will be announced and provided more efficiently.

To be a member of the EU ever single country have to full fill the Copenhagen criteria such as having democracy, respecting to human and minority rights, rule of law and having a working market economy. In these circumstances, in the candidateship process there are reforms to be implemented to Turkish democracy. For instance these reforms are about abolishing the limitations on freedom of thought and speech, respecting to human rights, independence of jurisdiction, and contestation with torture. The article 301 of Turkish Penal Code is:

1. *A person who publicly denigrates Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and three years.*
2. *A person who publicly denigrates the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the judicial institutions of the State, the military or security organizations shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and two years.*
3. *In cases where denigration of Turkishness is committed by a Turkish citizen in another country the punishment shall be increased by one third.*
4. *Expressions of thought intended to criticize shall not constitute a crime.*

As Yackley (2008, p.8) mentioned Turkey has made considerable progress on paper by abolishing the death penalty in peacetime and passing legislation that expands the rights of religious minorities, eases restrictions on the press, and curtails the power of the military in political affairs. Also there will be arrangements on political sphere to obtain more democratic and transparent government system. Besides these developments there will be reclamations in economic and social rights with the full membership. Increasing the living standards, using European Union principles on dealing with economic and social problems and cooperative problem solving with the EU are the expectations with the full membership.

The full membership will help to the local governments to improve and have more importance that they used to have so that will help the frame of representative democracy to expand. Yavaş (2005) stated:

*The impact of the EU enlargement on sub national governments, especially local governments, has political and economic significances for both member and applicant countries. The importance of local governments is also emphasized in the subsidiarity principle of the European Union, which is highlighted in the Maastricht Treaty: to continue the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen in accordance with the subsidiarity principle.*

In this extent, there will be able to build professional and autonomous units except the administrative and political units of the central government and also these units, I mean these local governments, will be able to expand their regional administrative influences like the local governments in the EU. These improvements are going to support the developments on public conscious; accordingly the problems are going to be solved within more contemporary and participative executive model.

In adaptation process democracy will be properly working system with the help of the reforms and with the full membership political and economic system will also be properly functioning and stable. By providing the political and economical stability and having a modern, effective and transparent government mentality; the polarization in the society will be diminished and reconciliation will grow stronger which has a big role on perfection of democracy.

The civil society organizations in the EU have an important place in political, economic and social life. These establishments are organized in very different areas and they can be effective on decision making process. These organisations in Turkey had some juristic problems, financial limitations and organisational difficulties and that is why they could not have enough influence. However, with the EU adaptation process, there had been some juridical reforms and the civil society organizations had started to be stronger. “The European Union provides €21.5 million to promote Civil Society Dialogue in Turkey (as part of the 2006 pre-accession assistance) (Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey 2007).

On the other hand, the Turkish civil society organizations still do not have enough influence on decision making process compared to the organizations in the EU. With the institutional and judicial reforms before the full membership and the expected increase on economic and



social standards after the full membership will expand the influence areas of the civil society organizations and increase their power in the community. The major advantage of the civil society organizations is to build a participative and democratic political culture in the country.

In the full membership process there achieved some developments on securing the rights of civil society organizations on constitutional level. In addition to that, the Economic and Social Council has been established, the syndicate rights examined, the limitations are abolished against actions of foreign foundations, the possibility of international co-operations between Turkish and foreign foundations has been increased and the rights about to make a peaceful meeting and to found an association have been empowered in constitutional level. With the full membership all limits about the freedom of gathering are going to be abolished, it is going to be much easier for the civil society organizations to communicate with the public and their rights to make a meeting are going to expand. The Turkish government has been active in promoting cultural events, public relations activities and parliamentary contacts. It is expected that all these activities will continue, intensify and diversify in the future, thus furthering the development of the civil society dialogue (Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries, Communication from the Commission to The Council, The European Parliament, The European Economic and Social Committee of the Regions 2007, p.5).

To add, the civil society organizations in Turkey are going to be able to share their ideas in the EU level with the help of the civil society organizations in Europe and also they are going to be able to act effectively on decision making process of the EU. Turkey is going to benefit a lot from the civil society funds. These funds are going to encourage the civil society organizations and give them more power.

A powerful civil society is very good to represent different types of benefits and it increases the control of society over the government. As a matter of fact, the citizens will have active citizenship conscious and they will be able to solve problems together in an effective way. The problems are easier to solve if the citizens adopt the problems.

### 3.2. Economic Dimensions

When we look at the economic issues for a candidate country we need focus on the coherence to EU technical regulations. For example, Turkey needs to have a production in the EU standards and for this she needs adapt the EU technical regulations. With this coherence Turkey's industrial goods can be placed in the markets and compete with EU firms. She had progress in this issue with the Customs Union and this coherence is going to be completed during and after the full membership process. In a matter of fact, the quality and standards of security of the goods is going to increase and new understanding of production is going to occur. This new understanding of production is in international standards and takes the pleasure of the customer as a resource. There are going to be control mechanisms and so both production and presentation of the goods are going to be controlled based on the EU standards. This is going to speed up the coherence of to the EU technical regulations. These changes are going to make Turkey more competitive against both EU and third countries. At the same time, the domestic competition is going to increase too and therefore, the consumer preference is going to increase in variety.

More over, there is CE mark which is created to guarantee the health and security of the goods in the aspect of free movement in the EU. CE mark is:

*The letters "CE" are the abbreviation of French phrase "Conformité Européene" which literally means "European Conformity".*

- 1. CE Marking on a product is a manufacturer's declaration that the product complies with the essential requirements of the relevant European health, safety and environmental protection legislation, in practice by many of the so-called product directives. Product directives contain the "essential requirements" and/or "performance levels" and "Harmonized Standards" to which the products must conform. Harmonized Standards are the technical specifications (European Standards or Harmonization Documents) which are established by several European standards agencies CEN (stands for European Committee for Standardization), CENELEC (stands for European Committee for Electro technical Standardization) ect.*
- 2. CE Marking on a product indicates to governmental officials that the product may be legally placed on the market in their country.*
- 3. CE Marking on a product ensures the free movement of the product within the EFTA & European Union single market.*

This mark will show the minimum standards of Turkish goods and increase the international eligibility. With the coherence to EU technical regulations, the CE mark will be able to given by national institutions too and that will decrease spends of Turkish producers to have this CE mark. This decrease on spends will increase the competitiveness.

Turkey has some obligations because of Customs Union. She has to adapt to EU customs legislation, to the trade agreements with third countries and autonomous regions. Besides these charges, there are some institutions which are protecting her gains in these areas.

When we look at the 59<sup>th</sup> article of 1/95 Association Council decision (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs):

*In areas of direct relevance to the proper functioning of the Customs Union, the Commission of the European Communities shall ensure Turkish experts are involved as far as possible in the preparation of draft measures to be submitted subsequently to the committees which assist the Commission of the European Communities in the exercise of its executive powers. In this regard, when drafting proposals, the Commission of the European Communities shall consult experts from Turkey on the same basis as it consults experts from the Member States of the Community. Where the matter referred to the Council of the European Union is in accordance with the procedure applying to the type of committee concerned, the Commission of the European Communities shall transmit to the Council of the European Union the views of the Turkish experts.*

We can see that the EU gives attention to the Turkish experts in the aspect of Customs Union. In this frame EU cooperates with Turkey in preferred trade agreements and also in multi side trade negotiations about Turkish entrance to the WTO industrial products market. At this point, Turkey created a list including sensitive sectors in industrial products tariff in the negotiations but there are some barriers blocking these consulting mechanisms which are protecting Turkey's gains to decrease the effectiveness and cooperation.

The EU does not inform Turkey enough about the fast changes on foreign trade. The EU did not ask for Turkey's opinions on her negotiations with China and India. As well as this she did not inform Turkey about the upcoming trade agreements with Mexico and South America. These agreements are very much effecting Turkey's markets and foreign trade but Turkey was not able to protect her gains enough which occurred by the article 59.

At the same time, Turkey is now dealing with some problems about agreement conditions in negotiations of the free trade agreement with some states because of the charges of Customs Union. Turkey supposed to sign the free trade agreements with third countries in the same conditions that the EU did. However, there are some difficulties especially with some Mediterranean states about the agreement on the conditions that they signed with the EU. In the 41<sup>st</sup> Association Council meeting in 2002 it is stated that the EU is going to put a provision to the agreements that she is

going to sign with third states mentioning that the third states shall sign the same agreement with Turkey too. This decision is going to be good for solving the problems with third states but it is seem enough by Turkey.

There is another problem in the aspect of Customs Union. The EU can use some precautions to protect her own inner market against the Turkish goods in WTO structure.

For example, in 2001 USA increased the customs taxes unilaterally to protect her steel market. Relating to that EU put some customs taxes and quotas to stop the trade refracting.

Turkey stated that she had to be exempted from the quotas against the USA but the union had put some quotas on the products which are covered by the Customs Union. These sanctions are not binding both with the Customs Union and ECSC.

As we can see there are still some problems in spite of the Customs Union. The full membership is going to solve all these problems and increase the effectiveness of Turkish foreign trade. Full membership will include Turkey to the decision making process of the EU and with that Turkey will be able to protect her gains in active way and will eliminate the problems taking place because of the charge to sign the same agreements with third states. Plus, Turkey will be presented and supported in a better way in WTO with the EU member status.

It is obvious that the candidate states have to full fill the Copenhagen economic criteria which is having a functioning market economy and having capacity to compete with the EU. Furthermore, it is also expected for the members to have macro economic stability for accessing to Monetary Union and correspond to Maastricht Treaty. Bayar (2003, p.33) explains this:

*Turkey will deliver another set of criteria in front of her to satisfy in order to qualify for the economic and monetary union. The Maastricht convergence criteria appears on the scene right at that point, by citing the specified conditions of inflation rates, exchange rates, government balances and interest rates, that need to be attained and obeyed by EMU candidate countries to be eligible for participation in the economic and monetary union. Therefore, just like the current acceding countries to EU have been spending considerable effort to satisfy the Maastricht criteria right now in order to be members of EMU, Turkey will face a similar challenge in her prospective post-EU membership status.*

The member states are presenting their fiscal declarations to the union and preparing pre-accession economic programs which are aiming to prepare the right economic program and reforms for the membership and building the economic structure for accessing to the Monetary Union after the membership. In this wise, the control of public deficits, building a transparent budget, coordinating the public finance with the union, the active struggle with inflation, supporting the independence of Central Bank, decreasing the deficit of the public, making reforms on social security , finance and agriculture are aimed in the candidationship process.

In this frame, the reforms for accessing the Monetary Union are going to play an important role on solving the problems of instability. It is known that Turkey has an economic program having the support of the IMF to decrease the public deficits, inflation, interest ratios which are causing to instability. With the arrangements it is aimed to rebuild the financial sector, increase the transparency of the government, strengthen the public financing and building a competitive economy.

Full membership status is going to make Turkey to rebuild her economic politics in a more transparent, clear and calculate able way. The social security spends, agricultural supports, encouragements and the arrangement of public helps are going to make the budget easier to control and stop the corruption. The process of accessing to the Monetary Union after the full membership is going to provide the stability on economic and financial policies.

Additionally, being a member of the EU is going to remove the political, economic and bureaucratic handicaps for foreign investments and so the number of foreign investments is going to increase. Turkey can take much more advantage of direct foreign investments with the reforms for the membership. In this sense, the biggest obstacle, administrative costs, for the foreign investments is going to be removed, the coordination between the governmental institutions and the coordination between government and the local governments are going to be grow stronger and finally the regulating policies of the government are going to be simpler and more transparent. The working Paper of Turkish Industrialist's and Businessmen's Association, Investment Environment and Foreign Direct Investments in Turkey, Investors Advisory Council meeting (2004, p.34) states:

*Turkey should define its objective: FDI for compensating for low level of domestic savings, or creating positive externalities for host country such as technology transfer, best management practices, increased labor quality, export promotion, increased competition environment. If the aim is to increase the overall attractiveness of the country, the appropriate strategy would be to improve the investment environment.*

Afterwards, the bureaucratic procedures which are going to be asked from the foreign investors in settling and operating processes are going to decrease. Furthermore, employment of the foreigners is going to be easier. In some areas the tax ratios, procedures and rules are changing and some of them are not certain enough. These ratios, procedures and rules are going to be coherent to the EU ratios with the full membership so it is going to be able to avoid the ratio problems. Plus, privatization and infrastructural services are going to gain speed, all the non tariff barriers are going to be removed for the EU member states and especially EU resourced foreign investments are going to be supported. The EU legislation and control mechanisms are going to be adopted in the extent of bid rights and protection of the brands and with the judicial reforms the legal procedure's and court's reputations are going to increase, the Turkish courts are going to be excepted more reliable. As a result of these progresses the number of foreign investments is going to increase.

Considering these developments the direct foreign investments are going to advance and this is going to affect Turkish economy positively in many different ways. By these foreign investments the capital deficiency problem is going to be handled and the foreign currency entrance to Turkey is going to be supplied. Also the production capacity is going to expand, competitiveness and exportation are going to be affected positively. We can give the automotive sector as an example; the investments are growing and the exportation is increasing in every year (Homfeld 2005, p.10).

Another positive affect of foreign investments is its role on handling unemployment. After the growing investments the unemployment is going to decrease. The technology is going to develop with the increasing capital stock and deploy and this is obviously going to support the economy and the integration of the economy to the global production and distribution web. Consequently the role of Turkey in economic world is going to be more effective.

Globalisation and the competition conditions will support the development of quality on goods. The quality will include all areas like production, distribution, marketing, selling and the services after selling. There will be standardization on these processes. In this extend, European Union is

supporting these developments with European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) European Quality Award (European Foundation for Quality Management). Rewarding Turkish companies show us that there is a progress in Turkey about this quality issue.

With the Customs Union, the variety of the goods in Turkey and the importance of quality on products have increased. With the full membership the relevance to the EU regulations are going to be completed and the legal basis of the quality will be concluded. Consumer Courts are going to strengthen the consumers on protecting their rights on the goods and services they bought.

In the Customs Union process the respect to civil society organizations and the effectiveness of these organizations are increasing. The civil society organizations are putting pressure on the producers on increasing the standards of quality.

As a result, the notions of quality and satisfaction of consumers are developing and these notions are going to have the maximum importance with the full membership.

European Union membership is going to support the development of science and technology in Turkey. The total research and development funds in the GDP is 0,76 percent in Turkey in 2006 (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey). It is 1,84 percent in the EU (Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat) ) and 2,26 percent in OECD countries (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). The research and development spends of private sector in Turkey is 37 percent and it is 66 percent in the EU. It is easy to see that there is a big difference between the EU and Turkey in this extend.

In the path of full membership, Turkey is reforming her economy and the economy is going to be strong enough with the full membership status. The Turkish economy is going to be supported by the EU funds and foreign investments and as a result the research and development expenditures are going to increase. Furthermore, with abandoning the technical difficulties the competitiveness between companies is going to increase and the companies are going to spend more on research and development.

Turkey will be in E-Europe Action Plan (European Commission 2008) which is for advancing the computer and internet use with the full membership. In this action plan modernization of the economy, changes in business processes and functioning of governments, the changes in relations between citizens, businesses and governments are targeted and also working in the same side with the EU members in ensuring that the whole Europe becomes the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world is one of the main goals. With this, there will be progress on computer use which has positive affects on economic growth, competitiveness and creating new occupation areas. Additionally, the electronic communication will be used by more companies and individuals, the internet use will decrease the costs and with the electronic services in public institutions the government will be more transparent and reachable.

There is no common agricultural policy in Turkey like the EU. By being a member to the union Turkey is going to be included in the common agricultural policy and this is going to change previous motives and short term policies and Turkey is going to have a stable, a consistent agricultural policy. In this extend, Turkey is going to be supported by the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF). With this support the income of agricultural population, the speed of modernization of the sector, variety, amount and quality of the products will increase. But of course, Turkish agriculture needs lots of reforms for these improvements.

It is obvious that one of the biggest differences between Turkey and EU agricultural policies is the crop support mechanisms. Technical and administrative reforms such as; farmer and animal registration needed for the use of direct support mechanisms in Turkey.

Turkey has an important place in the world on production but the statistic and registration systems are not strong enough.

One of the most important reforms is going to be the development of rural areas with the membership. Turkey is going to receive support from the EAGGF. Nevertheless, the policies for the development of rural areas are going to be integrated with the social and regional policies for social and economic balance and providing the cultural variety. Oskam (2004, p.193) stated that new jobs are likely to come from small businesses that provide services to agriculture, industry and other parts of the service sector with the rural development.



In the aspect of development, the relation between agriculture and environment is going to be reformed too with the full membership. As Oskam (2004, p.196) mentioned the adoption of a new Regulation on Environmental Inspection represents a positive step towards increasing Turkish administrative capacity to implement the acquis. The negative affects of agriculture on environment are going to decrease and the natural products are going to be more prevalent on fertilization, irrigation and disinfection.

Meanwhile, with the full membership there is going to be a free trade on agricultural products between EU and Turkey. Thus, the Turkish agricultural products are going to be able to enter highly protected EU market. Oskam (2004, p.193) also said if agricultural trade harmonization between the EU and Turkey occurs, the fall in the maximum allowed tariff protection for highly protected products in Turkey will be relatively greater than it appears today. Thereby, Turkey's fresh fruit, vegetable, nut, tea and spice market which is having foreign trade excess is going to expand in EU market which is having a foreign trade deficit on these products. The food production will modernize and will be congruent to hygiene and public health standards. Therefore, the Turkish products are going to be more confidential and healthy so the competitiveness of the products in international area is going to increase.

Turkey has a big potential on agriculture and result of getting in to European agricultural policies and reaching to EU standards on agricultural products will be major support to Turkish economy.

Tourism is generating employment areas and foreign exchange income so it is a very important resource for Turkish economy and it is going to improve with being a member to the EU. However, Turkey can not take advantage of her natural and historical resources enough for now. For example, the number of tourists visited France, Spain and Italy are 79,1 million, 58,5 million and 41,1 million in 2006 but the number of tourists visited Turkey is 18,9 million in the same year (World Tourism Organization, 2007). If we look at the incomes; France 33,981 million, Spain 38,495 million, Italy 28,453 and Turkey 14,590 million Euros, we can see the difference (World Tourism Organization 2007). Being an EU member will definitely support Turkey on assessing her potential on tourism.

First of all Turkish membership will prove that Turkey is safe for tourists in international area. Secondly, the transportation web which is going to be built in Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean

Regions is going to decrease the costs of travel. Thirdly, the environmental standards are going to be respected more and this will reflect as cleaner and safer coasts. Fourthly, the EU is going to support Turkey on protecting natural and historical resources and this will increase the potential of tourism. Lastly, the free movement of services which is going to be able to exist with the membership will let EU companies invest in Turkish market and this will increase the competitiveness and quality of service in tourism.

All these improvements are going to increase the number of tourists coming to Turkey and this is going to affect the income directly. The tourism sector is going to expand and Turkey is going to be one of the most important tourism centres in the world.

There will be liberalisation on services and public procurements after the full membership and this will yield a lot to Turkish economy with the free movements of goods and people. 82,7 percent of GDP in Turkey is service sector and Turkey is 18<sup>th</sup> service exporting and 34<sup>th</sup> service importing country in the world (Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade of Turkey 2008). So, Turkey is going to increase her foreign trade capacity with the liberalization arising with membership. The liberalization in services sector will bring the foreign investments with it and this will brighten the economy. Turkish Republic Prime Ministry State Planning Organization (2004, p.40) stated:

*In a study by De Mooij and Tang for the Central Planbureau of the Netherlands, which has been made in view of the income difference between Turkey and the EU and of the development of population, it is estimated that, with the assumption of Turkey's accession in 2010, a total of 2.7 million people would migrate to EU countries over a period of 15 years following accession. For the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, it is estimated that this figure would be 2.9 million over the next 15 years."*

With the free movement of individuals the costs of labour force for Turkish companies in Europe is going to decrease and by this they are going to be more competitive. Besides that, the qualified work labour in Turkey is going to be able to work in the EU and this is going to take the tension on unemployment in Turkey. Moreover, the liberalisation on public procurements is going to lead to a more transparent and effective public administration and finance. Also this liberalisation is going to strengthen the competitiveness, decrease the public expenditures and alleviate the burden on the budget.

Free movement of goods and individuals is going to provide and complete Turkey's integration to the Single Market and support the development.

Turkey is going to get into Trans-European network with the membership and this is going to bring many advantages to Turkey on the areas of telecommunication, transportation, energy and environment. Trans-European network is an important tool for the EU to deal with unemployment, to support the integration and cooperation and to simplify the working system of the Single Market. This is explained in European Commission (2007) like this Trans-European network, operates in four areas; transportation, telecommunication, energy and environment, to strengthen the bounds between the centre and geographically disadvantaged areas of the union. Thus, the union is aiming to increase the competitiveness and employment.

Turkey is going to be in this project and receive economic support. In transportation area, the weak parts are going to be set and improved. Moreover, Turkey is going to inside the borders of the Single Market so, Turkey's transportation web is going to enlarge. Accordingly the rail ways are going to develop. For the EU rail ways are standing on the forefront comparing with airways and highways. In this frame, the modernization of the rail ways in Turkey is going to be able with the help of the EU. With this modernization the trade and transportation between EU and Turkey is going to be easier, faster and cheaper.

There are going to be improvements on telecommunication system too. The internet networks are going to be stronger, e-trade is going to be more common and the communication is going to be cheaper and faster. Accordingly, Turkey's position in global economics and information community is going to be stronger.

Trans-European network also aims to strengthen the cross border electric and pipe lines. In this extent, Turkey is going to be integrated to the European energy market and she is going to be able to benefit from the EU in some periods of energy deficit and she is going to be able to transfer energy in some periods of energy excess.

### 3.3. Social Dimensions

Turkey is going to have a coherent social security system with Europe including fiscally sustainable and wide spread system. Turkish social security system is going to reach to European standards and consequently, there is going to be a system which is covering all the population. There is going to be major transfers from the national income to the social security system which is a tool of social integration and prosperity. Turkey's biggest disadvantage on this area comparing to the member states, is the part which is being transferred from the national income. The social security part of the GNI in the union is 27,2 percent (Turkey Metal Industry Labor Organization 2008) but when we look at Turkey we can see that the percentage is just 17 percent (Turkey Revenue Administration 2008). With the stability which is going to be provided by the full membership is going to help Turkey to increase the resources and thereby the quality and scope of the social expenses are going to advance. New laws adopted on social security system for advancing the quality of the social security system and to reach EU standards. These are listed below by the Screening report Turkey (2006, p.9):

*The social security reform consists of four main components: 1) setting up a single retirement insurance for all employees, employers, self-employed and civil servants, 2) creation of a General Health Insurance for the whole population, 3) establishment of a system where social benefits and services are based on objective benefit criteria and improvement of their coverage, and 4) creation of a new institutional structure. The social security system will thus be simplified and reduced in bureaucracy, benefits-liabilities will be equal for everybody, free healthcare will be provided to all children under 18 and the retirement age is to be gradually raised to 65 by 2048. More Social Security Centers are planned at local level.*

Furthermore, with the membership and passing to the Monetary Union there are going to be budget deficit limitations and more determined struggle with unregistered economy. That is going to balance the payment system and let the social security system improve. When we look at the legislation, the legislations on social policies and employment are more or less common with the EU. But, Turkey has some legislation deficiencies which are going to be completed in the accession process.

On the other hand, with the membership the sides are going to be able to join the decision making process about the social policies. There are going to be improvements on job health and security. The screening report Turkey (2006, p.9) also mentions about a good degree of alignment has been

reached in the field of health and safety at work. Legislation aiming at harmonization covers most of the directives.

One of the most important advantages is the opportunities of education. After the membership the opportunities of education for Turkish citizens are going to increase.

Education is the most important thing for the nations. Turkey owes one of the most important parts of her modernization and development to the education. But still the education system needs to be improved. The education system is going to be improved with the reforms which are predicted and planned in the accession process.

Turkish education system is going to improve in this extend. For example, the obliged education is now eight years but it is expected that is going to be nine-twelve years to reach the education standards of the EU. The diplomas and education durations are going to be recognized by both sides and with the free movement of individuals, teachers and students are going to be able to continue to their studies in all Europe.

In this extend, after the membership, Turkish citizens are going to be able to have education in equal conditions and take advantage of variety of the educations opportunities. The possibilities of cooperation between schools are going to increase and the infrastructure of the schools in Turkey is going to get better. As a result, the quality of education is going to increase and the students are going to be able to get qualified education.

Technical and occupational education is very important too in the accession process. The technical and occupational education is going to be reformed in elementary level, the occupational education certificates are going to be accepted mutually. The employees who are working in information technologies are going to be able to receive education to improve their skills.

The qualified man power which is demanded by the private sector will be available with the occupational and technical education improvement programs. The EU-Turkey civil society Dialogue (2005) explains this:

*Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci, and Youth are Community programs in the field of education. They help improve citizens' skills through promotion of transnational mobility, innovation, and training. The number of Turkish beneficiaries has been growing steadily over the past years. In particular, the Erasmus program, part of Socrates, has seen high demand in Turkey.*

The education dimension in Europe is going to widen starting from kinder garden till doctorate with cooperation of institutes in the Socrates program. The occupational education is going to be improved with Leonardo program and reach to EU standards by the international cooperation.

EU membership is going to strengthen the administrative and judicial structures with the reforms. The administrative and judicial reforms are needed for the efficient and effective EU legislation. EU undertook to give the technical and economic support for the administrative and judicial reforms. Bikmen (2005) explains the reforms as the new reforms reduce government control over association activities while raising internal auditing standards. As a matter of fact, with these kinds of reform Turkey is going to have more effective and efficient legislation.

In addition to improvement of administrative structure with the reforms, the administrative system is going to be more transparent and efficient with the coherence endeavours. The burden of administrative structure is going to lighten in this extend and the human resources are going to be used efficiently. Also, the information process between administrative institutions is going to be easier and faster.

The project of internet access of citizens to the administrative institutions is going to become prevalent with help of the E-Europe project which is being used in EU. The E-Europe project is explained by Leyten (2002, p.83) as The European Commission launched the E-Europe initiative in December 1999 in an aim to ensure that the European Union fully benefits for generations to come from the changes the Information Society is bringing. There are also plans to build a common data centre and network for administrative institutions.

The EU also expects reforms to prevent corruption and more independent, strongly controlled administrative institutions to provide transparency. Turkey is going to be in decentralized structure and the operation area of independent market controller firms are going to enlarge. These establishments are going to be connected to private law and the executive body is not going to be able to apply any sanction. For example, Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency, Energy

Market Regulatory Authority and Turkish Competition Authority are establishments which have been founded in this purpose.

In relating areas the administrative institutions of both EU and Turkey is going to be in communication network and so Turkish institutions are going to be able to be informed about the applications in Europe and they are going to be able to use European databases. In the accession process the administrative employees are going to be able to receive education or to be intern in EU institutions.

In the name of subsidiarity, the citizens are going to participate more to the administration and this is going to create more efficient and beneficial public services. In this extend the competences of local and regional governments are getting stronger. With this decentralized governance the democratic participation and regional development are going to increase. The existence of an effective, efficient and democratic local government system - consisting of a number of elected local authorities, representing their respective local communities, and entrusted with a number of public tasks and responsibilities to be managed by them, under conditions of autonomy vis a vis the central government and administration and which are directly responsible for the management of a sufficient amount of the country's public resources (financial and human) - is one of the key indicators to have for the prosperity (Local Administration Reform Program 2007).

Furthermore, there is going to be judicial reforming with the administrative improvements for judicial transparency, functionality and for the independence of the jurisdiction. The jurists are going to be able to benefit from educational opportunities to know and learn the EU jurisprudence. The Global Corruption Report (2007, p.281) says:

*In an effort to increase transparency Turkey is establishing a system in which court decisions and related documents are posted on the internet. Representatives of the judiciary are being sent to international conferences in a bid to familiarize themselves with international anticorruption standards, such as the Bangalore Principles and the Budapest Principles.*

Another advantage of the membership for the judicial system is the specialized courts. The consumer courts and the courts for intellectual and industrial property rights are going to be more

common. The prevalence of the specialized courts is going to take the burden of the other courts and the jurisprudence is going to work faster and more effective.

Turkey is going to merge with EU regional policies and adopt policies. With this respect, the first task has been macroeconomic stabilization and reforms to provide a sounder environment for the policy says Bilen (2005, p.2). These efforts are going to decrease the regional differences.

Furthermore Bilen (2005, p.2) adds:

*Turkey, amounting surface area to 780.000 km<sup>2</sup>, was divided into seven geographical regions in the 1950s, each one encompasses about ten provinces. These do not have any governance component. Territorial division of the country has been based on an administrative hierarchy consisting of provinces, counties, towns and villages since the 1925 onwards.*

There are regional differences like GDP per person, the ratio of unemployment, literacy ratio between the regions in Turkey. Generally, the Marmara and Aegean regions are above the development average, Inner Anatolian and Mediterranean regions are on the average and Southern, Eastern Anatolian and Black Sea regions are under the Turkey average. This differentiation caused by the deficient distribution of the resources, deficiency of effective usage of resources, disadvantages of topography, hard climate conditions, distance to inner and external markets, desultory settlement and deficient investments.

Turkey is going to develop a new national policy to decrease the difference between the regions with the membership and in this extend the judicial and administrative structures are going to be invigorated, the budgets are going to cover more than one year and the control mechanisms are going to be more effective. The local organizations and institutions are going to have more effective participation for creation of stable and effective regional development policies in the aim of full membership to the EU. The local governments are going to be supported financially and with the devolution of authority they are going to be able to participate to regional policies in more effective way. It is aimed to have more sustainable and competitive production structure, completing Turkey's transition to the information society and achieving a higher level and a better distribution of income (Bilen 2005, p.3).



The macroeconomic stability is going to be provided with the reforms and with having a part in the Common Agricultural Policy, the rural areas are going to develop, the infrastructural improvements are going to be take place, the investments are going to increase focusing on human resources and the conditions are going to be better for the private sector investments.

Turkey is going to be covered by the EU Regional Policy which is aiming to decrease the regional differences and increase on the living standards. Some of the regions are going to receive support for economical improvement, some of them are going to receive support for economical and social transformation and some of them are going to receive support for modernization of education and employments systems.

In addition to that, Turkey is going to be able to take advantage of European Regional Development Fund (This regulation defines the scope of assistance from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) during the period 2000-06. The Fund aims to promote economic and social cohesion by correcting the main regional imbalances and participating in the development and conversion of regions, while ensuring synergy with assistance from the other Structural Funds.) for infrastructural investments, local development and SME (Small and Medium Enterprises) improvements. Secondly, Turkey is going to receive funds for education and employment from Europe Social Fund (The European Social Fund (ESF) is one of the EU's Structural Funds, set up to reduce differences in prosperity and living standards across EU Member States and regions, and therefore promoting economic and social cohesion. The ESF is devoted to promoting employment in the EU. It helps Member States make Europe's workforce and companies better equipped to face new, global challenges.).

The reforms for the membership are going to be supported after the membership by the EU regional policy tools. Therefore, the regional difference in Turkey is going to diminish, the living standards are going to increase and these are going to be a guarantee of peace and unitary state.

Environmental problems in Turkey reflect the issues characteristic of nations going through rapid economic development and socio-cultural modernization. These include, but are not limited to, urban air pollution, rapid deforestation, industrial emissions, accidental as well as wilful discharge of toxic effluents by industry, degradation of agricultural lands, and soil erosion. A new breed of

‘risk society’ type of issues, ranging from genetically-modified organisms to nuclear technology, has also been seeping into the public discourse of environmental problems (Adaman p.2).

The EU membership is going to advance the environment standards and the coherence of environmental policies with other policies. The importance of environmental policies has increased since 1970’s. Meanwhile, the importance of EU policies to protect the natural and environmental resources has increased since 1980’s. Now there are more determined policies and actions are taking place in the EU to control the pollution.

Turkey has also created some environmental policies in 1980’s. The developments on environment became affective in 1990’s. The harmonization of this policy with EU is a continuous and accelerating process now. These developments resulted largely as a reaction to the demands of an increasingly vocal civil society and the dictates of various international actors (Adaman p.2). The priorities of EU environmental policy are climate change, the quality of air, the protection of nature and biological variety, management of water resources, urban environment, waste management and shorelines.

The requirements the environmental policies defined in the Environment Law, especially those introduced in anticipation of European Union *acquis* negotiations, regularly exceed those found in many European Union nations. In short, the legislative background of environmental policy-making in Turkey is not only sound but also under continuous improvement (Adaman p.3).

In addition to these, there are some operations against the factors averting the sustainable development and harming the environment. Turkey is going to adopt the union regulations which are going to be beneficial for public health and national economy and correct the regulation differences on standards and measuring methods.

In this extend, there are going to be improvements on diesel and quality of gas to prevent the air pollution. The sulphur ratio of diesel is planning to be decreased. There are going to be arrangements to limit the production of carbon dioxide.

There are going to be rearrangements on casing and package wastes. There are going to be a classification on solid and dangerous wastes. The analysing method of drinking water is going to harmonize with EU and the quality standards of drinking water are going to increase. Then, the ships which are carrying dangerous and pollutant goods are going to follow the directions the Council so this is going to be a good step on preventing the pollution on Aegean and Black Sea. There is going to be only one arrangement on defining the water resources and their qualities, their protection and management.

There are going to be improvements on protection of natural resources and natural life with the membership. There are going to be reforms on hunting methods and tools and there are going to be limitations on constructing buildings for public interest in the town forests.

Plus, there are going to be arrangements on ascertaining noise emissions and the level of noise is going to decrease.

Turkey is going to have progress on chemical goods and industrial risks with the membership. With the new arrangements it is going to be identified how to prevent the accidents and deal with the dangers in the work places which are working with flammable, explosive, dangerous and harmful goods in case of a big accident and the risks of accidents are going to decrease. There is going to be only one control and authorization mechanism in the local administrations.

Turkey is going to do some arrangements on gene technology too. There are going to be preventions for entrance of genetically changed micro organism which can be harmful for the environment and human health.

The EU is going to support Turkey to build an administrative structure for the coherence and control of the regulations. The confusing bureaucratic structure is going to be changed by the membership, the responsibilities and attributions are going to be clear, qualified staff is going to be educated both in local and central level for application of arrangements.

Turkey is going to take advantage of structural funds, coherence funds, and LIFE (LIFE is the EU's financial instrument supporting environmental and nature conservation projects throughout the EU,

as well as in some candidate, acceding and neighbouring countries) program. Turkey is going to make reforms with the financial support of the EU and there are going to be improvements on public health and environment and also these improvements are going to cover the economy too. The production of goods is going to bear with the environment standards and this is going to increase competitiveness of the Turkish companies.

### **3.4. Cultural Dimension**

The membership of Turkey to the EU is going to bring a democratic and participant political culture and civil society understanding on EU standards. In the direction of full membership there are going to be institutional and legal reforms and these reforms are going to increase the social and economic development level, take Turkish democracy to EU standards. The limitations on press and freedom are going to be removed with these reforms, the democratic institutions and local governments are going to be stronger. The individuals are going to be stronger against the government with the judicial reforms. As a result of this, the civil society organizations are going to be stronger and they will be able to defend the rights of the society in the EU level too.

Right along with the institutional and judicial reforms there is going to be economical prosperity and social reforms in the membership direction. These improvements are going to strengthen the political culture, help the struggle with poverty and increase the participation of the population to the democracy with the improving education system.

These reforms are going to meet with economically strong and socially improved population and this is going to change the understanding of democracy in the country. This qualified population is going to contribute to development democracy with the local governments and civil society organizations.

Besides that, the EU membership has an improving and enriching effect on Turkish cultural structure. As we all know, EU supports diversity in unity to establish a real economic and political union with the different entities which are embracing the same goals. So, EU supports improvements of regional and national identities. This different identical structure of Europe creates EU cultural mosaic.

Turkey will be able to reach to modern civilization level which is one of the most important goals of republic principles. At the same time, she will have the European identity. Turkey will take advantage of EU policies which are improving, protecting and supporting the national cultures for the improvement of Turkish national culture. In this extend, the EU limited the free movements of goods for protection of cultural values and left the education mostly to the nation states.

The information exchange on Europe history and culture, the cultural dialog, the importance and protection of cultural diversity and cultural heritage and the cultural relations between Europe and other cultures are going to increase.

#### **4. DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP FOR TURKEY**

The EU affects every single state which is inside or near the union. When we look at the new member states we can see some difficulties on their integration to the union. Are these difficulties occurred from the membership? What kinds of difficulties can Turkey have and what are the main ideas coming from the euro sceptics in Turkey.

##### **4.1. Is European Union the modern path that Atatürk showed?**

As it is know Turkey is in a modernization process since the Ottoman times. If we accept 1770's as a starting point it is now 238 years; it is almost quarter chiliar. In other words, Turkey meliorated 153 years before the republic and now she is trying to reach and go beyond the modern civilizations level for 85 years. This modernization and westernization trend in Ottoman state some times became successful but sometimes this trend and movements created crisis and conflicts although they were well intentioned. At last, these movements and trends failed and the Ottoman state collapsed.

However, the regeneration desire always remained in Turkey. The last example of this desire is the Republic of Turkey which Atatürk established with integrating the Turkish nation. In the first 15 years of republic, the state managed to do the reforms to fill the gap of 200 years between Turkey and Europe. In the Atatürk period, 1923-1938, this is named as Kemalist Turkey in Europe; we can see that there are two main ideas:

1. Turkishness (The term means to be Turkish) as a resource to national sovereignty,
2. Dynamic modernization move

These two ideas are sine qua non (An essential condition or element; an indispensable thing) for the modernization and the contemporaneous civilizations.

In other words, it is expected from society to internalize; leaving the religious state term and understating the current term of nationalisation and with this understanding defending and guarding

the Turkish Republic and independence, accepting this as a task and basis of existence and independence and taking Turkish culture beyond the contemporaneous civilizations level in the Atatürk period.

“The model for a new Turkish state, Atatürk believed, was to be found in the nations of Europe and the West, said by Tavernise (2007).”

This quote is one of Atatürk’s most famous quotes. This is both focusing on modernization and secularism: “My people are going to learn the principles of democracy, the dictates of truth and the teachings of science. Superstition must go. Let them worship as they will; every man can follow his own conscience provided it does not interfere with sane reason or bid him act against the liberty of his fellow men.”

The ten-twelve years after Atatürk’s pass brought the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War and the ambiguity after it. Turkey began to strengthen her relations with the western world after this period in 1950’s.

In this direction, Turkey is trying to be a member of an integration project in Europe which has started in the mid 1900’s. It is obvious that, all governments believed that Turkey can achieve her goal, going beyond the contemporaneous civilizations level which Kemal Atatürk showed, by integrating with Europe. Thus, the integration with Europe began to be considered as only and decisive target. Even, in the last period, this forestalled some of the problems which are considered as national problems and Turkey made some important and dangerous concessions to the EU about these problems.

Beginning from the foundation and process philosophy of EU till today, EU demands from Turkey is not really analysed and Turkish need for EU membership strongly highlighted. So many reforms and adjustment laws created and accepted to meet with EU demands but not of them really passed from academic filter. But, this is a very important matter which is going to affect the upcoming generations and independence and sovereignty of a nation.

Moreover, some pro Europeans presented EU membership as a path to go beyond the modern civilizations and equated EU membership with Atatürk and his revolutions. But some people stated that Kemalism is a militarist-nationalist and old fashioned thought. These paradoxical statements should be well assessed and conversance of these people should be tested just because these statements are mostly overlapping with EU official, half official and off the record expectations from Turkey which is highlighting that Turkey needs to jeopardize Kemalism.

#### **4.1.1. Roots of European Culture**

There are two resources of European culture. One of them is Greek humanism, Roman law tradition and the other one is renaissance-enlightenment, English, American, French revolutions and Industrial revolution. These were affecting and integrating each other with their scopes and results. Every lap created following one's infrastructure and this development came today with both revolutions and evolutions.

On the other hand, the Christian Europeans put a distance on every different social, religious and ethnic structures and cultures for ages. They excluded and tried to destroy the different cultures and these thoughts remained not only in politician's minds but also remained in regular European citizen's mind (Hatipoğlu 2004).

The nation-state term started to spread as a result of the French and Industrial revolutions. At the same time, the industrial capitalism superseded the commerce capitalism. Afterwards, new industrial capitalism produced surplus product and the European powers started the colonialism with their economic and militaristic dominance to supply their requirements of cheap raw materials and employment and find markets.

Moreover, the Spanish, Dutch, English, Russian, French and later on German and Italian colonies spread around the world such as, North and Central Africa, Iberian Peninsula, America, Asia and India. The economic colonization actions continued and sometimes went together with violence against the local people.

History never witnessed Western imperial powers and global capital acting in other projects or having another priority than their interests in any time period (Hatipoğlu 2004).



In 20<sup>th</sup> century, the imperial powers started a war that caused big tragedies, death of millions of people with latest technology weapons. At last, the world met with genocides and crimes against humanity. After these embarrassing actions, Europe wanted to end this Franco-German conflict and wanted to integrate with cooperation in common values.

As a result of these events, to prevent these embarrassing actions which had happened in the history, first Europe created binding agreements about humanity. Nowadays, these agreements come in front of us as criteria. Europeans effort to clear themselves from their historical background lies behind these criteria. If we pay attention we can see that these notions and facts which are standing in the forefront are all about human rights, rule of law and protection of minorities that Europe had been caught flagrante delicto (In the very act of committing the offense ) in their history.

In this extend, it started with European Coal and Steel Community and then European Economic Community, European Community and finally this economic and political integration project reached named as European Union and there are expectations and approximations this is going to end with United States of Europe.

If we come back to Turkey, as I mentioned above, there is a modernization, reformation and westernization search coming from late Ottoman rule. This modernization process continued with very important and major changes and picked up speed with the leadership of Atatürk. This modernization desire focused and gathered to one point and named as going beyond the modern civilizations. This goal can be perceived on two ways. First one is the nationalisation synthesis including state-community notions and Atatürk's modernization ideas.

Second one is completing the first one with Atatürk's law and rights understanding on national independence and sovereignty which can not be abdicated and alienated. However, later on the modernization process directly focused on Europe.

When we good deeper in this issue; this new process created the change from Ottoman mosaic to modern Turkish nation state and also created the integration and solidarity between state-community-individual. At one point, this modernization has put the national

sovereignty term as a basis to the government system and on the other side; it has replaced the religious understanding of being a citizenship with community understanding which has common national goals, excitements and concerns.

When Kemal Atatürk showing the modernization and development aims, did he say that Turkey has to take Europe as an example or Turkey has to be European or Turkey's conclusive target is integrating with Europe? Did he say that, Turkey has to alienate her sovereignty to another alliance or centre in the way of modernization?

#### **4.2. Independence and Sovereignty**

Sovereignty is one of the forces of the state. Sovereign power is the highest decision making unit, the dominator, the imperative which is implementing the commandments and the power which is not dependent and ancillary to a higher authority (Feyzioğlu 1998, p.3). Shortly, sovereignty is the supreme emergence of state power in every area.

When we look at the sovereignty theory in West, we can summarize it as the preventive theory to prevent the religious authority to be competitor to political authority (Erdoğan 1995, p.92). For example, in Roman law, the jurists said that the power comes from the god to the king directly and in this manner the church is not an agent, so the church does not have any ascendancy. The term of sovereignty used to legitimize the ruling powers of the king to the state all alone and also used for making the juristic explanation of monarchy by French jurist Jean Bodin. The sovereignty is always and absolutely belongs to the king without any clause for Bodin (Feyzioğlu 1998, pp.3-4).

From these definitions we can come to the term of modern state. Modern state has the right to control its domestic affairs and can decide for its actions. This right had occurred in state's agendas after the 1600's.

After these periods, regarding to nationalism affects the power moved from the king to the people and the theory of national sovereignty appeared. That means there is only one way for the free and equal people to live together as a community. It is to make a social contract. The leaders of the French Revolution gave the sovereignty from the king to the nation, to the people who are influenced from Jean Jacques Rousseau.

In this extend the third article of 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen says that Human and Constitutional Rights (2008) stated “The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.”

Also, the French Constitution of 1791 (Online Source Book) says that “Sovereignty is one, indivisible, inalienable, and imprescriptible. It appertains to the nation; neither section of the people nor any individual may assume the exercise thereof.”

Understanding from these, sovereignty is the general will of the nation. This will belongs to the nation as a supreme power. The sovereignty is not depending on the religious will it is depending on national will. In this extend, the sovereignty is one of the most important parts of the national state in 17<sup>th</sup> century and one of the most important parts of the nation state in 19<sup>th</sup> century both internally and externally. The external sovereignty means the state’s independency in the international area. The national sovereignty is the nations self administration, the nation is choosing the government to govern them. People choose people to govern them with the parliament. This execution appeared after the French Revolution.

Afterwards, differentiation occurred between the expectations of the people and the executions of the parliament. This showed people that the parliaments can also be wrong. This brought the understanding of sovereignty which can be limited with the laws and human rights. For example, the supreme courts can control the parliaments.

The external sovereignty generally understood as international independence. The state’s independence can only be limited with its own agreements and treaties. This means that sovereignty is the nation’s freedom and independence. Like the internal sovereignty, there were debates on external understanding of the sovereignty. This started with the establishment of the international organisations after the Second World War Now, the state’s power against the other states, the international and regional power balance and the structure of international system limits the external sovereignty.

In this time, the changes that technology made on production, consuming, security makes states to establish international groups. The economic affairs are too big for a single state to handle. That is why; the states are making economic groups.

Nowadays, almost all states are members of international organizations like United Nations, International Court of Justice, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and UNESCO ect... These organizations are based on international treaties. In principle, these treaties and agreements do not limit the independence of the states. For example, the UN agreement is the proof of the recognition of states sovereignty. In other words, United Nations is an international, not supranational, organization which has been founded to establish the international peace and security, to improve the international friendship, to establish the international cooperation and finding solution to international problems. On the other hand, the UN Security Council has authorizations and binding actions on the situations which are acting against or threatening the international peace and security. Moreover, the veto power of five permanent members, USA, Russia, China, UK and France, is damaging the principle of being sovereign equal. As we can understand from these above that, every international organisation more or less brings the limits on sovereignty rights of the states.

One of these organizations is the organization which began with the establishment of Europe Coal and Steel Community with Paris Treaty in 1951, changed to European Economic Community with the Rome Treaty in 1957, turned to Single European Act in 1986 and finally found today's shape with Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the European Union.

At the beginning this organisation had six founder members (Germany, Belgium, France, Netherlands, Italy and Luxemburg ) and it was limited with building common market for coal and steel. But today, European Union is a big integration project in economy, industry, politics, citizen rights and foreign relations. It is an expanding, getting strong supranational organization which is going towards political integration.

Essentially, The Secretariat General for EU Affairs (2008) states "European Union is integrating and advancing the dialog between local, regional, national and European powers, supporting federalism principles and taking sovereignty from national level to community level."

However, the future of the EU is not certain. It is a big question that is EU going to be a union of states or a federal state or something else. But it is certain that the EU is moving towards to a federation.

In this context, the EU institutions, their mechanisms and their processes are being superior to the institutions of national states. So, EU membership is not international, being a member to EU means being a member to a supranational organization and law jurisprudence system.

As a matter of fact, when we look at the legislation system, if a law which is created by a member state parliament contradicts with regulations of the Council, the regulations will be used not the law of the member state. Even, if the constitutions contradict with regulations, mostly the regulations are going to be used. So, the legislations of national parliaments are effective if they do not contradict with EU regulations.

It is not so different in execution system. For example, 80 percent of economic decisions are taken in the EU level.

When we look at the justice system we will see this is the same. The decisions of European Court of Justice are binding for the nation states and for the real and legal persons. That means the member state's legislation, execution and justice systems are limited.

In fact, all of the member states put these sovereignty alienating clauses to their constitutions before the membership as a result of this integration project. They reformed their constitutions for possible contradictions between the national law and EU regulations.

As can be seen, the traditional nation states are weakening in the EU that is to say; the right of sovereignty is being limited and the nation states are being nearly federal states.

In this situation, the reforms of Turkey will not be enough for the membership. Turkey needs to change the 6<sup>th</sup> article of the constitution if she wants to be an EU member.

The 6<sup>th</sup> article (Office for the Prime Minister, Directorate General for Press and Information, 2008) is:

Sovereignty is vested fully and unconditionally in the nation. The Turkish Nation shall exercise its sovereignty through the authorised organs as prescribed by the principles laid down in the Constitution. The right to exercise sovereignty shall not be delegated to any individual, group or class. No person or agency shall exercise any state authority which does not emanate from the Constitution.

The federalist and functionalist ideas obviously accelerated the integration in Europe. These ideas are supported by Altiero Spinelli and Jean Monnet. The federative ideas are coming from the local, regional, national and European dialog and complementation. The functionalist ideas are supporting the transfer sovereignty from national level to community level. The Secretariat General for EU affairs (2008) also mentioned:

*These two views are mixed in the belief of giving responsibility to democratic and independent EU agencies like the local and national agencies and also in the areas of single market, monetary policy, economy, social combination, foreign policy and security; the areas that the common policies are much more effective than the single policies of the states.*

## 5. CONCLUSION

In the light of the developments in Turkey and issues that I mentioned above it is able for me come to a conclusion about the EU membership of Turkey. To begin with, Turkey is a very big country with a big population. It is certain that the integration of such a country is not going to be easy. Turkey is a developing country and growing economy. Turkish economy is not stable enough and still there are some needs in infrastructural level. The administrative and bureaucratic system is different from the EU states. Many differences can be counted in this manner but it is obvious that Turkey is not an easy task for EU to manage. When mentioning about the advantages and disadvantages of the EU membership and Turkey's accession to the EU these points are needed to be taken to consideration.

At first, Turkey can not cooperate, work with or negotiate with any state, union or partnership which are trying or targeting to take her independence or sovereignty right. If we say that with the EU membership, Turkey is going to loose her sovereignty and independence, EU membership is not a subject to be discussed. But this is not the case. Turkey is going to alienate some of her sovereignty rights to the EU. That does not mean Turkey is loosing her sovereignty. Turkey is alienating some of her sovereignty rights for the prosperity and wealth of her citizens. The EU aims to have the decision that supported by the people. EU aims the prosperity and satisfaction of the people. When Turkey gives up some of her rights that does not mean loosing the independence or obeying what ever the EU decides. That means implementing the decisions and regulations of the EU for the sake of Turkish people. So the sovereignty is still the nation's and even it is going to be more effective and efficient with the EU system focusing on representation and subsidiarity.

There are twenty seven members of the European Union including UK, Germany, and France which are most developed countries of the world. Turkey targeted to reach and go beyond the level of modern civilizations like UK, Germany and France. The states which I mentioned are the members of the EU. That means they alienated their sovereignty rights. If states like Germany, UK and France does this, why Turkey should not do?

Alienating the sovereignty to the EU is for the cooperation of the nations, for the prosperity and good of all Europe. The most modern states what Turkey always aimed to be, are alienating their

sovereignty and working on it to improve. This issue is not a disadvantage actually it is an advantage for Turkey.

On the other hand, if the EU parliamentary system studied, it is easy to see the system is a very big advantage for Turkey. When we look at the EU Parliament there are ninety nine MPs from Germany, seventy eight MPs from France and again seventy eight MPs from the UK. The number of the MPs is in direct proportion with the population (European Union Parliament, 2007). That means Turkey is going to have number of MPs between seventy nine and ninety nine. This means that Turkey is going to be very effective on decision making process of the EU. Turkey is going to have a big power in the EU. How can the EU act against Turkey who is the second most effective state in the EU? It is not possible.

In this extend, being an EU member and alienating some rights of sovereignty is definitely not a disadvantage, it is totally an advantage. Turkey is going to be able to effect EU decisions and block the decisions. This is an important opportunity which Turkey must not miss.

The decisions, acts and regulations which are against the Kemalism and Atatürk's reforms are mentioned as a disadvantage of the EU membership for Turkey. Every thing against Atatürk's reforms is considered as a threat in Turkey. Some things against Atatürk's reforms mean some thing against democracy, human rights, secularism, modernizations and so on. As it is clear to understand, EU does not act against Atatürk's reforms and Kemalism. On the contrary, EU reforms and main ideas are matching and supporting Atatürk reforms. EU is promoting democracy and trying to establish and support the proper democratic systems around. Respecting human rights is the main thing of making this union. The EU also supports secularism and modernization.

We can not say that the EU is acting against Kemalism. EU supports Kemalism. In addition to EU support on democracy, human rights, secularism and modernization the EU also matches with the nationalism concept of Atatürk. The nationalism of Atatürk is not coming and from ethnicity or some thing else. Atatürk's nationalism is taking its power from living in the same country and working for that countries prosperity. That is the same thing that the EU aims. EU also aims the prosperity. Every member state is working to improve itself and the EU at the same time.

Improvement of EU means improvement of the state. Prosperity in the EU means prosperity in the state.



The EU is supporting the cultural differentiations in the union. The main aim of the EU is diversity in the unity. So, the Turkish culture is not going to be lost or eliminated with the membership. It is going to be even more powerful with the support of the EU. The cultural traditions are going to remain. This is not a disadvantage for Turkey.

The economic, political, cultural and social advantages are obvious. Turkey is going to benefit a lot from the EU membership. Therefore, Turkey is trying to be a member for fifty years. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk said that the way to reach and go beyond the modern civilizations level lies ahead in the west. Atatürk showed to the nation that their future in the west. Making Turkey a modern and well developed state like the European states is Atatürk's legacy. Atatürk always said that, Turkey shall take the best parts, developments and improvements of Europe and keep the cultural tradition and protect it. With this policy Turkey can be a developed state. This is exactly matching with EU policies. The path on the west is the EU. Turkey can reach to developed states level and be a totally modern civilization with the being in the EU. The EU means, keeping the culture, the tradition, the values and the religion to your self and at the same time taking the improvements, developments, modern notions and norms. This is exactly Turkey's objective.

## REFERENCES

### **Books**

Dartan M., Nas Ç., *The European Union Enlargement Process and Turkey*, Publication of Marmara University European Community Institute, 2002

Harun A., *Turkey and The EU, An awkward candidate for EU membership?*, Ashgate Publishing Company

Hatipoğlu M. M., *Avrupa Birliği: Çağdaş Uygarlığın Yolu mu, Ulusal Egemenliğin Sonu mu? (Is the EU way to modern civilizations or the end of national sovereignty?)* Symposium, 08-09.11.2004, Istanbul Hacettepe University Publication

Huntington S. P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster

İlhan S., *Avrupa Birliğine Neden Hayir?, (Why No to the EU?)*, Otuken Publication

Karluk S. R., *Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye, (The European Union and Turkey)*, 2007, p.375

Lake M., *The EU & Turkey A Glittering Prize or a Milestone?*, Federal Trust for Education and Research, 2005

Manisalı E., *Ortak Pazar'dan AB'ye Hayatım Avrupa, (From The Single Market to The European Union My Life is Europe)*, Truva Publication, 2006

Oskam A., Burrell A., Temel T., Berkum S., Longworth N., Vilchez I. M., *Turkey in the European Union Consequences for Agriculture, Food, Rural Areas and Structural Policy*, Wageningen Universtiy, 2004

Uğur M., *The European Union and Turkey: An anchor/Credibility Dilemma*, Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999

Yackley J., *Turkey, The EU and Democracy: How Public Opinion Divides Ankara and Brussels, International Relations and Security Network*, ISN ETH (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), 2008

## ***Periodicals***

Adaman F., Arsel M., *Economy, Society and the Environment in Turkey: The triple transformation of the 'Strong State'?*

Apap J., Carrera S. and Kirişçi K., *Turkey in the European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, EU-Turkey Working papers, Centre for European Union Studies, No 3/August 2004*

Aydın S., Keyman F., *European Integration and Transformation of Turkish Democracy, Centre for European Union Studies, EU-Turkey Working Papers, No:2, 2004*

Bayar F., *Turkey and European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU): One Step Further Following Accession, 2003*

Bikmen F., *Progress on Civil Society Legislation in Turkey, The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, volume 7, issue 2, February 2005*

Bilen G., *Novel Regional Policy of Turkey in Line with EU Standards, 2005*

Cerrahoğlu N., *Milliyet newspaper, 14.12.1995*

Domaniç S., *The Turkish Accession to the EU, November 2006*

Eldem E., *Ottoman Financial Integration with Europe: Foreign Loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt, Boğaziçi University, Department of History*

Erdoğan M., *Demokrasi, Laiklik, Resmi İdeoloji, (Democracy, Secularism and Official Ideology), Ankara, 1995*

EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue, *European Union Delegation of The European Commission to Turkey, 25<sup>th</sup> July 2005*

Feyzioğlu T., *Türk Milli Mücadelesi'nin ve Atatürkçülüğünün Temel İlkelerinden Biri Olarak Milli Egemenlik, (National Sovereignty as a Basic Principle of Kemalism and Turkish National War), Ankara, 1998*

Global Corruption Report 2007, *Corruption in Judicial Systems, Part two Country reports on judicial corruption, Transparency International, Cambridge University Press*

Hakim A., *Middle East Needs Turkey's EU Membership, The Journal of Turkish Weekly Opinion, 02 October 2005*

Hornfeld, A., *Türkiye'nin geleceğinde Yabancı Sermayenin Etkileri, (The effect of Foreign Investments on Turkey's Future)*, Mercek Magazine, 2005

Knaus G. and Cox M., *The "Helsinki Moment" in Southeastern Europe*, 2005

Leyten J., *Assessing Project E-Europe: the Way Forward, Communications & Strategies*, no. 48, 4th quarter 2002

Loewendahl-Ertugal E., *Europeanisation of Regional Policy and Regional Governance: The Case of Turkey*, *European Political Economy Review* ISSN 1742-5697 Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 18-53

Monnet A., Villanueva Penas B., *Turkey and the European Union The Implications of a Specific Enlargement*

Nas Ç., *National Report Turkey*, 2003

Özel S., *Turkey and the EU, It Truly is a Long and Winding Road: The Saga of EU-Turkey Relations*

Screening Report Turkey, Chapter 19 – *Social policy and employment, Explanatory meeting: 8–10 February 2006, Bilateral meeting: 20–22 March 2006*

Tavernise S., *A Rumble Is Heard in Atatürk's Grave*, May 20 2007

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

Working Paper of Turkish Industrialist's and Businessmen's Association, *Investment Environment and Foreign Direct Investments in Turkey, Investors Advisory Council Meeting*, 15 March 2004, İstanbul

Yavaş H., Palabıyık H., *Legislative Reforms on Local Governments in Turkey Still going on: Participatory Perspectives in the Municipal Act 2005 numbered 5393*, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly Opinion*, Monday 26 June 2006

## *Other Sources*

Agence France Presse  
[www.afp.com/english/home](http://www.afp.com/english/home), 2007

Archive of newspaper articles  
<http://www.tumgazeteler.com/haberleri/fatin-rustu-zorlu/?start=70>, 2007

CE Mark  
<http://www.ce-marking.org/what-is-ce-marking.html>, 2007

Council of the European Union  
[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/72921.pdf), 2007  
[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/78364.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/78364.pdf), 2007

Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey  
[http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Sivil\\_Toplum\\_Diyalogu/EUTURCSD.html?LanguageID=2](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Sivil_Toplum_Diyalogu/EUTURCSD.html?LanguageID=2), 2007  
<http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/CSD/civildialogue-eng.pdf>, 2007

Dictionary  
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/coup%20d'etat>, 2008

Euractiv  
<http://www.euractiv.com>, the independent media portal fully dedicated to EU affairs, 2007

European Commission  
[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/rights/charter/fsj\\_rights\\_charter\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/rights/charter/fsj_rights_charter_en.htm), 2007  
[http://ec.europa.eu/information\\_society/eeurope/plus/action\\_plan/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/eeurope/plus/action_plan/index_en.htm), 2008  
[http://ec.europa.eu/ten/transport/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/ten/transport/index_en.htm), 2007  
<http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/index.htm>, 2007

European Foundation for Quality Management  
<http://www.efqm.org>, 2008

European Union  
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm#founding>, 2007

European Union Parliament  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/members/public/geoSearch.do?language=EN>, 2007

Hellenic Resources Network

<http://www.hri.org/docs/Rome57/Part6.html#Art238>, 2008

Human and Constitutional Rights

<http://www.hrcr.org/docs/frenchdec.html>, 2007

Local Administration Reform Program

<http://www.lar.gov.tr/eunion.html>, 2007

Mesa Colleague

<http://www.mesastate.edu/brownbag/Abstracts/Mathematics%20Of%20Voting%20Abstract.htm>, 2007

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

[http://www.mfa.gov.tr/agreement-establishing-an-association-between-the-european-economic-community-and-turkey-\\_signed-at-ankara\\_-september-1\\_-1963\\_.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/agreement-establishing-an-association-between-the-european-economic-community-and-turkey-_signed-at-ankara_-september-1_-1963_.en.mfa), 2008

Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information

<http://www.byegm.gov.tr/mevzuat/anayasa/anayasa-ing.htm>, 2007

Online Source Book

<http://sourcebook.fsc.edu/history/constitutionof1791.html>, 2007

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

[www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org), 2008

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/AB/EUAssociationCouncilDecision195CustomsUnionDecision.pdf>, 2007

Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry Under secretariat of Customs

<http://www.gumruk.gov.tr/AB/kobdocs/KOB.pdf>, 2008

Secretariat General for EU Affairs

<http://www.abgs.gov.tr>, 2007

Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat)

<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, 2007

The European Free Trade Association

<http://www.efta.int/content/about-efta/about-efta/aboutefta>, 2008

The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey

[www.tubitak.gov.tr](http://www.tubitak.gov.tr), 2008

Turkey Metal Industry Labor Organization  
<http://www.mess.org.tr/html/haberler/htm/15mayis2008.pdf>, 2008

Turkey Revenue Administration  
[http://www.gib.gov.tr/fileadmin/iller/2000-2005\\_alanlar.pdf](http://www.gib.gov.tr/fileadmin/iller/2000-2005_alanlar.pdf), 2007

Turkish Grand National Assembly  
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/butce/2007/pbk22112006.htm>, 2007

Turkish Statistical Institute  
[http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?tb\\_id=39&ust\\_id=11](http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?tb_id=39&ust_id=11), 2008

Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade of Turkey  
<http://www.dtm.gov.tr>, 2008

Western European Union  
<http://www.weu.int/index.html>, 2007

World Tourism Organization  
<http://unwto.org>, 2007

