The Future of Turkey and the European Union

Dan Martin

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Gispen

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

One of the hottest topics in Europe today is whether or not Turkey will become a member of the European Union (EU). Although accession talks between the EU and Turkey officially began on October 4, 2005, the topic is anything but new.[1] In fact, Turkey has been a hotly debated issue with the EU since 1959, when Turkey first applied to become a full member of what was then known as the European Community (EC).[2] Why has Turkey been denied membership in the European Union thus far, and what are some of the issues involved? In this chapter, I will briefly introduce the main topics at hand in an effort to give the reader a grasp on the overall picture. I will then use the later chapters as in depth studies of these issues. The purpose of this paper is not to argue one way or another as to whether or not Turkey should be admitted, but rather to provide the reader with information from both sides of the argument. After providing all arguments and weighing them, I will be able to settle some of the issues at hand.

In order to understand the complexity of the debate over Turkey, one must first understand some of the issues in question. General membership requirements that have been laid out by the European Union are as follows: "…a summit of EU leaders set a very succinct list of criteria for the newcomers to meet. By the time they join, new members must have: 1. stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the protection of minorities; 2. a functioning market economy that can cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the Union; and 3. the ability to take on the obligations of membership, including support for the aims of the Union. The

[1] "The Long Road Towards Accession," Middle East Monitor: East Med 15.8 (August 2005), 4.

[2] Ozgul Erdemli, "Chronology: Turkey's Relations with the EU," in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics, eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2003), p. 4.

new members must have a public administration capable of applying and managing EU laws in practice."[3] The reason that the EU has given for not accepting Turkish membership thus far, and in fact for not allowing official accession talks to begin until October of 2004, is that the EU did not find that Turkey met the listed requirements until that point. However, even though talks between the EU and Turkey have now begun, there are still a lot of issues that must be worked out. For instance, the EU provides Turkey with a list of issues that must be dealt with each year in order to work towards accession. "Among those complaints and constraints which could be mentioned are Turkey's population size (and hence political weight and number of migrants in the EU), relative poverty (and thus the scope of aid the EU would have to provide), Muslim population, anti-Turkish stereotypes, limits on democracy, human rights issues, the Armenian question, the Kurdish question, the Cyprus question, direct conflicts with Greece and the structure of the economy."[4] This being said, it is clear that there are many problems that Turkey must work to solve if it hopes to be granted EU membership.

The first topic I will cover is that of Turkey's economy. Opponents to Turkish accession argue that the Turkish economy is not up to EU standards. In fact, the majority of Turkish workers are still in agriculture, a fact that may be taken very seriously by the EU in making its decision. Will the EU be able to support Turkey with regional funds and other monetary support that the EU pays out to the poorer countries? Some argue that Turkey would always be a net receiver, rather than payer (meaning it will receive more money in aid from the EU than the money that it will pay into the EU), and that this would put an undue financial burden on the EU because of the large Turkish population.

---

[3] "More Unity and More Diversity: The European Union's Biggest Enlargement," Europe on the Move (November 2003): 11.

[4] Eremli, "Chronology," Turkey and the European Union, 2.

On the other hand, supporters of Turkish accession say that the economic benefits of Turkish membership will outweigh the negatives. They argue that the Turkish economy, although still underdeveloped, is constantly improving. In order to determine the validity of these arguments, a comparison of Turkey's economy with the economies of some of the poorer member-states of the EU, such as Greece, Spain and some of the recently admitted Eastern European states, will be useful. Although data may show that Turkey's economy is lagging behind other economies of the EU, the amount that it is or is not behind other members may have a large impact on the European Union's decision. Just because Turkey is poorer than most EU members, it does not automatically follow that Turkey should not become a member; however, Turkey's large population would mean that the amount of aid paid to Turkey by the EU would also be much larger than what poor member-states have received in the past. For these reasons, the economic question is a very important one for the future of Turkey and the European Union.

Although the Turkish economy is a relatively important topic to study, there are many other topics that may be considered equally important, such as religion and culture, my second topic. The European Union is not a religious group; however, all of the current member-states are countries that have a predominantly Christian population and history. Turkey is a state with a predominantly Muslim population, an issue which has caused tension for hundreds of years. For instance, from 1280 to 1923, the Ottoman Empire with its capital in Turkey was one of the great powers in the world. Its rival power, of course, was the Habsburg Empire centered in Vienna, Austria. As long as the two existed, there was a constant struggle between them, which came to be a fight of Christians versus Muslims—a sentiment that some people still hold to this day. Besides

the ancient historical tensions between Turkey and Europe, religion has caused tensions more recently. According to Ian O. Lesser, author of many books and articles on the subject, "The fundamental issue for many Europeans [in dealing with Turkish accession] is whether Europe can or should embrace an Islamic country [seventy million]. Significantly, the issue is being posed at a time of mounting intolerance and xenophobia in Western Europe, much of it directed against Muslim immigrants from Maghreb and Turkey."[5] The question I would like to pose is, can Turkey and Europe cement a positive relationship through accession, or will the religious and cultural tensions be too great?

Today, there are close to 3.5 million Turks who live and work in other parts of Europe,[6] but in many cases, these Turks have failed to assimilate into the societies in which they live. Some of this lack of assimilation may be because of religion and the traditional Muslim dress; however, the question of assimilation is a hot issue because membership to the EU means that there is free movement of labor within all of the member-states of the EU. Would the admission of Turkey mean cultural tension and possible violence in the EU? In order to further study this topic, I will look at countries with high percentages of Turkish workers to see how well the Turks living there have assimilated. I will then compare those findings with findings from another member-state with a lower percentage of Turks to see if there might be any differences. I will use this study to give the reader an idea of any cultural and/or religious tensions that might arise if Turkish citizens were to move in mass to other areas of Europe.

---

[5] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Rule in Europe From the Perspective of 1994," in Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power, eds. Vojtech Mastney and R. Craig Nation (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p. 3.

[6] Kemal Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration in European Union-Turkish Relations," in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics, eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2003), p. 79.

The issue of Turkish migration is the third question that will be carefully considered by the EU in its decision making process, as well as in this paper. In 1961, Germany made a deal with the Turkish government that allowed Turkish citizens to work in Germany on a temporary basis. Although there were similar agreements set up with other European nations, such as Greece and Portugal, the number of Turkish guest workers in Germany quickly surpassed all other countries combined. In fact, by 1973 there were 2.6 million guest workers in Germany,[7] of which 528,474 were Turkish.[8] Not only did these Turks come in mass, but many of them chose not to return as they were supposed to; thus, Germany has millions of Turks living there today.[9] However, there is no labor shortage in modern-day Germany; in fact, Germany is actually facing extremely high unemployment rates, along with several other EU member-states. This fact will not be taken lightly in consideration of Turkey for membership. Opponents to Turkish membership argue that if given the chance, masses of Turks will flee Turkey for other European countries. Supporters, however, say that this mass emigration would not necessarily happen. In order to settle this question, the EU would undoubtedly try and place some sort of restrictions on the movement of Turks if admitted. The question is, however, what will these stipulations be, and how well will they work?

Although many members of the European Union fear that Turkish membership may mean an influx of Turkish workers into their countries, there is one issue which is important to all of the EU members: that issue is security, which is the fourth aspect of

---

[7] "Gastarbeiter," Deutsches Historisches Museum Homepage, 17 November 2005, <http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/DasGeteilteDeutschland/KontinuitaetUndWandel/WirtschaftlicheEntwicklungenInOstUndWest/gastarbeiter.html>.

[8] Bruce R. Kuniholm, "Turkey and the West Since World War II," in Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power, eds. Vojtech Mastney and R. Craig Nation (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p. 57.

[9] Hans Kirchmann, "Vor 40 Jahren Fing Alles an: Gastarbeiter, Auslandische Arbeitnehmer, Mitburger, neue Deutsche," 17 November 2005, <http://www.dtsinf.de/deutsch/p200111/seite03.htm>.

the problem I will investigate. If admitted to the EU, some of the Turkish borders would also serve as the external borders of the European Union. For this reason, an important question to ask is, will Turkey be able to sufficiently defend its borders? This border security is especially important in today's society with the threat of terrorism, as Turkey shares a border with Iraq.

On the subject of security, it is helpful to look at Turkey's history and the role which the country has played thus far in international security. In fact, following the Second World War, Turkey was seen early on as an essential ally to the United States (US) by General Dwight D. Eisenhower.[10] Why was this, and does it still hold true today? What were the factors which led to Turkey joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and will these factors play a role in the European Union's decision?

One might say that the question of Turkish accession to the European Union is tied very closely to the history of Turkey and Europe. The interaction between the two has been closely tied at times, as with the Byzantine Empire; at other times, such as with the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish people have been seen as the enemy of Europe. Of course, there are two sides to every issue involved in the debate over Turkey. In some cases, the opponents of Turkish accession will have the stronger case; at other times Turkish supporters are correct. This paper will examine all the evidence in order to provide answers on as many subjects as possible.

---

[10] Kuniholm, "Turkey and the West Since World War II," in Turkey Between East and West, p. 48.

Chapter 2: Religion, Culture, and Government

"For years the Turkish application [to the European Union] was delayed and then was essentially rejected supposedly because of the country's low level of economic development, high rate of population growth, huge foreign debt, inflation, low tax revenue, high state expenditures, colossal state sector, human rights violations, etc."[11] However, according to Ian O. Lessor, an expert in European public policy, the real reason for this rejection lies in growing xenophobia towards Muslims.[12] In order to understand where these xenophobic feelings originate, and whether or not they are a valid reason to deny Turkish entry into the EU, this chapter will briefly trace the roots of conflict between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Europeans and their respective cultures. I will show how European and Turkish societies clash sometimes as a result of their underlying religious/cultural values, such as attitudes towards women, etc. Understanding the fundamental differences behind these practices, and the cultures that go with them, will go a long way in settling the question of whether or not Turkey, a secular state with a predominately Muslim population, can form a successful alliance with the predominantly Christian, though secular, European Union.

First, to understand where Europeans' xenophobic feelings come from, a look into the history of conflict between the Turks and Europeans is helpful. The struggle between Islam and Christianity has been going on for centuries, but as with many other historical conflicts, the origins of this struggle may also be tied to a particular piece of land. The physical location of modern Turkey has always been significant; in fact, some of the

---

[11] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Rule in Europe From the Perspective of 1994," in Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power, eds. Vojtech Mastny and R. Craig Nation (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p. 3.

[12] Ibid.

long-felt distrust felt between Europeans and Turks may be linked to its geography. One of the assets which make this particular piece of land so valuable is a narrow waterway known as the Bosporus Straits. What makes the Bosporus Straight so important, however, is that it is so narrow that whoever occupies the city which straddles this waterway (present day Istanbul) has complete control over passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea--the major waterway connecting Russia, Syria, and other nations to Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. This fact undoubtedly played into Emperor Constantine's decision around 330 A.D. to place the capital city of the Byzantine Empire (also known as the Eastern Roman Empire) in the city then known as Byzantium, through which the straight runs. Not only is this waterway strategically important, but it also marks the border between the two continents of Europe and Asia. Constantine renamed the city Constantinople, which came to be not only the capital of the empire, but also the seat of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the Christians were not the only ones who coveted this piece of real estate. Over a thousand years later in 1453, Muslims also coveted this land, and Ottoman Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror took the city, marking the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The Ottoman Sultan soon made this city the capital of the Ottoman Empire, renaming it Istanbul.[13]

Although Istanbul has remained in the hands of the Turks since 1453, a power struggle had begun between the Christian Europeans and the Muslim Turks that, one might argue, still exists today. By 1526, one of the main powers in Europe was the Habsburg Empire, with its capital in Vienna. The Habsburgs' main rival was the Ottoman Empire, which had steadily been conquering lands since its induction nearly a

[13] "Istanbul," Wikipedia; retrieved 11 February 2006, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istanbul>.

hundred years prior. When the Ottoman conquest turned to Europe, the Ottoman Turks first took control of the Balkans, and then continued further into Europe until eventually hitting Austria, which lead to the first siege of Vienna in 1529.[14] Although the Turks were not able to take Vienna, Europe soon came to realize that the Turks were the biggest threat that Europe had faced in a thousand years.

Even though the Habsburgs (along with the help of the Poles) would eventually defeat the main Ottoman army during the second siege of Vienna in 1683—forever reversing the Ottoman advance into Christian lands—the rivalry between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs remained right up until the fall of both empires at the end of World War I in 1918. The effects of this rivalry linger over Europe to this day.[15]

The history between Europe and Turkey is a long and complex one; however, the question that must now be answered is what the major issues between Christianity and Islam are that makes people think that they cannot peacefully coincide? What is the cause of the growing anti-Muslim sentiments in Europe, and are these fears unfairly projected at the Turks? In order to explain this issue, it is important to understand a few basic facts about both the Islamic and Christian faiths.

Although most westerners perceive Islam to exist predominantly in the Middle East, this perception is erroneous. "Islam is a global faith with most of its 1.2 billion practitioners living in Asia."[16] This makes Islam the world's second largest religion, trailing only Christianity, which has two billion followers. Of the 1.2 billion Muslims

---

[14] Karpat, "Ottoman Rule in Europe," in Turkey Between East and West, 7.

[15] Ibid., p. 8.

[16] Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Islamic Societies in Practice (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), p. 5.

world-wide, only 250 million live in the Middle East.[17] This means that almost one billion of the 1.2 billion Muslims in the world live elsewhere. While these Muslims live primarily in various parts of Asia, Muslims also have significant populations in Western nations, such as in the United States, where Islam is the second most practiced religion in the with some eight to ten million followers.[18]

Many Europeans tend to relate all Muslims, including the Turks, to radical Islamists and terrorists; however, a quick study of the basic teachings of the Islamic faith shows that Islam is, in fact, a peaceful religion. The word "Islam is derived from *salaama*, Arabic for peace derived from submission to the one God known as Allah in the Arabic language…The person who submits is known as a Muslim."[19] However, in order to be able to compare Turkish society and its Muslim foundation to the Christian based societies of Europe, a comparison of the Islamic and Christian faiths is necessary. Like Christians, Muslims believe in one god, whom they call Allah. Muslims also believe in some of the same prophets as in the Christian religion, such as Abraham and Moses. Islam varies from Christianity in that Muslims believe that Jesus was merely a prophet of God, and not his son as is the Christian belief; Muslims consider their most important prophet to be Muhammad (who is not part of the Christian faith). It is important to note here that Muslims do not deify Muhammad, rather they believe that "Muhammad was a man and the Messenger of Islam (al-Rasul Allah), last of the great prophets of the Abrahamic tradition in the Middle East, but not God or a son of God."[20] It is believed that Muhammad was the prophet through which Allah gave man the teachings of the

[17] Ibid., p. 33.
[18] Ibid., p. 18.
[19] Ibid., p. 28.
[20] Ibid., p. 9.

Qur'an, a book which "include[s] Muslim religious practice and social behavior that apply to all Muslims, laws which are enforced in Islamic courts by Muslim judges known as qadis."[21] Christians consider the Bible to be their main source of religious teaching and ethics. The Christian Bible includes a set of rules known as "The Ten Commandments," that are believed by Christians to reveal God's will for human actions—in other words, these commandments spell out right and wrong for Christians. While these Christian "laws" are often reflected in the laws of the European Union's member states, the commandments are not the law; rather, the commandments are merely used as moral guidelines. This reflects the long-standing idea that Europe maintain secular governments, meaning that there is strict separation of church and state—a fact reiterated by the failure of the European Constitution (although voted down) to mention Europe's Christian roots despite strong pressure from the Vatican during the drafting of the document.[22]

As with Christianity, Islam has slight variations in its followers, and of course, the way in which the religion is put to practice. The two groups of Islamic followers are Sunni Muslims, who constitute about ninety percent of the religion, and Shi'a Muslims, who make up the remaining ten percent. However, the main differences in Sunnis and Shi's are not in Islamic doctrine. Rather the split has to do with "succession, governance, and leadership of the community of Muslims."[23] Early on in the history of Islam, a question arose as to who was the rightful heir to the Caliph (head of the Muslim community), and rather than deciding on one rightful heir, there was a split in the

---

[21] Ibid., p. 30.

[22] "European Union Signs Secular Constitution," Church and State 57.11 (December 2004) [database on-line]; retrieved 13 April 2006, Academic Search Premier: 20.

[23] Ibid., p. 31.

religion. The two new groups formed were the Sunnis and the Shi'as. Turkey is comprised mainly of Sunni Muslims; however, the form of Islam practiced in Turkey is rather different from anywhere else in the world.

While the basic teachings of Islam are important, it is more important to look at some examples of Islam in practice. First, something needs to be said about the type of Islam which the West has come to fear—Radical Islam. This form of Islam also known as "Islamic fundamentalism" is characterized by "terrorist methods, anti-western rhetoric, and anti-modern, anti-liberal sentiments."[24] For many Europeans, Islamic Fundamentalism is why Turkey's status as an Islamic state is of great concern to the European Union in its membership decision. Unfortunately for Muslims, the Islamic religion has become linked to such horrible actions as the World Trade Center attacks in New York, the train bombing in Madrid, and the bus bombings in London. However, in reality, these extremist groups do not represent the majority of Muslims. In fact, "Extremist Muslims such as Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda members are no more typical of Islam than are KKK [Ku Klux Klan] terrorists who burn black churches typical of Christianity."[25]

Now that some basic facts about Islam have been presented, it is important to discuss Turkish Islam, and how this specialized form of Islam has led to Turkey's secular society. As I mentioned before, it seems as if public opinion in the European Union toward Turkish accession has never been high. In fact, a study published by the German government in 2005 showed that 71% of all Germans and 55% of all Europeans believe

---

[24] Steven Vertovec, "Islamophobia and Muslim Recognition in Britain," in Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 23.

[25] Fluehr-Lobban, Islamic Societies in Practice, p. 23.

that the cultural differences are too great for Turkish membership to make sense.[26] These feelings most likely exist for two reasons, which are anti-Turkish prejudice and the failure of Turks living in Europe to assimilate. The question is, what is the cause of such prejudice, and is the Turks failure to assimilate because of religious differences that are incompatible with European culture? This chapter will address both issues.

Turkey is a country of nearly 70 million people, of which 99.8% are Muslim, mostly Sunni.[27] This makes Europeans nervous because they tend to unfairly group all Middle Easterners, Arabs, and Muslims together, considering all to be linked, thus tying them to terrorists. However Turks are not Arabs; besides religion, they have very little in common with Arabs or Persians. "Ignorance of the faith of Islam, combined with a lack of knowledge of Middle Eastern history or direct experience with Arabs and Muslims, can result in simplistic generalizations."[28] In other words, Carolyn Fleuhr-Lobban, a professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University, believes that in order for Europeans and Turks to be able to work together, knowledge and not prejudice should be the basis of understanding each other. Although there are nations in the world were radical Islam is normal, this is not the case in Turkey. In fact, the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 by Mustafa Kemil (Atatürk) as a secular democracy, making it the first secular democracy in the world to have a mostly Muslim population. Turkey's founder, known as Atatürk, believed that "modernity and democracy require secularism. Islam, he believed, was neither secularizable nor privatizable. Thus, in order to bring

---

[26] "Nationaler Bericht Deutschland," Eurobarometer 64: Die öffentliche Meinund der Europäische Union (Fall 2005); retrieved 10 February 2006, <http://europa.eu.int/public_opinion/archives/eb64/eb64_en.htm>.

[27] "Turkey," CIA World Factbook; retrieved 12 February 2006, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tu.html#People>.

[28] Fluehr-Lobban, Islamic Societies in Practice, p. 21.

modernity, Islam had to be either kept under strict state control or confined to personal conscious."[29] The following paragraphs will explain how Atatürk's ideals have led to a personalized form of Islam that is practiced in Turkey and the secular culture which has come about as a result.

As a secular democracy, Turkish society is far different from a traditional Muslim society. When the Turkish Republic was formed, Atatürk believed that for Turkey to become a modern state, it was necessary to keep all aspects of the public sphere secular. To do this, he knew that he would need to use strict governmental control in order to force Islam out of the government. In doing so, "Fez and veil were ruthlessly abolished, the Arabic script replaced by Roman letters (actually much better suited to the [Turkish] language), the Swiss legal code put into practice, the Sharia (Koranic law) abrogated, the religion relegated to the background. Western laicism was enforced, and every religious community was allowed only one clergyman in clerical garb."[30] Although Turkey is still a nation comprised of Muslims, it is not what most people would consider a true Islamic state. Similarly, "In a move against religious authority that has been compared to Martin Luther's Protestant Reformation, Atatürk ordered that the Quran be translated into Turkish so that ordinary people could read it for themselves instead of relying on the Mullahs' interpretations."[31] This change allowed for a secular Turkish society that is still able to practice Islam; however, it reduced the people's dependence on religious leaders to learn from the Quran, just as the Protestant reformation allowed Christians to practice

---

[29] M. Hakan Yavuz and John L. Esposito, eds., Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Guelen Movement, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), p. xiii.

[30] Erik v. Kuehnett-Leddin, "The Turks are Coming," National Review 39.3 (February 1987) [database on-line]; retrieved 8 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 42.

[31] Matt Cherry, "When a Muslim Nation Embraces Secularism," Humanist 62.3 (May/June 2002) [database on-line]; retrieved 13 April 2006, Academic Search Premier: 21-23.

their faith without having to rely upon a Catholic Priest to learn from the Bible. Thus, in both societies people began to form their own interpretations of their beliefs and perhaps become less rigid in traditional practices, such as women's wearing a headscarf in Turkish society.

Another very important societal factor which makes Turkey unique from other Muslim nations is that Turkey maintains a separation of Church and state, a basic principle in Europe, although almost unheard of in the Islamic world. Without Islamic law, Turkey has been able to westernize itself and become much more modern. However, in reality, forcing religion completely out of the public sphere may not have been the best idea for Turkey. As Erik von Kuehnett-Leddihn stated, "Atatürk unfortunately never understood that the externals of Western civilization are not workable without their profound spiritual foundations."[32] What this author means is that religion definitely has a place in both the public and private sphere of any nation; the key, however, is to use religious beliefs as ethical guidelines rather than as political policies. For instance, although the European Union does not specifically mention its Christian heritage or tie itself directly to any religion, there are many religious influences on European society. In fact, one of the leading parties in Germany is known as the "Christian Democratic Party", leading one to believe that the party tends to push Christian values in a secular government. However, it is important to remember that there is no direct connection to the Church and the Christian Democrats; rather it is a secular party whose values are in-line with Christian values.

It was this idea that religion can be used as a cultural identity without violating the separation of church and state that led to some of Turkey's Islamic revival

[32] Ibid.

movements. However, it is important to understand that these "Islamic revival movements" are specific to Turkey and may actually serve as a source of stabilization, whereas such movements have been condemned in various other Islamic states, such as Palestine. Among the first of the Turkish Islamic revivalists was Said Nursi, father of the Nur movement, who began to spread his message throughout Turkey around 1950. What Nursi realized is that people need something to guide their actions, and secular government is not enough. Nursi preached that Islamic movements do not have to be revolutionary; "Religion has provided both solidarity and ethics to facilitate the positive aspects of modernity. The Nur movement demonstrates this modernizing potential of Religion. Through his teachings, Nursi identifies Islam as having three layers: "1. Normative and moral order to differentiate right and wrong; 2. Worldview informs one's understanding of human reality and the world; 3. Inner force to constitute the self and to empower oneself against the odds of modern society."[33] Nursi felt Islam should be used as one's personal guideline and also a means of self identity. Nursi did not support the idea of an Islamic political party, but he did support the presence of Islamic ideas in the public sphere,[34] an idea which is similar to the European Christian Democratic platform. Because of their liberal treatment of Islam, "The new Nur communities in Turkey are at the forefront of developing an interfaith dialogue with other religious groups,"[35] a factor which will be very important to the future of Turkey and the European Union, as this interfaith dialogue may, in turn, help Turks and Europeans to have a better understanding of each others' cultural values.

[33] Ibid., p. 4.
[34] Ibid., p. 9.
[35] Ibid., p. 12.

Following in Nursi's footsteps was another Islamic revivalist named Fathulla Güllen, who began his movement around 1962 and continues to this day. Güllen was a follower of the Nur movement, but he took it a step further to create what is now known as the Güllen movement. Güllen used Nursi's teachings as a basis for his own ideas; however, he "stressed ethics of education and work for transforming Muslims and their environment."[36] "His [Güllen's] goals are to sharpen Muslim self-consciousness, to deepen the meaning of shared idioms and practices of society, to empower excluded social groups through education and networks, and to bring just and peaceful solutions to the social and psychological problems of society."[37] He teaches that "The main aim of Islam and its unchangeable dimensions affect its rules governing the changeable aspects of our lives. Islam does not propose a certain unchangeable form of government or attempt to shape it. Instead, Islam establishes fundamental principles that orient a government's general character, leaving it to the people to choose the type and form of government according to time and circumstances."[38] Many Westerners would agree that this is how the Christian religion plays a part in their secular governments. Güllen's ideas have laid the foundation for education and change that both Turkish and European society will need if they hope to someday form a successful alliance. As Europe looks toward future relations with Turkey, and the decision that it will have to make, some important words to keep in mind are, "A stable Turkey presupposes a balance between Islamic values and the Kemalist political system; the Gülen movement offers a way to achieve this balance."[39] In other words, it is important that the government of Turkey

[36] Ibid., p. 19.
[37] Ibid., p. 21.
[38] Ibid., p. 28.
[39] Ibid., p. 47.

remain secular; however, Turks must identify themselves as the Muslims that they are—in doing so they can use religion as an ethical guide to running the government, just as is the practice in the West. It is also important to consider the similarity of such secularization trends between that of Turkey and Europe. Since the Enlightenment, Europe has become more and more secular, and it is this secularization which has been the source of much conflict with the Muslim world as society has become more and more permissive. However, if Turkey can stand as a secular democracy, then it may have a very important impact on the future of the Muslim world.

Islam is a part of Turkey's culture, just as Christianity is a part of Europe's, although both Turkey and the EU remain secular. The question is, what are the cultural differences between Turkish and European society that are the cause of the perceived culture clash between these societies? Do these cultural differences violate EU law? In order to determine this, one must look into Turkey's treatment of women, the use of torture and the death penalty, freedom of religion and expression, and so on in order to determine if Turkey is in compliance with the "Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union."[40] If Turkey is to become a member of the European Union, then it will be necessary for Turkey to adopt all such EU legislation, and put it to practice in the Turkish society. In addressing this, Turkey has made several recent reforms to its justice system to include such reforms as abolition of the death penalty, acceptance of the Kurdish language in schools and for broadcasting, and the Turkish government has also

[40] "Charter of Fundamental Rights," Europa.

made it an issue to investigate and correct any reports of torture—an issue Turkey has had trouble with in the past.[41]

When Atatürk established the Republic of Turkey in 1923, he granted rights such as religious freedom, the right for Muslim women to marry non-Muslim men, and equality for women which meant not only the right to work, but also the right to vote and even hold office[42]—a right that came much earlier to Turkey than it did in Europe. Although the Turkish state grants these rights, it has often been admitted that in the major cities, namely Istanbul, Turkey's culture is rather liberal and westernized, the culture in rural Turkey is still very conservative, holding on to many Muslim traditions, such as women wearing headscarves and premarital sex taboos. It is these rural, conservative Muslims which tend to have a culture clash with European society—which helps to explain the tensions as many of the Turkish guest workers who moved to Europe in the 1960s and 1970s were from rural areas. The culture clash comes into effect because European society tends to be very liberal. Not only do women not wear headscarves, as many conservative Turkish women do, but nudity is even accepted in European society. For instance, it is not uncommon for advertisements in Europe to contain nudity. Even Europe's beaches are topless—all of these permissive European cultural norms create tension with the Turks. What problems will arrive out of these tensions in the future, and how will the accession process be affected by the tensions? Only time can tell.

Legally, Turkey's treatment of women is on a level with Europe's as far as constitutionally guaranteed women's rights; however, some issues are still in question. For instance, should women be allowed to wear the traditional Muslim headscarf while in

---

[41] "Towards a New Europe—but What is it For?" New Statesman 134.4761 (October 2005) [database on-line]; retrieved 13 April 2006, Academic Search Premier: 6.

[42] Matt Cherry, "When a Muslim Nation Embraces Secularism," Humanist: 21.

public office, or does this pose a threat to the secular state of Turkey? Merve Kavakci, a former female politician elected to Turkey's parliament believes that women should have the right to chose. In fact, Mrs. Kavakci did choose to wear her headscarf; however, when she entered Parliament while wearing it, the other politicians deemed this a threat to the secular state, and in response Mrs. Kavakci was removed from office, her party abolished, and her Turkish citizenship was revoked—a high price to pay for expressing one's religion. However, while her treatment may seem extreme, one must compare this treatment with that of Europe. In fact, "In February [2004], French law makers approved a ban on headscarves and other religious imagery from public schools; German and Belgian politicians may follow suit."[43] Therefore, while European law guarantees people the freedom of religion, these guarantees have not been upheld, in Turkey or in Europe, when it comes to the public sphere.

Now that we have an understanding of how Islam is different in Turkey, it is time to see what this means in terms of Turkish foreign policy since Turkey's membership to the EU would make it a part of the European Common Security and Defense Policy. Since World War II, Turkey has had strategic alliances with the West. In fact, Turkey has been a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) since February of 1952.[44] In keeping with its western identity, Turkey first applied to the European Community in 1959 and has been trying ever since to gain membership. Religion has always played a role in the EU's denial of this membership status, and

---

[43] Merve Kavakci, "Headscarf Heresy: For One Muslim Woman, the Headscarf is a Matter of Choice and Dignity," Foreign Policy 142 (May/June 2004) [database on-line]; retrieved 11 April 2006, Academic Search Premier: 66.

[44] Esra Cayhan, "Towards a European Security and Defense Policy: With or Without Turkey?" **,"** in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics, eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2003), p. 50.

maybe rightly so. Up until around the early 1990s, many Turks were skeptical about being tied too closely to Europe. However, as Fathulla Güllen came to realize in the late 1980s and early 1990s, "they [the Turkish people] had much more in common with many Europeans than they did with the Westernized elite [secular Kemalist politicians] in Turkey. It was also a time when the discourse of globalization became popular; this discourse helped to show that an isolationist solution to Turkey's problems was impossible and that other countries suffered the same problems."[45] In order for Güllen to help Turkey to grow closer to the West, which he now considered a competitive rival rather than a threat, he spread his message of "Educational Islam" by forming schools throughout the world. These Güllen schools do not teach religion; rather they use Muslim ideals to teach ethics and such. The idea is that through knowledge, prejudices will slowly evaporate. The Turkish government is trying this policy by allowing more personal freedoms to the people, while also altering its national laws to comply with those of the EU.

> Today more than ever the Turks are part of Europe because they have started absorbing its true individualistic spirit by redefining their own historical identity in European terms. The West has come to terms with the Jews because they modernized and accepted European democracy and its spirit regardless of the surviving Orthodox Jewish religious extremism. There is no reason why the West cannon come to terms with the Turks, who have done exactly the same.[46]

---

[45] Yavuz and Esposito, eds., Turkish Islam and the Secular State, p. 58.

[46] Cayhan, "Towards a European Security and Defense Policy," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 41.

While the Turkish state and its actions are of the greatest concern in dealing with the European Union's decision, the question now turns to those ethnic Turks who already live and work in other parts of Europe. How has religion affected this interaction, and has their status improved with time? Another question to consider here is the role that religion has played in the cultures of both Turkey and Europe, and whether or not these influences have created cultures that are incompatible?

The answer to this question, as with other issues, is complex. Today, Turks living in the European Union make up the largest minority of any non-national group living in the entire EU, with 2.6 million Turks living in Germany alone.[47] In fact, these Turks living within Germany's borders represent "16% of all third country nationals living in the EU (15)."[48] For this reason, I will use the example of the Turks in Germany as the focus of how religion has affected the Turkish Muslims already living in western society.

To understand the situation of Turks in Germany, one must first understand why there is such a large percent of Turks living in Germany. In the aftermath of World War II, Germany lay in ruins. This destruction meant that once the war was over, there were more than enough jobs to go around as the country rebuilt. In economic terms, this brought about what is known in Germany as the "Wirtschaftswunder," or economic miracle. However, the German economy grew so quickly that there were not enough German workers to fill all of the jobs. At the same time, many other European nations were suffering from high unemployment, so the German government came up with a cure for its own labor shortage while helping to relieve unemployment elsewhere. What was

---

[47] "A Turkish Heimat," Economist 373.8406 (December 2004) [database on-line]; retrieved 1 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 74.

[48] Simon Green, "The Legal Status of Turks in Germany," Immigrants & Minorities 22.2/3 (July-November 2003) [database on-line]; retrieved 30 January 2006, Academic Search Premier: 228.

this solution? It is known as the guest worker program, under which Germany would work out a labor contract with another country to send workers on a temporary basis to Germany. The first of these labor contracts was signed with Italy in 1955. Soon to follow, however, were Spain and Greece in 1960, Turkey with agreements in both 1961 and 1964, Morocco in 1963, Portugal in 1964, Tunisia in 1965, and Yugoslavia in 1968.[49] Originally, these "Gastarbeiter" (guest workers) were extended one-year work permits. However, "Anticipating problems of re-entry, it was mainly the non-EEC workers, and among them mainly the Turks, who early on chose to extend their contracts by all available bureaucratic/legal means instead of rotating in and out of the Federal Republic."[50] In 1963, there were a total of 22,054 Turks living in Germany, but by 1973, the number had skyrocketed to well over half a million.[51] However, the oil crisis in 1973 brought about a decline in Germany's economy which brought an end to guest worker recruitment on November 23, 1973.

If the guest worker program ended more than thirty years ago, why has the number of Turks in Germany continued to grow? First, many Turks had been able to receive work permits that were valid for five years or even permanently. These Turks had come alone, leaving their families behind, as it was assumed that they would return after a brief stay in Germany. However, it soon became clear that many of these Turks were in Germany for good, a circumstance which meant it was time to bring their families to live with them. Thanks to Germany's family reunification laws, they were

---

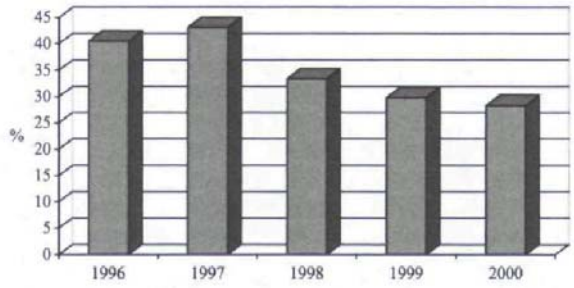
[49] Barbara Freyer Stowasser, "The Turks in Germany: From Sojourners to Citizens," in Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 55.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Bruce R. Kuniholm, "Turkey and the West Since World War II," in Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power, eds. Vojtech Mastny and R. Craig Nation (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p. 57.

able to do this. The following chart shows how the family unification laws affected the numbers of Turks living in Germany.

FIGURE 3
TURKISH NATIONALS' SHARE OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION VISAS, 1996–2000



Source: Auswärtiges Amt.

[52]

Once families were reunited, however, Germany encountered another increase in the number of Turks living within its borders. Of the Turks living in Germany, at least 1.6 million non-nationals were born in Germany.[53] Another way in which Turks have entered Germany is by claiming asylum, something which is constitutionally guaranteed in Germany (although seldom recognized). Between 1988 and 1999, Germany received over 230 thousand Turkish applications for asylum.[54] The majority of these Turkish asylum seekers in Europe were Turks, who had been displaced as a result of Turkey's struggle with the militant Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK); however, recent reforms have gone a long way in mending the gap between Turks and Kurds in Turkey.

The ways in which Turks have taken up residence in Germany is clear, but how have they interacted with German society? When the Turks first arrived in Germany in the early sixties, it was assumed that they were only there temporarily. As a result, the Germans treated them as just that, temporary "Gastarbeiter." What this meant, though, was that the Turks were more or less left to socialize with each other, causing them to

[52] Green, "Legal Status of Turks in Germany," Immigrants & Minorities: 232.
[53] Ibid., p. 229.
[54] Ibid., p. 230.

remain segregated from mainstream German society. A good example of this segregation is the Kreuzberg section of Berlin, which is known as a Turkish section of the city.[55] It is the opinion of most Germans that the Turkish culture and religion is just too different from that of Europe for a viable partnership to be able to exist.[56] While it is true that the Muslim Turks have failed overall to assimilate into German society, one must look at both sides of the story. The first of these Turks came from a rural Islamic society, and overnight they entered an industrial Christian society [actually a secular state with a mostly Christian population] that was not very welcoming. There was a substantial language barrier, and the Turks were given virtually no political rights as Germany was "not an immigration country."[57] So what did the Turks do? They separated themselves from the Germans and German culture, choosing instead to retain their Turkish identity and culture.

Although the Turks are still far from being completely assimilated into Germany, their status has improved in recent years. As Simon Green sees it, "The evidence shows that, despite long-term settlement patterns, Turks in Germany have not achieved a high level of formal inclusion. However, recent policy reforms have already gone some way to improving their situation, and the impact of planned reforms should equally ensure that this process continues in the future."[58] One such policy reform was enacted by Schroeder in 1999, which reduced standards for German naturalization, while at the same time allowing Germany to recognize itself as a country of immigration.[59] One result of such

---

[55] "Forget Asylum Seekers: It's the People Inside Who Count," Economist 367.8323 (May 2003) [database on-line]; retrieved 9 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 23.

[56] "Nationaler Bericht Deutschland," Eurobarometer 64: 26.

[57] Green, "Legal Status of Turks in Germany," Immigrants & Minorities: 229.

[58] Ibid., p. 228.

[59] Stowasser, "The Turks in Germany," in Muslims in the West: 56.

actions by Germany and other European states will be to give Turks a sense of belonging—something which will encourage assimilation to the local culture, proving that Turks and Europeans can peacefully coincide.

Between 1972 and 2001, over half a million Turks have become German citizens,[60] which shows a great understanding of the German language and also points to cultural assimilation. Other positive signs of Turkish interaction with German society include the fact that as of 2004, there were 112,000 marriages in Germany in which one partner was German and the other Turkish.[61] Another important role that Turks play in Germany is as business owners. There are fifty-seven thousand such businesses that employ three-hundred thousand people and produce combined revenue of some $35 billion dollars.[62] As can be seen by the two Turkish-born members of the German Bundestag, the relations between Turks and Germans are improving slowly but surely.

When the EU assesses Turkey's bid for membership to the Union, it is important that the EU decision makers remember several key points when dealing with the topic of religion and culture. First, Turkey and Europe have a long, complex history. There have always been struggles between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Europeans; however, religion is a means of national identity and can be a means of social and political stability when dealing with a secular government and an increasingly secular society. This is evermore becoming the case of Islam in regards to the secular Republic of Turkey. Secondly, the Turks already living in Europe may not be assimilated to the point that one might expect; however, no one side is at fault here. The European cultures into which these Turks are supposed to have assimilated have been anything but welcoming. On the

---

[60] Green , "Legal Status of Turks in Germany," Immigrants & Minorities: 229.
[61] "A Turkish Heimat," p. 74.
[62] Ibid.

other hand, the Turks have used this rejection as an excuse to remain cut off from the societies in which they live. In order for Muslims and Christians to create the type of partnership that would be required by Turkish membership to the EU, only time and further understanding of each other's culture and religion will help to bring and end to the prejudice that has long separated the two. "Life in the Twenty First Century calls for acknowledgment and reassessment of the prejudice that is as ancient as the Crusades and as modern as the present revival of Islam. The Muslim 'other' needs to be redefined as fellow human, rather than simplistically an enemy or not to be trusted."[63] As far as European opinions of the Turks go, Islamophobia should subside with time and knowledge.[64] On the other hand, Turks living in Europe will continue to adapt and assimilate to the cultures in which they now live as Europeans continue to open the doors that will give the Turks a sense of belonging. Although Islam and Christianity have a long history of struggle among each other, it is clear that Turkish Islam is a special case. Both Turkey and other European states have secular democracies. They also have rather secular cultures; therefore, the idea that Turkish and European peoples cannot adapt to the other's society and form a successful partnership is one of little warrant. However, in order for Turkey to gain membership to the EU, both sides will have to promote cultural understanding. Only time can tell if this understanding will happen.

[63] Fluehr-Lobban, Islamic Societies in Practice, p. 24.
[64] Vertovec, "Islamophobia and Muslim Recognition in Britain," in Muslims in the West, p. 33.

Chapter 3: Economics

One of the most prominent issues is the Turkish economy. One of the main goals of the European Union is to improve the economic situation of its member states, a situation which has been achieved by creating the European Central Bank, a single European market, and an international currency known as the Euro. In fact, the member states of the European Union work together in order to ensure that the economic policies of any one state will not harm other members, although this cooperation has not reached the desired level. There have been specific requirements set dealing with the budget deficit, inflation, and other such economic criteria. Because of the interdependence of each member state on all other members' economies, the focus of this paper must now turn to that of Turkey's economy. This chapter will assess the present state of the Turkish economy, after which it will compare some basic economic indicators of Turkey's economy to those of some of the poorest member states. Following the comparison, the chapter will examine the positive and negative effects that membership would have on the Turkish economy, as well as how Turkish membership would affect the European Union.

In order to understand the economic question, one must first understand the present economic situation in Turkey, and have some basic knowledge of the role the EU plays in its members' economies. "At its birth, the EU was made up of distinct national economies. Goods moving across borders were stopped for paperwork and to pay customs duties. Today, by contrast, the EU is essentially a single economy. Goods move freely across national borders. In addition, people, money and service providers (such as airlines, banks and phone companies) are free to move around and to operate across the

EU with a degree of freedom that would have been hard to imagine 50 years ago."[65] What this integration means is that although members of the European Union are separate and distinct nations, they have combined their economies into a single European market, and many of these member states have even done away with their national currency to make the Euro the official currency. However, in order for this union to work, strict requirements have been set for member states and how they handle their economies. These requirements, known as the Maastricht criteria, are as follows:

> [1] Price stability: the inflation rate should be no more than 1.5 percentage points above the rate for the three member states with the best inflation rate over the previous year; [2] The budget deficit (the gap between governments' revenue and expenditure): this must generally be below 3% of gross domestic product (GDP); [3] Debt: the limit was set at 60% of GDP, but a country with a higher debt-to-GDP ratio can nevertheless adopt the euro if its debt levels are falling steadily; [4] The long-term interest rate: this should be no more than two percentage points above the rate in the three member states with the best inflation rate over the previous year; [5] Exchange rate stability: the exchange rate should have stayed within pre-defined fluctuation margins for two years. These margins are those of the European exchange rate mechanism, an optional system for member states which want to link their currency to the euro.[66]

The question that must be answered is, does Turkey's economy fall within the set EU parameters? The answer is no; however, significant strides have been made in recent

---

[65] "Gowing for Growth: The Economy of the EU," Europe on the Move (September 2003): 3.
[66] Ibid., p. 12.

years. The first step for an aspiring EU member is to tweak its own economy to become closer to the economy of the EU—a process known as *convergence*. One way that this convergence can happen is through the creation of a Customs Union between the EU and the prospective member, a union which allows for more free trade between the two. "Turkey has been a member of a customs union with the EU since 1995, which has increased the volume of trade between Turkey and EU member states."[67] This customs union has been vitally important to Turkey's economy as it has become the "EU's 7th biggest trading partner (up from 9th in 1990). It is also now the 13th biggest exporter to the EU (up from 17th in 1990)."[68] In fact, 54.87% of all Turkish exports go to the various member states of the European Union, and slightly over 50% of everything that Turkey imports comes from the EU.[69]

While the customs union between Turkey and the EU has been successful in boosting trade, the Turkish economy still has other problems that it must resolve before it can become a full member of the Union. The first such problem of concern to the EU is inflation. In the past, Turkey has had significant problems with skyrocketing inflation rates; however, correction of this problem is one place where Turkey has excelled in the past few years. Despite significant economic downturns in 1994, 1999, and 2001, Turkey has been able to bring its inflation level down to the lowest its been in 30 years, reaching only 7.7% in 2005.[70] This figure is down from 12 % just one year prior.[71] A study

---

[67] "Economic Profile," Europa: Relations with Turkey; retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/turkey/economic_profile.htm>.

[68] "EU-Turkey Relations," Europa: Relations with Turkey; retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/turkey/economic_profile.htm>.

[69] Ibid.

[70] "Turkey," CIA World Factbook; retrieved 12 February 2006, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tu.html>.

released on February 18, 2006, by the Turkish International Investors' Association (YASED) showed that "Fifty-two percent of participants in YASED's study said inflation will remain at current rates, while 43 percent said it will fall even further."[72] Not only is this prediction of falling inflation important to Turkey's application for admission to the EU, but it also has immediate positive effects at home. For instance, a low rate of inflation means stable prices. Stable prices appeal to investors, and increased foreign direct investment (FDI) in Turkey means a number of positive effects for Turkey's economy. Increased investment leads to more jobs and less unemployment. In 2004, Turkey saw the creation of 1.2 million jobs (outside of agriculture), a factor which helped to bring the unemployment rate down to 10%.[73] Much of this positive change can be attributed to increased investment in Turkey, which means that the same positive trends should hold for 2005 since FDI for 2005 is said to be at nine billion dollars, a record high for Turkey.[74]

The next major problem the Turkish government must face in order to comply with EU standards is to bring down its budget deficit as well as its debt. This concern is yet another area where Turkey has shown its ability to control its economy effectively. In a recent speech, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan announced that "We [Turkey] had targeted a budget deficit of YTL [New Lira—new Turkish currency which replaced the Turkish Lira in 2005] 29.137 billion (in 2005), but the actual figure came out

---

[71] "Economic Profile," Europa: Relations with Turkey; retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/turkey/economic_profile.htm>.

[72] "Investors' Association Sees High Expectations on Future Capital Inflow," Turkish Daily News (February 18 2006); retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.pho?enewsid=36077>.

[73] Selcuk Gokoluk, "Jobs, Poverty Taint Turkey's Star Performance," Turkish Daily News (18 February 2006); retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=36053>.

[74] "Investors' Association," Turkish Daily News.

at YTL 9.473 billion."[75] "The ratio of Turkey's budget deficit to GNP [Gross National Product] fell to 2 percent last year from 7.1 percent in 2004, Erdogan said—well in line with the European Union's Maastricht Criteria, which stipulates a deficit of under 3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP)."[76]

The third area of concern over the Turkish economy is that of overall debt as a percentage of GDP. In 2004 the EU published that Turkey's foreign debt came out to about 75% of the country's GDP,[77] a number which is far higher than the maximum 60% under the Maastricht criteria. However, 2005 was a good year for the Turkish economy since it also showed gains in this area. In 2005, Turkey's debt is estimated to have fallen to 67.5% of the GDP.[78] Thus, if Turkey continues to decrease its debt, it will be in compliance with the third criterion.

The fourth issue, which is long term interest rates, is one that is not completely settled. In 2001, after a debate between the Turkish President and the Prime Minister, there was a run on the Turkish lira bringing about a sharp economic downturn. Along with this run, interest rates skyrocketed. However, thanks to a tighter fiscal policy and significant IMF funding, Turkey has been able to stabilize its interest rates, along with its currency, as it reforms its economy to become more stable. If the Turkish government remains committed to its current economic revisions, then the long term interest rates should remain stable.[79]

---

[75] "Turkey Beats '05 Primary Surplus Projection, Says PM Erdogan," Turkish Daily News (February 1, 2006); retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=34603>.

[76] Ibid.

[77] "Economic Profile," Europa.

[78] "Turkey," CIA World Factbook.

[79] "Background Note: Turkey," U.S. Department of State: Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (December 2005); retrieved 19 February 2006, <http://www.state.gove/r/pa/ei/bgn/3432.htm>.

The fifth and final issue of concern to the EU under the Maastricht criteria is Turkey's exchange rate stability. To comply here, Turkey created a new currency in 2005. This so called "New Lira" replaced the former "Turkish Lira," with an exchange rate of 1,000,000 Turkish lira to one "New Lira." At the same time, one new lira was equal to only fifty-six Euro cents in April of 2005.[80] This exchange rate of New Lira to Euros is of the greatest concern to the EU. Thus far, Turkey's currency is holding strong. In fact, it has even gained slightly on the Euro. As of February 18, 2006, one Turkish new lira was worth 0.63 Euro[81]—a seven cent increase since April of 2005. At this point, Turkey's economy is well on its way to complying with the standards set by the EU, but the question is how does Turkey's economy compare to those of some of the current EU members?

To answer this question, some of Turkey's basic economic indicators, such as GDP and unemployment, will be compared to those of the poorest of the EU's member states to show how Turkey compares. Based on information published in 2003, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland (all three became members of the EU in 2004) are the poorest members of the European Union with GDP purchasing power parity (ppp) in Latvia at thirty-five percent of the EU average living standard, and Lithuania and Poland both at thirty-nine percent the GDP ppp of the 15-member states (prior to 2004 admission of ten new states). Therefore, since Turkey is a poor country in comparison to EU members, these three members will serve as the basis for comparison.

---

[80] "Economic Profile," Europa.

[81] "Homepage," XE.com; retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://xe.com/ucc/convert.cgi>.

Table 1

Key economic indicators for Turkey in 2000, compared with other regions

	Population (millions)	GDP (current bln. US$)	Per capita GNI (PPP in % EU-15)
EU-15	376.3	8325	100
Accession-10	75.1	330	44
Bulgaria	7.9	12	23
Romania	22.4	33	27
Turkey	68.6	199	30

Source: World Bank (2003a).

[82]

Based on the same numbers which placed Latvia as the poorest EU member with a GPD ppp of only 35% of the EU (15) average, Turkey's GDP ppp stands ten percent below even Latvia, placing Turkey at about 25% of the EU average as it stood in 2002.[83] What makes this fact even more significant, however, is the size of Turkey's population. The combined populations of Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland come out to roughly forty-four million people, whereas Turkey alone has a population of about seventy-million people, making it second in population size (among EU members) only to Germany which has roughly eighty-two million people. However, Germany is the most prosperous nation in the EU. Adding another twist to Turkey's problem is that with current population growth rates, Turkey will undoubtedly surpass Germany's population size in coming years, making Turkey not only the poorest of the EU states, but also the largest. This fact will undoubtedly weigh heavily on the EU's decision on Turkish accession.

The question is, how have these situations changed since 2002? Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland have become full members of the EU, and Turkey has undergone

[82] Arjan M. Lejour and Ruud A. de Mooij, "Turkish Delight: Does Turkish Accession to the EU Bring Economic Benefits," Kyklos 58.1 (February 2005) [database on-line]: 90; retrieved 18 February 2006, Academic Search Premier.

[83] "Gowing for Growth: The Economy of the EU," Europe on the Move (September 2003): 20.

significant economic reforms. To get an idea of how these nations are doing economically in comparison to each other, the current figures will help to establish the trend. In 2005, Latvia's GDP was estimated at $29.42 billion with a per capita GDP ppp listed at $12,800.[84] Lithuania remained slightly above Latvia; however, Poland slipped slightly lower than Latvia with a GDP ppp of $489.3 billion, giving it a per capita GDP ppp of only $12,700.[85] How does this compare to Turkey? Turkey is still far behind even the poorest of the EU members, with a 2005 GDP ppp of $551.6 billion, giving it a per capita GDP ppp of only $7,900—only about 62% that of Poland.

Besides GDP per capita, a nation's unemployment rate is usually a good indication of how well or poorly a country's economy is doing. In comparing the EU's poorest three states (Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland) with Turkey in 2005, Turkey, with 10% unemployment,[86] is much better off than Poland, which has an 18.3% unemployment rate.[87] Although Turkey has a higher employment rate than Poland, Turkey is still worse off than the three EU members when it comes to percentage of the population below the poverty line. In this category, Latvia and Lithuania do not even register, and Poland has approximately 17% of its population below this minimal income level.[88] Turkey, on the other hand, is facing a population in which twenty percent of the people are living below the poverty level—an issue that should be addressed.[89]

Why is Turkey lagging so far behind the EU states, and what can be done to correct the problem? One reason that Turkey may be losing ground to the newly

---

[84] "Latvia," CIA World Factbook; retrieved 18 February 2006, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/lg.html>.

[85] "Poland," CIA World Factbook; retrieved 18 February 2006, http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pl.html>.

[86] "Turkey," CIA World Factbook.

[87] "Poland," CIA World Factbook.

[88] Ibid.

[89] "Turkey," CIA World Factbook.

admitted EU member states is that there are many economic benefits to being a member. For instance, when talking about the most recently admitted members, the EU says, "The 10—Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia—are poorer than the EU average, and one of the first priorities of the enlarged Union is to raise their living standards as fast as possible towards those of the other EU countries."[90] As a result of this desire to improve living conditions, "The European Commission estimates that joining the Union will add up to one percent extra growth each year for the newcomers during the first 10 years of membership…The enlarged single market will provide competitive EU firms with greater business opportunities, create jobs and raise tax revenues for governments to spend on priority programs."[91] This added growth means that comparing EU member states to Turkey is not exactly a fair comparison. While Turkey is receiving significant funding from the EU that is designed to help it move toward accession, the recently admitted member states are receiving far more economic aid.

If Turkey were to be admitted to the EU, what effect would admission have on Turkey's economy? It seems to be the consensus among scholars that the effects would be mostly positive, with the exception of the agricultural sector (which will be discussed below). What are the expected benefits to Turkey's economy, and where will they come from? First of all, it is expected that by becoming a member of the European Union, a country will benefit "from a wave of investment by EU companies…"[92] It has also been suggested that Turkey would especially benefit from membership because it would be

[90] "More Unity and More Diversity: The European Union's Biggest Enlargement," Europe on the Move (November 2003): 3.
[91] Ibid., p. 7.
[92] Ibid.

required to comply with all EU legislation, which would, in effect, bring about institutional reforms. If these institutional reforms were to make Turkey less corrupt and more stable, they could bring about an influx of FDI which would boost the country's economy.[93] Although Turkey would benefit indirectly from increased trade and investment, there are also substantial direct benefits.

One such direct benefit would be the influx of EU structural funds, which are designed to help poorer regions of the EU to build infrastructure and to move toward the EU average. How much monetary aid would this be? One cannot say for sure, but in the case of the ten most recently admitted states, "For the period of entry in May 2004 to the end of 2006, a total of 21.75 billion Euros from the EU's structural funds and cohesion fund has been set aside for the new members."[94] If one considers that these states are all in relatively better economic shape than Turkey, and also that Turkey has a population of roughly the same size as the combination of the populations of all ten states admitted in 2004, one would assume that Turkey will receive an amount of aid equal to, if not greater than that which the 2004 members received. This aid would go a long way toward improving infrastructure—an improvement that would, in turn, create jobs, further reduce inflation, and also reduce public debt.

One area that has been helpful to EU members in the past is a policy known as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This policy is designed to provide aid to support member states' agricultural sectors. CAP provides farming subsidies as well as guaranteed prices for crops, and a promise to buy what farmers grow, which, in turn, keeps the price of agricultural products low within the EU single market. However, CAP

---

[93] Lejour and de Mooij, "Turkish Delight," Kyklos: 101.
[94] "More Unity and More Diversity," Europe on the Move: 4.

may have an undesired negative effect on the large agricultural sector of Turkey's economy.

Table 3

Value-added for sectors in % of total value added, 2001

	Turkey	Accession-10	Bulgaria	Romania	EU-15
Agriculture	14.2	6.7	28.2	19.3	2.5
Energy	3.6	3.2	4.5	5.3	1.8
Food processing	6.2	5.6	9.9	13.8	3.1
Textiles	2.3	1.0	3.6	1.5	0.6
Wearing apparel	1.3	1.3	0.8	4.2	0.5
Chemicals and minerals	3.8	5.6	8.0	4.6	4.7
Other manufacturing	2.1	4.8	2.7	4.1	3.6
Metals	1.3	1.8	2.5	1.1	0.9
Machinery and equipment	3.2	8.2	4.4	5.0	7.7
Transport equipment	1.4	2.4	0.5	2.4	2.6
Transport services	11.6	5.7	5.8	6.8	4.7
Trade services	20.6	12.7	4.0	6.2	12.8
Business services	7.1	16.7	19.7	15.9	18.2
Other services	16.9	18.0	3.4	3.9	30.6
Construction	4.5	6.2	2.1	5.7	5.7

Source: Dimaranan and McDougall (2004) and own calculations.

[95]

As can be seen in Table 3 above, Turkey's agricultural sector contributed about 14.2% of the country's GDP in 2001. This percentage is much greater than the average of the ten new members. Why does agriculture play such a major role?

> One reason for the large agricultural sector in Turkey is substantial amount of agricultural support by the Turkish government. In particular, transfers to farmers run up to 5% of GDP. In addition, there are guaranteed output prices, import protection, export subsidies, subsidized services to farmers and sometimes state involvement in supply.[96]

In other words, as Turkey reforms its agricultural policy to come in line with the European CAP, the agricultural sector in Turkey will actually receive less help than it did

[95] Lejour and de Mooij, "Turkish Delight," Kyklos: 94.
[96] Ibid., p. 93.

before accession. For Turkey to accede to the EU, it would have to eliminate any import protection as well as export subsidies that it had in place to function as part of the single European market. A second problem that the agriculture industry would face is that CAP aid does not pay fully during the initial years of membership. In the case of the 2004 enlargement, the CAP policy is as follows, "Although their [the new member states'] farmers will receive full scale EU support only after a ten-year transitional period, they will stand to receive Union funding worth about ten billion Euro in the period 2004-2006."[97]. This issue is one that will have to be addressed by the EU in its accession decision on Turkey, since a drastic reduction of agricultural subsidies may result in lesser production, thus a significant blow to Turkey's GDP.

Now that the economic benefits of membership for Turkey are known, one must ask what effect Turkish membership would have on the Union itself. When asked his opinion on the positive and negative effects of Turkish accession to the EU, Stefan Wally, a political science professor specializing in EU policy at Salzburg University, gave the following opinion. He saw the positive economic effects on the EU from Turkish membership as being "market enlargement" and "cheap labor".[98] In real terms, inclusion of Turkey would mean that the price of production in the EU would drop because of the new supply of cheap labor. At the same time, the enlarged internal market would mean even more competition, forcing companies to work more efficiently to compete on price. One other positive aspect of Turkish accession to the EU could be that if Turkey's economic situation were to improve greatly, as is the idea, then the trend of

[97] "More Unity and More Diversity," Europe on the Move: 13.
[98] Stefan Wally, Personal Interview, 16 February 2006.

Turkish labor emigration to other parts of Europe may reverse. If Turks can live at the same standard of living in Turkey as they could in other parts of Europe, there would be less incentive for them to leave.

Not all of the impact of Turkish accession would be positive for the EU, however. The negative effects listed by Wally include "even more complex decision making in the EU as well as the downside to cheap labor, which may undermine the mass income."[99] In saying this, Wally is referring to the fact that decision making in the EU is already a complex process because it is designed to give each member state an equal share of power. Within this process, certain issues require a consensus vote to pass (which become more difficult to achieve as more states join), while other topics require only a qualified majority vote (qualified majority voting takes a state's population into account, giving Turkey a lot of power). Many critics of Turkish accession argue that the benefits the EU would gain from increased trade with Turkey would be minimal due to the fact that a customs union has been in place since 1995, essentially allowing both Turkey and the EU to have already experienced these benefits without granting Turkish membership. While the exact impact that Turkish membership would have on trade is unclear, one fact is clear. "Turkey would become a net recipient of EU funds [meaning Turkey would consistently receive more in aid from the EU than it would pay into the Union], which implies a net cost for existing members states."[100]

The economic issue in dealing with Turkish accession is fairly clear cut; however, whether membership would have a positive or negative impact may depend on who is asking the question. For Turkey, the overall benefits to the economy far outweigh any

---

[99] Ibid.
[100] Lejour and de Mooij, "Turkish Delight," Kyklos: 88.

negative impacts that might occur as a result of EU membership. Turkey would enjoy an influx of FDI, the benefits of a large internal market, added growth to its GDP, structural funds to help it build infrastructure that would support a stronger economy, and eventually the adoption of a strong international currency in the form of the Euro (new members are required to commit to adopting the Euro once they meet all economic criteria for doing so). On the other hand, the positive and negative impacts of Turkish accession, at least in the short term, do not seem to tip the scale either way for the EU. There will undoubtedly be costs for having such a large, poor nation as a member. It is also likely that some frictional unemployment will occur as the internal market expands; however, the long-term benefits of admitting Turkey to the EU seem to be a positive. With time much of the costs of paying structural funds to Turkey will wane, and the increase in trade and competition should pay off. One final positive aspect of Turkish accession that cannot be ignored is its strategic importance to the European Union—an issue which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Chapter 4: Migration

One area in which Turkey will have to make great improvements if it hopes someday to become a member of the European Union is in European popular support. In fact, as published in a recent poll by the European Union,[101] only thirty-five percent of Europeans support Turkish accession to the European Union.[102] Although some of this anti-Turkish feeling may have to do with the majority of Turkey's population being Muslim, Turkey's economic struggles, or any of a number of other issues, I will argue in this chapter that a major cause of European fear of Turkish accession is because of concern about migration issues.

On the topic of migration, Turkey must be viewed in two ways. First, Turkey must be examined as a country of immigration. This chapter will explain the role that Turkey has played since World War II on taking immigrants and asylum seekers into the country. The EU is especially interested in looking at Turkey's asylum practices in addition to how well Turkey is able to handle illegal migration. The second part of this chapter will deal with Turkish emigration to Europe. I will assess various waves of Turkish emigration in an effort to show what effects EU membership would have on Turkish emigration to other parts of the Union. Once all of these issues have been discussed, it will be clear why the EU is so concerned with migration when considering Turkey's bid, but more importantly, this chapter will discuss whether or not Europe's fears that membership for Turkey would mean mass migration are warranted or not.

---

[101] "Nationaler Bericht Deutschland," Eurobarometer 64: Die öffentliche Meinund der Europäische Union (Fall 2005); retrieved 10 February 2006, <http://europa.eu.int/public_opinion/archives/eb64/eb64_en.htm>.

[102] "Turkey Still Lacking Popular Support in the EU," Emerging Markets Monitor (August 2005) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 18.

In examining Turkey as a country of immigration, there are two distinct aspects to consider. The first of these involves legal immigration into Turkey. The first time that Turkey played the role of a country of immigration came during World War II when it gave refuge to an estimated 100 thousand Jews and approximately 67 thousand people from Bulgaria, Greece, and Italy.[103] In fact, Turkey has played such a role in many cases, such as during the Bosnian and Kosovo wars, the first Gulf War, and even for people fleeing communism during the Cold War.[104] The issue with the EU, however, is not about Turkey's dealings with Europeans seeking temporary refuge. Rather, the EU is concerned mainly with Turkey's role in taking permanent asylum seekers (the main issue here deals with non-European asylum seekers). As stated by Mehmet Ali Tugtan, the EU is concerned with Turkey's immigration policies because, "in order to protect its internal structure (the area of freedom, security, and justice), the migration policies of member states in general, and their external border policies in particular, have to be harmonized."[105] In practice, this harmonization means that Turkey will not only have to adopt the EU's Schengen visa policies, but Turkey will also have to reform its national immigration policies in order to become a state of asylum.

In 1934, Turkey passed a law which only allowed official immigration of those peoples who were of ethnic Turkish descent[106] What this law means is that Turkey has always considered itself to be a place of temporary refuge to any persons trying to enter

---

[103] Kemal Kirisci, "The Questin of Asylum and Illegal Migration in European Union-Turkish Relations," in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics, eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2003), p. 82.

[104] Ibid., 83.

[105] Mehmet Ali Tugtan, "Possible Impacts of Turkish Application of Schengen Visa Standards," Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 6.1 (April 2004) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 27.

[106] Philip Martin et al, "Best Practice Options: Turkey," International Migration 40.3 (2002) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 126.

that were not of Turkish descent. In fact, Turkey has followed a tough policy on asylum seekers. In fact, in November of 1994, Turkey enacted what was known as "Asylum Regulation" which put all regulation of asylum seekers under the Turkish government (as opposed to working with the United Nations High Council on Refugees [UNHCR]). In doing so, Turkey would only consider granting asylum to peoples who did not pass through what they consider to be a safe country before arriving in Turkey,[107] and every asylum seeker was required to apply for such within five days of arriving in Turkey or risk being deported.[108] However, this practice began to draw sharp criticism from Western governments who were concerned that Turkey, which was turning away genuine asylum seekers, was violating international law by doing so. Statistics given by the Turkish government indicate that between 1994 and 2000, Turkey received 20,000 applications for asylum, but only accepted 7,300 as refugees. However, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) lists Turkey as receiving thirty one thousand applications during this time period and accepting only eleven thousand of those applicants as refugees.[109]

As of 1999 (the year in which Turkey was named as an official candidate for EU membership), Turkey began to reform its asylum practices by cooperating closely with the UNHCR on determining refugee status; however, Turkey still expects aid from the UN in order to ensure that all refugees are registered with local authorities and eventually

---

[107] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," Turkey and the European Union, p. 86.

[108] Nergis Canefe and Tanil Bora, "Intellectual Roots of Anti-European Sentiments in Turkish Politics: The Case of Radical Turkish Nationalism," in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics, eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2003), p. 127.

[109] Ibid.

resettled in third countries.[110] To conform completely to EU legislation (which Turkey is required to do to gain membership), Turkey will have to begin considering immigration of these refugees since it will be expected to allow them to permanently settle in Turkey versus being resettled elsewhere. The Turkish government, however, has been reluctant to make these changes until they had a genuine show from the EU that they were serious about some day granting membership to Turkey. In other words, Turkey fears having to finance such actions on its own in case it does not gain membership.[111]

Although Turkey has long drawn criticism from EU governments on its asylum practices, another area dealing with Turkish immigration of even greater concern is, of course, that of illegal migration—one reason why Turkey has been so strict on granting asylum. "EU member governments, as well as the Turkish one, have international obligations to respect the rights of asylum seekers and refugees. Hence, distinguishing between asylum seekers and illegal migrants becomes very important."[112] Although Turkey is seen primarily as a country of emigration, "Turkey has also become a major country of destination—as well as transit—for illegal migration."[113] This illegal migration seems to complicate the migration issue for both Turkey and the EU. On the one hand, the EU wants Turkey to become a state of asylum, but on the other hand, the EU wants to prevent illegal migration in order to maintain the security of "Fortress Europe." As can be seen in the following chart, statistics of illegal immigrants arrested by Turkish authorities over the last decade are a good indicator that Turkey is upping its

---

[110] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," Turkey and the European Union, p. 87.

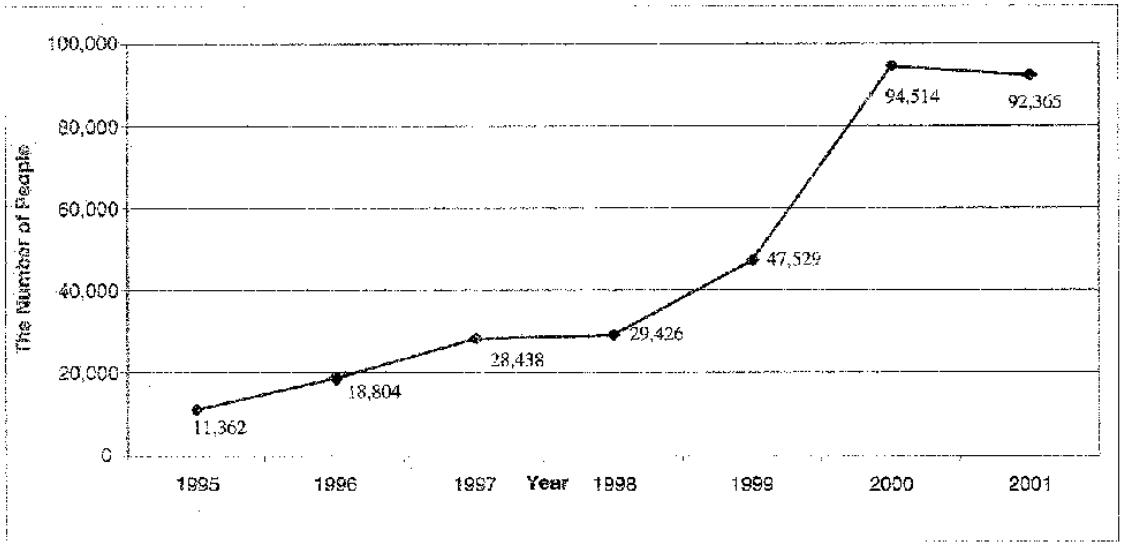
[111] Tugtan, "Possible Impacts," Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, p. 27.

[112] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 92.

[113] Ibid., p. 80.

efforts in halting illegal migration in order to better comply with these EU regulations. For instance, in 1995, Turkish authorities arrested 11,362 illegals. Only six years later, in 2001, officials arrested some 92,365 illegal immigrants.[114]

FIGURE 1
NUMBER OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARRESTED BY TURKISH SECURITY FORCES BETWEEN 1995 AND 2001



Source: Data obtained from the Foreigners Department of MOI.

(MOI=Ministry of the Interior)[115]

Although it is clear that both Turkey and the EU have an interest in stopping illegal immigration, the issue of who is an illegal has been somewhat blurred in Turkey because Turkey has long used a liberal visa policy to allowed peoples of former Soviet Republics to travel Turkey freely.[116] The same holds true for many other countries that benefit from Turkey's "pragmatism and flexibility." These countries include Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tunisia, and Palestine—whose nationals are unofficially allowed temporary asylum in Turkey.[117] However, for Turkey to comply

[114] Ibid., p. 93.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., p. 98.
[117] Ibid., p. 85.

with the Schengen standards in order to become eligible to join the EU, these practices would have to stop. The idea of the Schengen agreement, which was signed in 1995 by Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg was to remove internal border controls to allow free movement once inside; however, the security of such requires common external border controls and visa policy.[118] This idea has since been integrated into the European Union and its standards adopted by all member states with the exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland.[119] If Turkey is to join the EU, it too will have to comply with these Schengen standards, which include the following:

> [1] The organization of controls at external borders and the conditions for crossing such borders; [2] Visa policy, including the introduction of a common visa valid for the whole territory of participating states, and the conditions for granting visas; [3] Conditions for free movement for third country nationals; and [4] The creation of a common computerized system of police records, the Schengen Information System (SIS) and the accompanying rules on data protection.[120]

The enforcement of such standards would bring the benefit of easing restrictions of the movement of Turkish nationals within the EU, and it would also mean a great increase of investment in Turkey from EU firms. On the other hand, the cost of implementing such would greatly reduce bilateral trade between Turkey and its neighbors, such as Iraq and Iran, whose citizens would now have a much harder time gaining entry to Turkey. As Tugtan sees it, "This means, eventually application of the

---

[118] Tugtan, "Possible Impacts," Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, p. 27.
[119] Ibid., p. 28.
[120] Ibid.

Schengen regime is to the advantage of the candidate states—except Turkey."[121] One reason that Turkey would lose out in this case is because Turkey has benefited much more than other candidates (and newly admitted members) from the informal economy, or "suitcase trade" (also known as the informal economy).[122] Other fears include the fact that a tightening of Turkish visa requirements may lead to an increase of illegal entry from countries such as Iran, whose nationals have had "visa-free entry" to Turkey since the 1970s.[123]

Besides the illegal immigration of third-country nationals into the EU via Turkey, Europe fears another type of immigration—the influx of Turks to the EU—which is the focus of the second half of this chapter. To understand these fears, which include issues such as unemployment and cultural tensions, one must first look at the history of Turkish migration to Europe in the post WWII era. "Turkey has long been a country of emigration: there are close to 3.5 million Turkish citizens living in the EU."[124] By 1990, academics such as Ruth Mandel already understood the significance of Turkish migration into Europe. Mandel displayed this understanding when she wrote,

> The past quarter-century has witnessed a migratory movement unprecedented in Turkish history and irreversible in its consequences. Close to two-million Turks currently reside in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin, with significant numbers scattered throughout the rest of Western Europe.[125]

---

[121] Ibid., p. 34.
[122] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 98.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., p. 79.
[125] Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 154.

The consequences that Mandel was referring to, such as xenophobia, can be seen now more than ever, as anti-immigration platforms have carried a lot of support in recent years in many EU states, including France, the United Kingdom, Spain, and Denmark.[126] "Governments are not only concerned about basic law and order matters but also feel increasing domestic political pressure to address the public's perception of what is a threat to the national identity of their countries."[127]

The question is, why are there so many Turks in the EU, and how might Turkish membership affect this population of Turks in Europe? To answer the first half of this question, one must look no further than the economic situation in Europe versus that of Turkey in the post war years. In essence, the first massive migration of Turks to other parts of Europe began in 1961 when the Turkish government signed a labor contract with the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), which was designed to "export surplus labor power" from Turkey to Germany.[128] The objective of such an agreement was to benefit Germany, whose economic miracle had brought about a labor shortage; at the same time, the agreement benefited Turkey which was suffering from high unemployment. At the time of these labor agreements, both Turkey and the European signatories believed that the migration was temporary. However, as time would tell, many of these so called guest workers chose not to return to Turkey, making them the largest non-national group in the EU today.

---

[126] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 79.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ahmet Icduygu et al, "Socio-Economic Development and International Migration : A Turkish Study, » International Migration 39.4 (2001) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 44.

Shortly following the oil crisis of 1973, the European economies went into a recession that brought an end to all major labor recruitment in 1975, thus ending the first wave of Turkish immigrants.[129] However, as it became more and more obvious that the Turks in Europe were there to stay, a second wave of Turkish migration came. This time, it was not workers moving to Europe; rather it was the families of the previous migrant workers. Although the numbers of Turks arriving in Europe with this second wave were greatly reduced, it still brought about 200,000 Turks a year to Europe in the early 1970s.[130] Family reunification continued through the end of the decade;[131] however, as with previous movements, migration from Turkey to Europe did not stop completely with the end of family unification.

The third and last major wave of Turkish migration to Europe came in the 1980s and 1990s in the form of Turkish asylum seekers in Europe. These asylum seekers were mainly Turkish Kurds who were displaced by the war of the Turkish government against the militant Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in southern Turkey. Based on statistics released by the UNHCR, throughout the course of the 1990s, Europe received about 340,000 applications for asylum from Turkish citizens,[132] thus placing Turkey among the top countries of origin for asylum seekers in the EU.[133] Although the war between the Turks and the militant Kurdish group led to a massive displacement of people and human rights violations, recent reforms have gone a long way in mending the gap between the Turks and their Kurdish minority,[134] thus greatly reducing the number of Turkish asylum

---

[129] Ibid.
[130] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 120.
[131] Icduygu, "Socio-Economic Development," International Migration: 44.
[132] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 82.
[133] Ibid., p. 80.
[134] Ibid., p. 96.

seekers in Europe. In fact, "Turkey-EU migration has been reduced to 50,000-70,000 per year from 200,000 per year in the early 1970s, but fears of restarting migration flows are one reason why the EU has been slow to embrace Turkey's bid for EU membership."[135]

This leads to the second part of the question: What effect would Turkish membership have on the EU? To answer this question, one must consider what caused the previous waves of migration. Turkish migration was caused, at least in part, by the economic gap between the relatively wealthy European countries and their relatively poor neighbors. "An underlying assumption is that poverty breeds migration."[136] What this means is that people tend to emigrate for reasons of "income maximization" when they feel like they could make more money elsewhere than they are able to do at home.[137] This theory held true in Turkey in the case of a recent economic recession. In this case, "The financial and economic crisis which rocked Turkey in February 2001 has actually increased the pressures of emigration out of Turkey in the direction of Europe."[138] This migration makes sense as the average income per person in Turkey is around a quarter of the average income for people living in the European Union.

The big question that Europe wants answered, however, is not why the Turks went to Europe in the first place; rather, Europeans are interested to know what effect membership might have on future Turkish migration habits. "Many Europeans fear that Turkish EU membership would lead to another wave of migration,"[139] which "would threaten the labour market in terms of an already high unemployment rate and wage

---

[135] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 120.
[136] Icduygu, "Socio-Economic Development," International Migration: 39.
[137] Ibid., p. 41-42.
[138] Kirisci, "The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 82.
[139] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 119.

stability, and put additional pressure upon the welfare systems of Western European countries."[140] If Turkey were to be admitted, studies indicate that there may well be a large influx of Turkish workers into the Western European countries;[141] however, there is also significant evidence to show that at least some of these fears are unwarranted. First of all, "international labor migration is largely demand-based."[142] In the past, Turkey has exported many unskilled workers to take low-paying jobs in Europe. However, studies indicate that the number of unskilled jobs in Europe will be greatly decreased in coming years. "If the number of jobs for unskilled workers shrank as projected in most European countries, and if most Turkish migrants were unskilled, then migration to test the waters would be followed by far less migration."[143]

A second and equally important point is that EU membership brings many direct and indirect benefits to new members. The addition of EU aid and increased FDI will bring about countless new jobs for Turkey. As the Turkish government stated, "We do not want to overwhelm Europe with unskilled Turkish workers."[144] Rather, "Turkey hopes that admission to the EU will bring EU assistance and foreign direct investment (FDI) that creates jobs and pushes up wages, thus making migration insignificant."[145]

The third and final point is that even if granted full membership, "the EU has allowed itself the latitude to introduce transitional periods before Turkey is eligible for the full benefits of entry. Essentially, barriers to the free movement of labor would likely

---

[140] Tugtan, "Possible Impacts," Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, p. 30.
[141] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 124.
[142] Icduygu, "Socio-Economic Development," International Migration: 43.
[143] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 124-125.
[144] Ibid., p. 124.
[145] Ibid., p. 120.

be in place for some time."[146] In the case of the 2004 enlargement, "Citizens of the new EU member states will also have full access to these opportunities, in some cases after a transitional period [set at 7 years for these new members]."[147]

In settling the issue of migration, the official opening of accession talks between Turkey and the EU should go a long way in convincing Turkey to reform its asylum policies and to begin to adapt the Schengen criteria for immigration. These changes will help Turkey on its path toward accession. On the other hand, as accession draws near, EU fears of a massive wave of Turkish immigration will likely grow. In addressing these fears, the growth of the Turkish economy with increased EU aid and FDI should bring jobs and increase wage, thus minimizing the number of Turks who will deem it necessary to look for higher paying jobs outside of Turkey. Secondly, for those Turks who do decide to migrate to the EU in search of work (after the transitional period expires), they will likely come to find very limited opportunities for unskilled workers, as these will no doubt be outsourced to countries, such as Turkey, where labor is cheaper. Therefore, while it cannot be ruled out that some Turks will migrate to other parts of the EU once Turkey is granted free movement of labor, it seems as if this "migration to test the waters would be followed by far less migration, that is, it would appear as a migration hump."[148]

---

[146] "The Long Road Towards Accession," Middle East Monitor: East Med 15.8 (August 2005) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 4.

[147] "It's Your Europe: Living, Learning and Working Anywhere in the EU," Europe on the Move (August 2003): 3.

[148] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 125.

Chapter 5: Security

When considering the possible accession of Turkey to the EU, the Union will no doubt look at numerous issues such as religion, economics, and migration; however, this chapter will argue that one key issue has been the cause of much of the past interaction between Turkey and the European Union. This issue, of course, is security. Turkey and the member states of the European Union have been military allies for more than half a century now, but as times have changed, so have the reasons for such alliances. As the European Union looks to Turkey as a possible future member, EU leaders will no doubt assess what effects, positive and/or negative, that accession might have on Europe. This analysis is particularly important because one of the three pillars upon which the European Union is built is that of a "Common Foreign and Security Policy" (the other pillars are the "European Community" and "Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters")[149]—a goal which it has more or less failed to achieve thus far. Although security matters have changed since the end of the Cold War, bringing different enemies and different concerns for the EU and Turkey, this chapter will argue that there is still a need for cooperation between the European Union and Turkey in the area of European security and defense; however, the question that must be answered is whether or not this cooperation would be best achieved through Turkish EU membership or not.

To understand the relationship between Turkey and the states that now comprise the members of the European Union, one must first examine the Cold War era, which lasted from the end of the Second World War until the fall of the Soviet Union, or more

[149] "Three Pillars of the European Union," Wikipedia; retrieved 5 February 2006, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three_pillars_of_the_European_Union>.

specifically from 1947 until 1991.[150] Following the end of World War II, Germany was divided into four sectors, creating an American sector, a British sector, a French sector, and a Soviet sector. Germany's capital city, Berlin, was divided in the same way. Although the occupation of Germany was supposed to ensure peace in Europe, what followed was a struggle for power between the Allies and the Soviets that is commonly called the Cold War. During this time, a so-called "Iron Curtain" divided the Soviet Eastern part of Europe from Allied Western Europe. Tensions between the two blocs were so high during this period,[151] that both sides formed alliances in hopes of securing themselves against the enemy. In doing so, the West formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, which was designed for "collective security" of all parties to the treaty. At the time of its induction, NATO included twelve members (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, and the United States).[152] As the perceived Soviet threat grew, the collective security of Europe became more and more important to all states involved. Turkey was no exception. "During the aftermath of the Second World War Turkish policy makers sought to establish alliances with European powers."[153] Through the efforts of these policy makers, and also thanks in part to the West's perception of Turkey as being a vital strategic location, Turkey gained membership to NATO in 1952,[154] only three years after the alliance was formed.

---

[150] "Cold War." Wikipedia. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War>.

[151] Ibid.

[152] "NATO,' Wikipedia; retrieved 5 February 2006, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NATO>.

[153] Pinar Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civisational Geopolitics' in the Mediterranean? Changing Geopolitical Images of the European Union and Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era," Geopolitics 9.2 (Summer 2004) [database on-line]; retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 277.

[154] "NATO," Wikipedia.

In joining NATO, Turkey was able to help defend Western Europe against the common enemy of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. Turkey was vitally important to European Cold War security for several reasons, the first of which is its geographic location. NATO membership for Turkey meant that the USSR shared a significant border with one of its enemy's strongest military powers. Turkey has the largest standing army of any European NATO member and is second only to the United States among all NATO members.[155] During the Cold War, this large military presence was a fact that could not be overlooked.

As a result of Turkey's membership in NATO, the country has been a major actor in the collective security and defense of Europe for more than half a century. However, the focus of this chapter is not on Turkey's role during the Cold War, but rather, on its relationship with Europe in the post-Cold War era, especially the European Union. When Turkey joined NATO in 1952, it saw membership as Europe's acceptance of Turkey as a "fully recognized European state."[156] However, from a European standpoint, this was not the case. "Turkish participation in NATO was welcomed due to Western security needs—no questions asked about its internal political system. The EU application, however, has not been as smooth."[157] To understand why Turkey has been kept out of the EU thus far, despite its traditional alliance with Europe on security and defense issues, one must first understand the goals of the EU as well as what has changed since the fall of the USSR.

---

[155] Ersa Cayhan, "Towards a European Security and Defense Policy: With or Without Turkey?" in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics, eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2003), p. 46.

[156] Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civisational Geopolitics'," Geopolitics: 278.

[157] Hasan Koesebalaban, "Turkey's EU Membership: A Clash of Security Cultures," Middle East Policy 9.2 (June 2002) [database on-line]; retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 130.

One major institutional change in Europe since the end of the Cold War is the formation of the European Union in its current form, which was created by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.[158] The original goals of the EU were economic integration of states, which has transformed the EU into an economic super-power.[159] However "In order to go beyond economic integration, the Union has undertaken the task of forming a common foreign and security policy by the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty."[160]

As mentioned earlier, one of the three pillars upon which this European Union was built was a "Common Foreign and Security Policy" (CFSP).[161] In attempting to create a CFSP, the Maastricht treaty originally assigned these tasks to the Western European Union (WEU),[162] which is a "European security and defense organization" created by the Treaty of Brussels in 1948.[163] "Having played an active role in the demise of the Soviet bloc, it was only natural for Turkey to aspire for inclusion in the new European architecture which it helped build."[164] In 1992, Turkey's aspirations were met by gaining associate membership to the WEU.[165] Although not a full member of the WEU, associate membership gave Turkey full privileges on issues dealing with armament. In other words, if there was talk of military action by the WEU (as part of the EU), Turkey had a say in the decision.[166]

---

[158] "European Union," Wikipedia; retrieved 5 February 2006, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union>.

[159] Kösebalaban, "Turkey's EU Membership," Middle East Policy: 30.

[160] Cayhan, "Towards a European Security and Defense Policy," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 35.

[161] "Three Pillars," Wikipedia.

[162] Ibid., p. 36.

[163] "Western European Union," Wikipedia; retrieved 5 February 2006, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_European_Union>.

[164] Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civisational Geopolitics'," Geopolitics: 280.

[165] Sednem Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European Security Framework," Turkish Studies 3.2 (Fall 2002): 77.

[166] Ibid., p. 78.

Civil war in the former Yugoslavia, however, would soon change Europe's outlook on the EU's defense capabilities. In fact, when war broke out in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s, Europe found that it was unable to bring a stop to the genocide. It was the American intervention in the Kosovo crisis which brought an end to the fighting.[167] This event also marked Europe's recognition of its military dependence on the US.[168] In response to this recognition, "The joint declaration on European defense issued at the British-French summit in St. Malo on December 3-4, 1998, marked a new approach regarding the search for a common defense policy in the EU."[169] Since NATO's inception, European security and defense had always been based around NATO support for any necessary military action. However, this summit marked the first time that Europe acknowledged its desire to be able to carry out military action without NATO.[170]

In following this desire to enhance its military capabilities, the EU agreed at the Helsinki Summit in 1999 that, "cooperating voluntarily in EU led operations, member states must be able, by 2003, to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least one year military forces of up to 50,000-60,000 persons capable of the full range of Petersburg tasks [which include peacekeeping, crisis management, humanitarian tasks, and so on]."[171] Although Turkey pledged its support in such tasks, the relationship changed dramatically in 2000 when the WEU was abolished in November 2000, and "the WEU's tasks were taken over by the EU."[172] "However, these new [military and defense]

---

[167] Ibid., 79.
[168] Cayhan, "Toward a Common European Security and Defense Policy," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 42.
[169] Ibid., p. 37.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid., p. 38.
[172] Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European," Turkish Studies: 78.

institutional structures raised serious concern among non-EU members in Europe because they would not be a part of the EU's own decision-making mechanisms. The merger of the WEU into the EU deprived them of access they had gained via several types of membership [associate membership for Turkey] in the WEU."[173] This exclusion is extremely significant to Turkey, a country who shares "immediate periphery," as determined by NATO, with "Thirteen out of the 16 'hotspots' of concern to European security [Turkey shares a border with such volatile countries as Syria, Iraq, and Iran to name a few]."[174]

"As far as Turkey is concerned, it is in close proximity to existing and potential crisis areas. Therefore, arrangements to be formulated for the security of Europe are of the utmost importance to her [Turkey], given the fact that Turkey's vital interests would be at stake."[175] Therefore, because of Turkey's special interest in the security of Europe, Turkey was bound and determined not to allow EU-led missions that excluded Turkish participation in the decision-making process of such missions. To prevent this exclusion, Turkey used its veto power in NATO to keep the EU from being able carry out such missions that would require the use of NATO assets (as was the idea as this EU army was meant to complement NATO rather than oppose it). As Ersa Cayhan explained,

> Basically, "the problem of Turkey" can be described as the Turkish veto on letting the EU use NATO assets and capabilities, unless its demand for

[173] Cayhan, "Toward a Common European Security and Defense Policy," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 38.

[174] Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European," Turkish Studies: 73.

[175] Cayhan, "Toward a Common European Security and Defense Policy," in Turkey and the European Union, p.46.

> inclusion in the ESDP [European Security and Defense Policy] decision making mechanisms is fulfilled, even without being an EU member.[176]

Thus, Turkey was able to use its power within NATO to prevent the EU's EDSP from being a reality. Also, in response to the EU's removal of Turkey and other non-EU members from the decision-making process in European security issues, the United States issued the following warning to the European Union:

> It is essential that non-EU European allies, such as Turkey, enjoy a special status in their security relations with the EU because of their NATO Treat Article V commitment to the 11 EU allies [now 25]. If a crisis being handled by the EU were to escalate, that Article V commitment could come into play—a fact often forgotten by some of our EU partners.[177]

In response to both Turkish and US demands, the EU had no choice but to involve Turkey in European security issues. The problem was resolved in 2001 in a deal between the US, Great Britain, and Turkey in which:

> Turkey's disadvantage from being left outside of the EU decision-making mechanisms was tackled. It was accepted that an intensive consultation procedure would be applied whenever Turkey's security interests are at stake due to an EU operation, or when an operation in Turkey's "near abroad" is under discussion. Second, Turkey's concern about a likely EU interference in case of a conflict with Greece had to be addressed. It was

[176] Ibid., p. 47-48.
[177] Ibid., p. 46-47.

> agreed that the EU military forces would not intervene in conflicts between NATO and EU members.[178]

While the above arrangement gave Turkey what it wanted, thus convincing the country to retract its veto on the EU's use of NATO forces, it also caused a significant problem. This problem came in the form of a subsequent veto by Greece, which felt betrayed by the EU because Greece expected that the EU would support it in any conflicts that it might have, especially its standing conflict with Turkey.[179] However, the deal with Turkey said that the two (Turkey and Greece) should expect no interference from EU forces if a conflict were to arise. Once again, the ESDP was stopped in its tracks, this time by an internal objection. This objection by Greece brings the focus of this chapter to a prevalent security issue faced by the EU with the possibility of Turkish accession.

This issue is the continuing conflicts between Greece and Turkey, in which Sednem Udum, a PhD. student in International relations, observes that, "The Cyprus issue is the main bone of contention in Greek-Turkish relations, which also had adverse impacts on the Aegean [territorial] dispute between the two neighbors."[180] Cyprus, although admitted as a member of the European Union in 2004, is an island which has long been divided (as a result of the dispute, only the portion of the island under direct control of the Cyprus government, i.e. the Greek portion, is subject to EU law).[181] The northern half of the island has a mostly Turkish population, whereas the southern portion of the island is made up of a Greek population. In response to a supposed attempt by the

---

[178] Ibid., p. 48.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European," Turkish Studies: 74.
[181] "Cyprus," CIA World Factbook; retrieved 4 February 2006, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cy.html>.

Greek Cypriots to take control of the government of Cyprus in the 1970s, "Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus in 1974 and has illegally occupied more than a third of its territory since that date."[182] Although the international community widely recognizes Greece as the legitimate authority in Cyprus, Turkey maintains its stance that it is keeping "troops in the North to ensure the security of the Turkish Cypriot community after 1974."[183] The European Union has made it clear that a resolution to this problem is necessary if Turkey's hopes of accession are to be realized. Recently, both Turkey and Greece have worked together in order to solve many of the debates between the two in order to further the process of EU accession for Turkey and EU integration for Greece. As Oguzlu states, "Taking stock of this double Europeanization process, many observers have concluded that it [Turko-Greek dispute resolution] is irreversible, and as long as both states further their aspirations to further 'Europeanize', neither the Cyprus dispute nor the larger Aegean issues will remain unsolved."[184] In other words, while Turkish-Greek disputes have hampered the EU's efforts at creating a CFSP, the integration and cooperation forced by the Union is acting as a force for these countries to resolve their issues.

While it is clear that the Greek-Turkish relations in coming years will have a substantial impact on the EU's decision on Turkish accession, one must also consider today's security environment and the threats that come with such. No longer is Europe

---

[182] Fotios Moustakis, "An Expanded EU and Aegean Security," Contemporary Review 227.1618 (November 2000) [database on-line]; retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 279.

[183] Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European," Turkish Studies: 74.

[184] H. Tarik Oguzulu, "The Latest Turkish-Greek Détente: Instrumentalist Play for EU Membership, or Long Term Institutionalist Cooperation," Cambridge Review of International Affairs 17.2 (July 2004) [database on-line]; retrieved 17 November 2006, Academic Search Premier: 337.

facing a common enemy, at least not one which can be easily identified. Rather, as Ismail Hakki Kardayi identifies them, the threats today include the following categories:

> The first category [of threats] includes illegal trafficking of arms and drugs, international terrorism and condoning of terrorism in cases where it is categorized as a war of independence, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and environmental damage. The second category includes ethnic conflicts, intolerance, radical nationalism and all kinds of separatism and human trade in the form of migration."[185]

Therefore, security issues are no longer something that can easily be resolved by traditional means, such as military operations, or even by a single state. Thus, while some would argue that Turkey's strategic importance was reduced with the fall of the Soviet Union, the truth may be just the opposite. Turkey's geographic location, for instance, is extremely important. In the "White Paper", published by the Turkish government in 2000, Turkey is cited as having an influential location based on the following criteria:

- The Middle East and the Caspian Basin, which have the most important oil reserves in the world,
- The Mediterranean Basin, which is at the intersection of important sea lines of communication,
- The Black Sea Basin and the Turkish Straits, which have always maintained their importance in history,

[185] Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civisational Geopolitics'," Geopolitics: 190.

- The Balkans, which have undergone structural changes as the result of the break up of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and Yugoslavia, and
- The center of the geography composed of Caucasia, which has abundant natural resources as well as ethnic conflicts, and Central Asia.[186]

Based on Turkey's extremely unique geopolitical location, "Turkey is faced by threats not like any other European country and that the Copenhagen criteria should be implemented 'taking into consideration the interests and realities of the country [Turkey]."[187]

Turkey's situation brings up another debate over security, which is the internal debate on the effects that EU membership might have on its national security. Within Turkey there seems to be a two-sided debate on this issue in which one side argues that EU membership would increase its national security, while the opposition argues that if the country were to adopt the EU's demands, these might actually compromise Turkey's own security. In other words, "Some view membership, with its attached conditions, as a threat to Turkish national security and sovereignty; some view it as an opportunity to extend Turkey's sphere of influence."[188] A main argument by those who oppose Turkish membership (from within Turkey) is that EU pressures for the resolution of the ongoing fight of the Turkish government with its Kurdish minority might someday lead to a loss of Turkish territory to the Kurds in the form of an independent Kurdistan, which is the goal of the militant Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). These fears are also supported by

[186] Ibid., p. 185-186.
[187] Ibid., p. 186.
[188] Kösebalaban, "Turkey's EU Membership," Middle East Policy: 144.

the fact that the significant Kurdish minority in northern Iraq have been the biggest supporters of the US in the war in Iraq. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Turkish government has recently moved to resolve its treatment of the Kurdish minority peacefully by enacting reforms to allow more rights to the Kurds. Therefore, it seems more likely that the EU would try to pressure Turkey to further such reforms rather than causing instability by pushing it to cede territory.

Although the issue of Turkish national security will no doubt be a topic of debate among the country's ruling elite, the consensus seems to be that "Turkey can cope with the security challenges and risks of globalization in the most effective and efficient way by integrating with the global community through the EU accession process."[189] This stance is also supported by Mary Kaldor, a professor at the London School of Economics, who maintains that "any effective approach to security has to be aimed at the extension of the rule of law and civil society across borders. If it is no longer possible to insulate civil society territorially, then it can only be preserved through territorial extension [i.e. EU expansion]."[190]

Turkey's Minister of Defense, Hikmet Sami Türk explained Turkey's foreign policy goals when he stated the following:

> Geographic destiny placed Turkey in the virtual epicenter of a "Bermuda Triangle" of post-Cold War volatility and uncertainty, with the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East encircling us. Rather than isolating ourselves from the pressing conflicts at our doorstep, Turkey decided to assume a pivotal role in promoting regional peace, stability and

[189] Oguzulu, "The Latest Turkish-Greek Détente," Cambridge Review of International Affairs: 99.
[190] Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civisational Geopolitics'," Geopolitics: 182.

> cooperation in contributing to vital efforts to end human suffering and conflict.[191]

If Turkey is to realize these goals, and if the EU is to realize its own CFSP goals of furthering security in Europe and the surrounding areas, then EU membership for Turkey makes sense. "It has become clear that the European Union cannot be a significant security actor in the region without the membership of a Europeanized Turkey."[192] Turkey would add to European military capabilities not only with the size of its army, but also because the "Turkish armed forces have had considerable experience in peacekeeping in several countries, ranging from Somalia to Bosnia."[193] Besides the extension of military power, bringing Turkey into the EU would help to ensure further cooperation between Turkey and Greece out of mutual interests, and accession would also allow both Turkey and the EU to extend their spheres of influence to help promote peace and security in the region. In fact, when discussing the creation of lasting peace in the Balkans, some leading powers of Europe even "acknowledge that such a process cannot be established without Turkey's participation."[194]

Therefore, the European Union should carefully consider Turkey's unique position as it looks toward possible Turkish accession. If strict enforcement of the Copenhagen criteria would, in fact, compromise Turkish national security, then it might also compromise European security—a situation neither side wants. Also, rejecting Turkey's membership application would likely mean a very uncooperative Turkey—

---

[191] Ibid., p. 282.

[192] Oguzulu, "The Latest Turkish-Greek Détente," Cambridge Review of International Affairs: 100.

[193] Cayhan, "Toward a Common European Security and Defense Policy," in Turkey and the European Union, p. 46.

[194] Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European," Turkish Studies: 79.

something that Europe cannot afford if it hopes to become a world superpower. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the European Union, when it comes to security, to accept Turkey as a member. Although Turkey has numerous problems that it must work through in order to be ready for EU membership (such as its struggle with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is not thoroughly covered in this paper because it is so complex that it would require its own paper), it seems clear, at least from the standpoint of the European Union, that the security benefits of including Turkey far outweigh the negatives. However, as far as Fotios Moustakis, a professor of Politics at the University of Exeter, is concerned, "In reality, Turkish accession to the EU can only be implemented the moment she manages to make peace not only with Greece but mainly with herself [speaking of the issue of the Kurdish minority mentioned previously]."[195] Therefore, if the EU were to make its accession decision based solely upon the issue of security, Turkey would become a member, although it seems that this may only be possible after Turkey resolves internal issues such as the Kurdish question.

[195] Moustakis, "An Expanded EU and Aegean Security," Contemporary Review: 279.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Although it is clear that there are many obstacles facing Turkey and the European Union when it comes to the possibility of Turkish membership, after carefully researching the main issues, it looks as though there is a good chance that Turkey will eventually gain full membership to the EU. However, whether or not this goal will ever be achieved will depend heavily on both Turkey's and the Union's determination to create a successful partnership. While it seems Turkey has come a long way in complying with the necessary EU criteria for membership, it is important that Turkey continue to make such changes and also follows through to make sure that the changes have an actual effect in Turkish society. At the same time, if the EU wants to create a successful partnership with Turkey, it too must put forth some effort. For instance, it is clear that the Cyprus issue will not be resolved between Turkey and Greece without some external influence. The solution to this problem is likely one that the EU can help mediate, and, if successful, would help to promote peace in Europe—one of the main ideals upon which the Union was founded. Although it looks like Turkey will eventually gain EU membership, the timing of such accession seems to be the key to success. If Turkey were to gain membership in the near future, the negative impact on the European Union might be too great for the Union to bear; however, with time, Turkish membership will benefit the EU in many ways.

The first issue, as mentioned earlier in this paper, which the EU will be considering when making its decision on Turkish membership is Turkish culture, as it has been formed by Muslim influence, as opposed to other EU member states, whose culture has been shaped by Christian values. Are Turkey and Europe compatible or are the two

societies—one Muslim and strict (Turkey) and one Christian and permissive (the current EU member states)—just too different for the two to peacefully work as partners? While current studies do not provide a positive outlook on those Turks who currently live and work in Europe, it seems as if the failure of Turks to assimilate into European societies is not entirely their own fault—although they are not fully free of blame. The majority of the Turks who currently live in Europe moved to Germany as part of Germany's "Gastarbeiter" program. Although the Turkish workers moved to Germany legally at the request of the German government, the workers were supposed to be temporary; therefore, they were treated as just that. Turks in Germany were excluded from mainstream German society, forcing them to socialize among themselves. These practices have led to what many see as a failure of Turks to assimilate—a problem which must be addressed.

For Turkey to become a beneficial member of the EU, it is important that both the EU and Turkey push knowledge of each other's cultures and religion. The xenophobia which has been prevalent lately may be mainly because of a lack of understanding. Some Europeans think that all Muslims are Arabs and that the religion preaches terrorism; however, these are fallacies. Firstly, Islam is the second most practiced religion in the world with over one billion followers—spreading far beyond the region known as the Middle East, and obviously enrolling peoples of countless ethnicities. In fact, Turks are not Arabs themselves. Secondly, Islam is a peaceful religion—not one that teaches its followers to kill. Radical Islamists leaders, such as Osama bin Laden, give Islam a bad name, but they are in the minority and not the majority. Turkey, although its population is mainly comprised of Muslims, is not an Islamic state. As M. Hakan Yavuz

understands it, "Islamic movements in Turkey are not fueled by a deep-seated rage and frustration with the authoritarian policies of the secular elites, as is the case in Algeria and Egypt. The Turkish example of islamically oriented political and social movements is committed to playing within a legal framework of democratic and pluralistic parameters."[196] Turkey has a secular democratic government whose foundations may lie within the morals preached by Islam. This religious foundation of government is not at all unlike the systems of government in the EU member states. The only difference seems to be that Turkey's morals come from Islam, and the other member states' morals are based on Christian teachings. In fact, any difference between the cultures of Turkey and other European states may be simply that—cultural differences that have little to do with religion. If one considers this, then the perceived threat of a clash of cultures between Europe and Turkey is something that may change with time and education. Whether or not this understanding will come about, however, is something that no one can predict.

The second main issue of concern to the EU over the possibility of Turkish accession is that of Turkey's economy. The main concern here is that Turkey is much poorer, on average, than all twenty five of the current EU members. In fact, a recent EU publication listed Turkey as having a standard of living which is only about 25% of the EU (15) average.[197] How would this affect the EU economically if Turkey were to be granted membership? The same seems to hold here as it did with the religion issue—Turkey is not ready for EU membership at this moment, but the negative impact will

---

[196] M. Hakan Yavuz and John L. Esposito, eds., Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), p. 4.

[197] "More Unity and More Diversity: The European Union's Biggest Enlargement," Europe on the Move (November 2003): 20.

seemingly be minimized with time. Turkey has made significant strides in only the past few years in terms of improving its economy. Since the 1999 announcement of Turkey as an official candidate for EU membership, Turkey has drastically lowered interest rates and inflation, introduced a new and more stable currency, improved the employment situation, and significantly reduced the state debt by selling off a number of state-owned entities to private firms. In making such reforms, Turkey has gone a long way toward meeting the Copenhagen economic criteria required for EU membership. However, one problem that will not be solved so easily is Turkey's relative poverty, especially with regards to its huge population size. "If admitted, Turkey would be the most populous EU country within a generation. Germany is projected to have 80 million residents in 2025, and Turkey 88 million."[198] Turkey's extreme poverty will put a financial burden on the EU since it would be obligated to pay significant amounts of aid to Turkey, aid which is designed to help improve Turkey's situation. While it is clear that "Turkey would become a net recipient of EU funds, which implies a net cost for existing member states,"[199] there are two factors to consider here. First, the more aid that Turkey receives from the EU, the better off Turkey will be, and therefore, the less help it will need. Second, while Turkey's size makes it seem impossible for the EU to be able to meet such financial obligations, one must first consider the 2004 enlargement of the EU. Although none of the ten states admitted in 2004 were even remotely close to Turkey's size, together their populations are roughly the same size as that of Turkey. Therefore, if the

---

[198] Phillip Martin et al, "Best Practice Options: Turkey," International Migration 40.3 (2002) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 123.

[199] Arjan M. Lejour and Ruud A. de Mooij, "Turkish Delight: Does Turkish Accession to the EU Bring Economic Benefits," Kyklos 58.1 (February 2005) [database on-line]; retrieved 18 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 88.

EU can support the ten 2004 members, than by the time Turkey is ready for membership, the EU should also be able to support Turkey.

Another positive factor for Turkish accession is that Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has increased rapidly in Turkey over the past few years. With Turkey being named as a candidate for EU accession, foreign firms have become more and more willing to invest in Turkey, a factor which has been the catalyst for many of the recent improvements in Turkey's economy. As membership becomes more and more likely, Turkey is likely to receive significant amounts of FDI from both EU firms as well as firms from other countries. This investment in Turkey's economy will undoubtedly go a long way to improving Turkey's low level of Gross Domestic Product—something which will act to further reduce any possible negative economic impact of Turkish membership on the economies of the EU members.

The third concern for Europe over the possibility of Turkish membership is migration. Turkey has played a major role in European immigration over the past half century in two ways. First, Turkey has long been a country of emigration from Turkey to Western Europe. Secondly, many third country nationals have used Turkey as a means of reaching other parts of Europe in the past. However, EU membership would reduce both of these problems. Turks first started migrating to Europe (in mass) after the Second World War as guest workers—a solution to the labor shortage in Europe and also the high unemployment in Turkey. However, "Many Europeans fear that Turkish EU membership would lead to another wave of migration."[200] However, if Turkey were to be admitted to the EU, many unskilled jobs would undoubtedly be outsourced to Turkey from Europe. This outsourcing would cause some frictional unemployment in Europe in

[200] Martin, "Best Practice Options," International Migration: 119.

the short run, but it would also prove to be beneficial in the long run. Turkey has a large population of unskilled or low-skilled workers, and labor is much cheaper in Turkey than in Western Europe. On the other hand, Western Europe is comprised of mostly skilled labor; therefore, Turkish membership (and the free movement of business and labor which would eventually come with it) would mean a more efficient European economy and cheaper goods. Another result of this shifting of jobs is that even if some Turks did decide to migrate to Europe in search of more jobs, they would likely find extremely limited opportunities, which would mean that the European fear that membership would bring mass migration is most likely unwarranted.

The second benefit of Turkish membership in the area of migration is that if admitted, the EU would have a say in how Turkey controls its borders. Turkey is situated in a very unique location, sharing a border with countries such as Iraq, Iran, and Syria. If the EU hopes to maintain "Fortress Europe" and prevent illegal aliens from entering the EU, then it would be beneficial for the EU to have Turkey as a member that must comply with the Union's regulations. Turkey has shown its willingness to work with the EU in recent years in preventing illegal transit by cracking down on illegals within Turkey's borders and also preventing smugglers from using Turkish waters to transit to Europe. One final issue on this topic is that of refugees. Currently, Turkey's policy on granting refugee status is that refugees are only granted temporary asylum, and then they are resettled in a third country. If Turkey wants to become an EU member, however, this policy will have to change. If Turkey does, in deed, become a state which grants permanent residence to asylum seekers, this acceptance of permanent refugees will also help to cut down on Europe's migration fears.

The final topic covered in this paper is that of security and how Turkish EU membership might have an effect. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, to gain membership, Turkey will have to reform its immigration and border control policies to comply with the EU's current Schengen standards. This adoption of EU immigration policy would greatly restrict entry into Turkey which, in turn, would improve EU security. Although some Turks fear that the adaptation of such measures might threaten Turkish national security, these fears do not seem to be warranted. Besides border controls, the addition of Turkey to the EU would greatly increase the EU's ability to carry out military operations without the help of NATO and the United States. In fact, Turkey has the second largest standing army of any NATO member, falling behind only the US. In addition to the size of its army, it is important to remember that Turkey itself is in a strategically important area, housing some major pipelines coming from the Middle East, and is also located near many of what the NATO considers to be possible trouble areas.[201] Therefore, Turkish membership would bring about two conflicting effects on European CFSP. First of all, Turkish accession would have the positive effect of adding its strong military capabilities to the existing European forces. This additional military strength would improve Europe's ability to be able to carry out military operations without the help of NATO—one of the main goals set out by the EU. However, although Turkey's membership would improve European capabilities, such membership would mean yet another member to vote on CFSP issues, a factor which may even impede

[201] Sednem Udum, "Turkey and the Emerging European Security Framework," Turkish Studies 3.2 (Fall 2002) [database on-line]; retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 73.

Europe's ability to form an effective CFSP by further complicating the decision making process.[202]

Although only time can tell for sure what the future holds for Turkey and the EU, the research within this paper suggests that Turkish membership would be beneficial for the EU if enough time is allowed for Turkey to make the necessary reforms before being admitted. In order for membership to be attained, however, I believe that Turkey and the EU must work closely together in coming years to work out any issues between them, such as the Cyprus and Aegean disputes between Turkey and Greece. I also think that assimilation of Turks in Germany would have a major impact on improving European public opinion on Turkish membership—which currently stands around only 35% across the European Union.[203] In fact, public support for Turkish accession stands even lower in some member states, such as Germany, which published the following in a recent public opinion poll: "Only every fifth German and every third European can imagine an EU-membership for Turkey at this time (translated)."[204] If the EU and Turkey continue to grow together, and as EU funds and FDI help to strengthen Turkey's economy, the benefits of Turkish membership for the EU will become ever clearer.

---

[202] Stefan Wally, Personal interview, 16 February 2006.

[203] "Turkey Still Lacking Popular Support in EU," Emerging Markets Monitor (August 2005) [database on-line]; retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier: 18.

[204] "Nationaler Bericht Deutschland," Eurobarometer 64: Die öffentliche Meinung der Europäische Union (Fall 2005); retrieved 10 February 2006, <http://europa.eu.int/public_opinion/archives/eb64/eb64_en.htm>.

Bibliography

"Background Note: Turkey." U.S. Department of State: Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (December 2005). Retrieved 19 February 2006. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3432.htm>.

Bilgin, Pinar. "A Return to 'Civisational Geopolitics' in the Mediterranean? Changing Geopolitical Images of the European Union and Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era." Geopolitics 9.2 (Summer 2004): 269-291. Retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"The Blessed Trinity." New Advent. Retrieved 13 April 2006. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15047a.htm>.

Carkoglu, Ali, and Barry Rubin, eds. Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics. London: Frank Cass and Company, 2003.

Cherry, Matt. "When a Muslim Nation Embraces Secularism." Humanist 62.3 (May/June 2002): 21-23. Retrieved 11 April 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Cold War." Wikipedia. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War>.

"Cyprus." CIA World Factbook. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cy.html>.

"Economic Profile." Europa: Relations with Turkey. Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/turkey/economic_profile.htm>.

Eickelman, Dale F., and James Piscatori, eds. Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

"European Union." Wikipedia. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union>.

"European Union Signs Secular Constitution." Church and State 57.11 (December 2004): 20. Retrieved 13 April 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"EU-Turkey Relations." Europa: Relations with Turkey. Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/turkey/economic_profile.htm>.

Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn. Islamic Societies in Practice. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004.

"Forget Asylum Seekers: It's the People Inside Who Count." Economist. 367.8323 (May 2003). 22-24. Retrieved 9 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Gastarbeiter." Deutsches Historisches Muesem Homepage. Retrieved 17 November 2005.<http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/DasGeteilteDeutschland/KontinuitaetUndWandel/WirtschaftlicheEntwicklungenInOstUndWest/gastarbeiter.html>.

Godwin, John. "Siege of the Moles: The high Tide of Ottoman Expansion to the West Saw the Turks Burrowing Underground in an Attempt to Take Vienna." Military History. 18.4 (Oct 2001). 46. Retrieved 9 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Going for Growth: The Economy of the EU." Europe on the Move. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Press and Communication Publications, September 2003.

Green, Simon. "The Legal Status of Turks in Germany." Immigrants & Minorities. 22.2/3 (Jul-Nov 2003). 228-246. Retrieved 30 January 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

"Homepage." XE.com. Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://www.xe.com/ucc/convert.cgi>.

Icduygu, Ahmet, *et al*. "Socio-Economic Development and International Migration: A Turkish Study." International Migration 39.4 (2001): 39-61. Retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Investors' Association Sees High Expectations on Future Capital Inflow." Turkish Daily News. February 18, 2006. Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=36077>.

"Istanbul". Wikipedia. Retrieved 11 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istanbul>.

"It's Your Europe: Living, Learning and Working Anywhere in the EU." Europe on the Move. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Press and Communication Publications, August 2003.

Kavakci, Merve. "Headscarf Heresy: For One Muslim Woman, the Headscarf is a Matter of Choice and Dignity." Foreign Policy 142 (May/June 2004): 66-67. Retrieved 11 April 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Kirchmann, Hans. "Vor 40 Jahren Fing Alles an: Gastarbeiter, Auslandische Arbeitnehmer, Mitburger, neue deutsche." Retrieved 17 November 2005. <http://www.dtsinfo.de/deutsch/p200111/seite03.htm>.

Kösebalaban, Hasan. "Turkey's EU Membership: A Clash of Security Cultures." Middle East Policy 9.2 (June 2002): 130-146. Retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Kuehnett-Leddin, Erik v. "The Turks are Coming!" National Review. 39.3 (Feb. 1987): 42. Retrieved 8 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Latvia." CIA World Factbook. Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/lg.html>.

Lejour, Arjan M., and Ruud A. de Mooij. "Turkish Delight: Does Turkish Accession to the EU Bring Economic Benefits?" Kyklos, 58.1 (Feb. 2005): 87-120. Retrieved 18 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"The Long Road Towards Accession." Middle East Monitor: East Med 15.8 (Aug 2005): 4-5. Retrieved 12 September 2005, Business Source Premier database.

Martin, Phillip, *et al*. "Best Practice Options: Turkey." International Migration 40.3 (2002): 119-131. Retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Mastny, Vojtech, and R. Craig Nation, eds. Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.

"More Unity and More Diversity: The European Union's Biggest Enlargement." Europe on the Move. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Press and Communication Publications, 2003.

Moustakis, Fotios. "An Expanded EU and Aegean Security." Contemporary Review 227.1618 (Nov. 2000): 277-280. Retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Nationaler Bericht Deutschland." Eurobarometer 64: Die öffentliche Meinung der Europäische Union. Fall 2005. Retrieved 10 February 2006. <http://europa.eu.int/public_opinion/archives/eb64/eb64_en.htm>.

"NATO." Wikipedia. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NATO>.

Oguzlu, H. Tarik. "The Latest Turkish-Greek Détente: Instrumentalist Play for EU Membership, or Long Term Institutionalist Cooperation?" Cambridge Review of International Affairs 17.2 (July 2004): 337-354. Retrieved 17 November 2005, Academic Search Premier database.

"Poland." CIA World Factbook. Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pl.html>.

"Protestant Reformation." Wikipedia. Retrieved 13 April 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protestant_reformation>.

"Three Pillars of the European Union." Wikipedia. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three_pillars_of_the_European_Union>.

"Towards a New Europe—but What is it For?" New Statesman 134.4761 (October 2005): 6. Retrieved 13 April 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Tugtan, Mehmet Ali. "Possible Impacts of Turkish Application of Schengen Visa Standards." Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 6.1 (April 2004): 27-39. Retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

"Turkey Beats '05 Primary Surplus Projection, says PM Erdogan." Turkish Daily News (1 February 2006). Retrieved 18 February 2006. <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=34603>.

"Turkey". CIA World Factbook. Retrieved 12 February 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tu.html#People>.

"A Turkish Heimat". Economist. 373.8406 (Dec. 2004): 74. Retrieved 1 February 2006, Academic Source Premier database.

"Turkey Still Lacking Popular Support in EU." Emerging Markets Monitor (Aug. 2005): 18. Retrieved 20 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Udum, Sebnem. "Turkey and the Emerging European Security Framework." Turkish Studies 3.2 (Fall 2002): 69-103. Retrieved 4 February 2006, Academic Search Premier database.

Wally, Stefan. Personal interview. 16 February 2006.

"Western European Union." Wikipedia. Retrieved 5 February 2006. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_European_Union>.

Yavuz, M. Hakan and John L. Esposito, eds. Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003.