

Turkey: the Final Frontier of European Integration?

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Acronyms:

EC	=	European Community
EEC	=	European Economic Community
ECSC	=	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	=	European Defense Council
EU	=	European Union
EURATOM	=	European Atomic Energy Community
GMP	=	Global Mediterranean Policy
SEA	=	Single European Act
NATO	=	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMS	=	New Member States
OECD	=	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UN	=	United Nations
UNDP	=	United Nations Development Programme
WWI	=	World War I
WWII	=	World War II

After its expansion in 2004, the European Union (EU) has been beset with a period of pessimism. Turkey's desire to join the union and the rejection of a proposed EU constitution by two of the founding members of the union, France and the Netherlands, damaged the confidence of the union and raised questions among the electorate as to what exactly the EU represents and what its limits of enlargement should be. What follows is an examination of the limits of European Union expansion focusing on the issues surrounding Turkish accession.

Cooperation in Europe is not a new phenomenon. The first significant period of cooperation was after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when European states formed the Concert of Europe and the Holy Alliance in order to promote peace and stability in Europe. The latter part of the 19th century was characterized by a series of cooperative measures with such matters as the commissions to continue navigation on the Elbe (1821) and Rhine (1831) and the formation of international regulations for railroads, telegraphy and mail, many of which still exist today.¹

The two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century ended the dominant role Europe played in world affairs and have been followed by another period of cooperation. The devastation caused by World War II (WWII) gave rise to a desire to work together and ensure that Europe would never again be ravaged by such a war.

Despite an antagonistic history and prevention of German rearmament being a key element in the Treaty of Versailles, France proposed the creation of a European Defense Community (EDC) in the 1950's between itself and Germany. The EDC would have seen the creation of a communal army; however it and other similar projects, such

¹ Bennett, A. LeRoy and Oliver, James K. (2002) *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*. Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, 7th Ed. p. 10

as the European Political Community, were not ratified by an electorate which opposed the sharing of national sovereignty.² After realizing that military and political integration would be difficult to attain, the focus for European integration shifted to the comparatively easier objective of economic integration. The functionalist theorist, David Mitrany may have influenced Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet, the original architects of the modern-day EU in their designs for integration. Functionalism holds that cooperation and integration encourages deeper and more widespread integration through what Mitrany terms “ramification”. This was later built on by the neo-functionalist Ernst Haas who used the concept of “spillover” in place of ramification. Haas found that European elites, who were unsupportive of the integration project at first, later became active supporters after the union had existed for several years.³

The first step towards integration began with the now famous European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in May 1950. Although the ECSC was primarily an economic organization, it contained the seeds and the aim of a political union. The ECSC was a French idea that reconciled the country’s security anxieties, access to coal and steel whilst also permitting the USA’s desire for German economic recovery to commence.⁴ The ECSC benefited Germany by lifting post-war restrictions on its manufacturing sector and giving it influence in Europe. Greater economic interdependence followed with the 1956 Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community in 1957. The European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) was formed in 1958 with the aim of

² Dinan, D (2005) *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 3rd ed. p. 28

³ Dougherty, James E. and Pfaltzgraff, Robert L. (2001) *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, Longman, New York, 5th, p. 514

⁴ Dinan – 22

pooling the national nuclear resources of European states (with little success). In 1967, EURATOM, the ECSC and the EEC merged into the European Commission (EC).

Since the 1957 Treaty of Rome, the EU has maintained what Trevor Parfitt terms “special relationships” with non-members. The first of these relationships were part of the colonial legacy which many European members brought with them, such as the French ex-colonies in sub-Saharan Africa and the British African, Caribbean and Pacific ex-colonies.⁵ The 1975 Lomé convention gave these states “partnership” status within the union. European officials soon saw a need to foster relationships with states that were closer to its borders in the Mediterranean basin in an effort to balance the influence of the USSR in the region. The Union implemented its “Global Mediterranean Policy” (GMP) in 1972 creating the European association agreements which opened up trade barriers and gave enhanced aid to association members such as Egypt.⁶

Despite the demise of communism, the EU maintains an interest in the Mediterranean basin, as it “has a stake in maintaining the stability of the region at least in part to prevent the immigration surges that are straining Europe’s absorption limits.”⁷ This shift in focus towards Europe’s immediate neighbors has been at the expense of the ex-colonies which are no longer given such high priority. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty was viewed by many EU association countries as betraying the 1972 GMP agreement as it was perceived to create an economic “Fortress Europe” with an internal free trade area which non-EU exporters would have difficulty accessing.⁸

⁵ Parfitt, Trevor (1997) Europe's Mediterranean designs: An analysis of the Euromed relationship with special reference to Egypt. Third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 Issue 5, pp 865

⁶ Parfitt - 865

⁷ European Community Economic and Social Committee (1989) Opinion on the Mediterranean policy of the European Community, Official Journal of the European Communities, No.C211/16 **Cited by** Parfitt - 867

⁸ Parfitt - 867

The original six members of the ECSC grew to nine in 1973 and then to 15 by 1995. The end of the Cold War instigated the most recent enlargement on May 1, 2004, extending European integration into central and eastern Europe. The 2004 expansion included Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, and is the biggest integration to date.

Until the demise of the Cold War, European integration was limited by the “Iron Curtain” to the east. The fall of the Berlin Wall and demise of communism in 1989 changed this. The recent expansion has been challenging, as it was the largest to date and increased the population size of the EU by 20%.⁹ In addition, the acceding states were diverse in history, culture and economic conditions.

The European integration project has periodically been plagued by bouts of optimism and pessimism. The expansion of the community in 1973 was followed by a period of “Eurosclerosis” or “Euroscpticism” meaning skepticism surrounding membership of the union.¹⁰ A period of optimism followed after the EC heads approved the Single European Act (SEA) in 1986 launching a period of institutional momentum. In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty codified the now familiar term “European Union” and put forward information for a monetary union which was realized in 1998. Although the desire of other state to join the EU helps to legitimate and reinforce the value of the union, the EU has once again entered a period of stagnation and pessimism after the 2004 expansion of mainly eastern European states.

The European integration project can be seen as being highly successful: there have been no major wars in Europe since it began; it has created the world’s largest

⁹ British Broadcasting Corporation (2002) EU reaches landmark expansion deal [online] BBC News, Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2311185.stm> [Accessed 5th December 2005]

¹⁰ Dinan - 69

trading bloc; and the standard of living has risen for most Western Europeans. However, as Laurent Cohen-Tanugi suggests: “the EU has not fulfilled its economic promise, even though economics is its undisputed domain”.¹¹ Anxieties regarding high unemployment, enlargement, immigration, and the potential of Turkish accession have, according to Cohen, contributed to the rejection of the European Constitution by French and Dutch voters. The rejected constitution aimed to bring the many constitutions and treaties of the EU together and considered how the union could transform nationals into Europeans.¹² It is often said that the rejection of the constitution came from domestic problems but it is also a signal that European citizens are not sure that they need the EU.

The European integration project is seen by many as having been carried out by elites and the absence of popular consultation contributed to the rejection of the constitution. In an insular move, France amended its national constitution calling for a referendum before any future EU expansion takes place, a direct response to the possibility of Turkish accession.¹³ This sent shockwaves throughout the Union as France was instrumental in the union’s creation.

The primary reason behind the willingness of states to hand over a part of their sovereignty in return for EU membership is due to the economic benefits union membership brings. Potential benefits include investment by Western European firms who are given incentives to invest in new member states and access by members to funding for regional and social development. The EU’s first priority after the 2004

¹¹ Cohen-Tanugi, L. (2005) The End of Europe? *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84 Issue 6, p. 61

¹² Torpey, John (2005) Greece, Turkey and the EU: “Europe in a Tocquevillean Era” [conference] *Columbia University*, Nov 11th

¹³ Cohen-Tanugi - 65 This call for a referendum will only take place after the accession of Romania and Bulgaria – a clear signal that it is directed at Turkey.

enlargement has been to raise the living standards in the new member countries – all of which are below the EU average.¹⁴

The aspiration of states to join the EU has benefited the Union in several ways. Firstly, it legitimizes the Union as there is competition to join the “Club”. Secondly, aspirant states have voluntarily handed over sovereignty to the EU, an unprecedented event particularly for many of the Eastern European countries who only recently obtained their sovereignty from the Soviet Union. This influence enables the union to foster peace and stability in a historically unstable region, as members are required to adopt 80,000 pages of EU law and change their administrative structures before being granted membership – all by using the carrot of becoming part of the EU.¹⁵

Modern Turkey’s roots come from the Ottoman Empire which was dissolved during World War I. The Republic of Turkey formally came into existence in 1923. The country is situated in the blurred border region between the Middle East/ Asia and Europe, and some say Istanbul is the only city in the world to bridge two continents Asia and Europe.

The Turkish drive to be viewed as “European” precedes the modern Republic. The Ottomans introduced reforms known as the “Tanzimat” which were loosely based on European law, taxes, education and property rights. After the Crimean war, the Ottoman Empire was described at the 1856 Paris Conference as “part of the European Concert”.¹⁶ The Tanzimat reforms were not economically successful and in the 1870’s the Ottoman

¹⁴ Europa (2005) [Overviews](http://europa.eu.int/pol/enlarg/overview_en.htm) of the European Union Activities: Enlargement [online] European Union Online, Available from: europa.eu.int/pol/enlarg/overview_en.htm [Accessed 8th November 2005]. p 2

¹⁵ Europa - 2

¹⁶ Economist Writers (2005) A survey of Turkey: Looking to Europe, *The Economist*, Vol. 374 Issue 8418, p. 4

Empire was awarded the title “the sick man of Europe”. This title has been quoted by many Turks with “perverse” pride as despite being sick, they were still a part of Europe.¹⁷

Turkey was led by General Mustafa Kemal or Ataturk (“father of the Turks”) at the end of World War I (WWI) who founded the modern Republic of Turkey. Ataturk attempted to create European-orientated citizens with a policy inspired by the French Jacobin model based on the homogenous one nation, one language, one culture. This policy contrasted with the traditional Ottoman policy of cultural diversity.¹⁸

Turkey has since pursued a policy of alignment with the West, notably becoming a founding member of the United Nations (UN) and through membership of the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).¹⁹ Turkey abandoned Ataturk’s’ neutralist policy in 1952 when it joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and, according to the Economist, has been “waiting at the gates of Europe” for forty years.²⁰

Turkey first applied for membership to the union a year after the European Economic Community (EEC) was formed in 1958. The EEC responded by offering Turkey “Association Status”, also known as the “Ankara Agreement” which aimed to harmonize customs and tariff duties. The 1963 Ankara Agreement remains the basis of relations between the EU and Turkey today.²¹

Turkey reapplied for full membership to the EEC almost twenty years ago in 1987. In 1995, Turkey entered the EU customs union and has undergone many changes

¹⁷ Economist Writers (2005) A survey of Turkey: Looking to Europe, The Economist, Vol. 374 Issue 8418, p. 4 This term has continued up to the present time, its origins are unknown, the contemporary “Sick man of Europe” is Italy.

¹⁸ Gillespie, Paul (2004) Ottoman Legacy – a very European Tradition of Diversity, Irish Times, Dec 18th

¹⁹ Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (unknown) Turkey and the EU: Progress Toward Accession, Relations Between Turkey and the European Union, p. 40

²⁰ Economist Writers (2005) Too soon for Turkish delight? The Economist, Vol. 377 Issue 8446, pp 45-46

²¹ Turkish Ministry of Foreign - p. 40

aimed at securing EU membership. Turkish leaders were surprised and affronted when the Commission on EU enlargement made no mention of Turkey in its “Agenda 2000” report on Central and East European EU applicants.²² Despite this, the Turkish parliament approved reforms in 2002 to abolish the death sentence and remove restrictions on Kurdish education and broadcasting. In June and July 2003 further reforms were passed reducing the military’s political role and protecting freedom of speech.²³ Following a deal that Turkey will recognize Cyprus as an EU member, EU leaders announced in December 2004 that talks will open in 2005 on Turkey’s EU accession. Formal membership talks between the EU and Turkey began on October 3rd 2005.

A key benefit of continued Eastern expansion and allowing Turkish accession into the EU is the influence the Union can exert on aspirant countries for regime change. Ben Macintyre contrasts the regime change that is occurring peacefully in Turkey via the “regulatory hoops Turkey must jump through to join the EU” with the military operation aimed at securing regime change with one of Turkey’s direct neighbors, Iraq.²⁴

According to Heinz Kramer, approximately half of Turkey’s trade is with the EU and most Turkish firms outside Turkey are based in the EU as is the majority of the expatriate population.²⁵ Many Europeans are concerned that their countries will be inundated with young Turks taking jobs and lowering wages. An alternative viewpoint

²² Muftuler-Bac, Meltem and McLaren, Lauren (2002) Enlargement Preferences and Policy-Making in the European Union: Impacts on Turkey, European Integration, Vol. 25, p. 17

²³ British Broadcasting Corporation (2005) Timeline Turkey: A Chronology of Key Events [online] BBC News, Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/country_profiles/1023189.stm [Accessed 22nd November 2005]

²⁴ Macintyre, Ben (2005) A Bridge Between Two Cultures, Two Continents and Two Futures, The Times, Overseas News, Oct 1st p. 46

²⁵ Kramer, Heinz. (1996) Turkey and the European Union: A Multi-Dimensional Relationship IN Mastny, Vojtech and Nation, Craig, *Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power*, Westview Press, Colorado, 5th. p. 203

would argue that the population across the EU is ageing and declining and that Europe stands to greatly benefit from the migration of a young Turkish workforce.

If the Union wants to live up to its motto of “United in Diversity”,²⁶ embracing the 70 million Turkish Muslims would be proof that a “democratic, secular, moderately Islamic country is not only feasible and peaceable, but profitable. That would offer a beacon to the rest of the Muslim world and show that the EU is not a cosy [sic], exclusive club, but a body committed to diversity and change.”²⁷ As Macintyre notes, Europe does not have an alternative to Turkish accession because a rejection after 40 years will be viewed by Turks as cultural and religious discrimination and may encourage Islamic fundamentalism.

Critics of Turkish accession claim that Turkey is not ready for membership and never will be. Police torture remains pervasive and the human rights record overall remains inadequate. A further concern is that the reforms undertaken by Turkey in its efforts to gain membership are superficial and will not be long-lasting. An additional obstacle to Turkish accession is the nationalistic sentiment that is rising throughout Europe, most notably in the Netherlands, Austria and France. Rioting has taken place in Northern England, and more recently in France, between second-generation Muslims.

Turkey would be the largest country to date to join the EU and with a growing population of 70 million it would dramatically change the Judeo-Christian religious make-up of the EU. Turkey’s growing population is predicted to overtake Germany’s

²⁶ European Commission (2004) *Many Tongues, One Family: Languages in the European Union*, [booklet] Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

²⁷ Macintyre, Oct 1st - 46

stagnating one by 2010.²⁸ With EU voting based on population size, this would give Ankara the same voting clout as Germany, France and Britain. Opposition to Turkish accession has been reinforced by the failure of Ankara to recognize the fate of the Armenians during WWI and the view that Turkey would be a “Trojan Horse” bringing in American influence.

Member states of the European Union vary in their views towards Turkey. Germany’s geographical proximity to Turkey combined with its high unemployment rates and previous experience of Turkish economic migrants has caused concern in Germany that Turkish membership will lead to a swathe of more migrants. Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was supportive of Turkish ambitions but his recent replacement, Angela Merkel, has called for a petition against Turkish membership and has sent letters to conservative politicians throughout Europe asking them to present a united front against Turkish entry to the EU.²⁹

Other nations traditionally opposed to Turkish accession include France and Greece who are the only two countries to recognize the deaths of Armenians in WWI as genocide. France has received many dissatisfied Turkish elites over the years and has implemented a new law requiring a national referendum on any further enlargement of the EU. Greece changed its anti-Turkish stance to EU accession when Turkey agreed to recognize divided Cyprus as a member of the EU in December 2004.³⁰ Austria’s

²⁸ Macintyre, Ben (2005) Brutality, Poverty and Religion Stand Between Turkey and EU, The Times, Overseas News, Sept 30th p. 38

²⁹ DW Staff (2005) *Merkel Calls For Petition Against Turkish Membership* [online] Deutsche Welle, Available from: <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,1356052,00.html> [Accessed 12th October 2005].

³⁰ British Broadcasting Corporation (2005) Timeline Turkey: A Chronology of Key Events [online] BBC News, Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/country_profiles/1023189.stm [Accessed 22nd November 2005]

opposition may stem from the historical rivalry between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires.

The special relationship between America and Great Britain is evident in Britain's aim in using Turkey as a "role model for Muslim democracy".³¹ However, American intervention is increasingly seen as unwelcome, as President George Bush was told to stop interfering by the French President Jaques Chirac when Bush called for the EU to begin membership talks with Turkey immediately.

A recent Eurobarometer poll found that New Member States (NMS) favor further enlargement of the union. Seventy-eight percent of respondents favor enlargement to include Switzerland and Norway, however the further east the country is situated the percentage in favor of enlargement falls, with only 35% in favor of Turkish accession (see appendix A).³²

Article 49 of the 1993 Maastricht Treaty lays down the conditions for membership: "Any European state which respects the principles of liberty, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law may apply to join the Union." This definition was further expanded later that year by the EU government heads meeting in Copenhagen, and now referred to as the "Copenhagen Criteria", to include "existence of stable institutions guaranteeing democracy" and "existence of a functioning market economy".³³

³¹ Economist Writers (2005) Which Turkey? Not everyone sees the country with the same Eyes, The Economist, Vol. 374 Issue 8418, p. 4

³² Eurobarometer (2005) *Standard Eurobarometer 63 / Spring 2005 - TNS Opinion & Social*, Available from: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb63/eb63.4_en_first.pdf [Accessed 15th November 2005] p. 29

³³ Europa (2005) *Overviews* of the European Union Activities: Enlargement [online] European Union Online, Available from: europa.eu.int/pol/enlarg/overview_en.htm [Accessed 8th November 2005].

There are two ways of examining whether a country is eligible for membership to the European Union. The first can be termed “cultural”, looking at such aspects of a country as regards its culture, geographical location, history, religion and ethnicity. The second is based on “values”, such as respect for human rights and law, the existence of a market economy and a functioning democracy. Looking at Article 49, and the rejection of an Irish-led proposal to include a reference to God and the Christian tradition in the constitution, it is clear that the EU has adopted the second value-based option.³⁴ If this is the case then no limit is set on expansion – theoretically even Russia could be a candidate country in the future.

The lack of clear geographical boundaries makes the concept of a European identity harder to engender and is an issue that the European Union is currently grappling with. Until the end of the Cold War, Europe had clearly delineated borders with the North Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea separating the America’s and Africa from the continent and the infamous “Iron Curtain” limiting European Union expansion to the East. With the demise of the Soviet Union and the accession of many Eastern European countries to the EU the question of the limits of European expansion is a complex one. The demise of the Iron Curtain has blurred the boundaries of Europe with the equally blurry area known as the Middle East.

The vagueness of Europe’s eastern border has been useful to the architects of the EU; they have been able to exert influence over potential accession countries without creating tension by explicitly excluding them. However, with each eastern expansion, the number of candidate countries increases. If the EU were ever to set a limit on expansion

³⁴ Forum on Europe (2005) *Gweedore Debates the EU Constitution* [online] Forum on Europe, Available from: <http://www.forumoneurope.ie/index.asp?locID=113&docID=729> [Accessed 9th December 2005].

it risks causing tension in the excluded countries. On the other hand, the lack of definitive borders contributes to the difficulty in fostering a European identity.

If the EU follows the course of “values”, the creation of a European identity is much harder to define. Identities and the concept of discerning oneself are defined by the process of “othering”, whereby identities are formed “through the opposition to the identities of the significant others”.³⁵ Great Britain historically saw itself as separate from “The Continent” and many of its inhabitants do not feel “European”. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries were the “other” for the inhabitants of Europe, but as set out in the Ankara Paper; with the demise of the Cold War, the Eastern Bloc countries stopped being an “other” and became an “us”. Fostering a European identity is perhaps simpler to achieve outside Europe than inside; for example Spanish and German executives in America for example may feel a closer bond and similarity to each other than to their American associates.

Whilst the eastern border remains uncertain, creating a European identity remains problematic as cultural questions remain open. The Ankara papers somewhat predictably recommend that the union “choose unequivocally to define its identity on the basis of common values and norms”.³⁶ This approach would defuse the question of geographical boundaries and be true to the EU’s maxim of “Unity in Diversity”.

Nevertheless, change is occurring. The EU’s policy of internal open borders are slowly creating a European identity as people live, work, study and travel in Europe. In addition, the Iraq war has probably done more to create a European identity than any

³⁵ Ankara Papers (2004) *The Identity and Limits of European Integration: A Quest for Credible Criteria* Ankara Papers, Vol. 11 Issue 1, p. 23

³⁶ Ankara Papers - 31

other factor, despite several governments supporting the USA-led invasion; European public opinion was united in its opposition.³⁷

The EU needs to actively foster a strengthening of the European identity if future enlargement and the smooth operation of the union are to occur. Citizens can have multiple identities; for example, a person might feel European, British, Scottish and Glaswegian. Education offers a distinct opportunity for fostering a European identity although history, such as WWII, can divide Europeans as well as connect them. Though British history lessons used to cover predominantly domestic national history, the curriculum is slowly being expanded and reinvented toward a curriculum of European history.³⁸ The EU is actively trying to forge a stronger European identity. Its most recent effort is the “Mother Tongue – Plus Two” initiative which states that whilst “learning one language in addition to your mother tongue is good, learning a second additional language is even better”.³⁹ According to one commentator in the *International Herald Tribune*, “In many ways enlargement has made Europe more European...before last May, the European Union really was Western Europe.”⁴⁰

The “Erasmus Generation” is seen as the most effective method of creating an identity. First established by the EC in 1987, Erasmus gives grants to European students to enable them to study in other European countries. The program expanded from 3,000 in its first year to over 136,000 in 2004 with a total of 1.2 million students having been

³⁷ Bennhold, Katrin (2005) Quietly Sprouting: A European Identity, *The International Herald Tribune*, Apr 27th.

³⁸ German Ambassador to the UK (2004) *Interview with the German Business Network*, Available from: german-embassy.org.uk/interview_german_business_netw.html [Accessed 30th November 2005]. The German and British governments are working together to bring a new awareness of Germany and to learn more about continental Europe.

³⁹ European Commission (2004) *Many Tongues, One Family: Languages in the European Union*, [booklet] Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, p. 15

⁴⁰ Bennhold - 3

through the program.⁴¹ Prior to the states joining, students from the NMS were allowed to take part in Erasmus from 1997; over 20,000 now study abroad on the program each year.

A European Union which included Turkey would look very different from that of today. Most commentators agree that 2014 is the earliest that Turkish accession is likely to occur though 2020 is more likely. This is because the 2007-2013 EU budget makes no mention of Turkey and associated accession costs.⁴² Katherine Fleming believes that the view by Europeans of Turkey being a backward nation with a poor human rights record is hypocritical when viewed in the light of the Western Europe's history of Witch-burning and Fascism.⁴³ According to Fleming, Greece and Turkey may become the leaders of the Union as they have more in common with each other than the rest of Europe. In responding to the question of how far east the EU goes, Fleming stated that a Eurasian European Union that includes Turkey would go very far East, so far indeed that Western Europe may be left behind.⁴⁴ Predicting the future balance of influence within the EU is difficult to predict. In contrast to Fleming, Mehmet Türkay believes that the geographical proximity of Germany to Eastern Europe means that Germany's influence will increase.⁴⁵

If Turkey were a member it would mean that the EU would have several new neighbors as its eastern border would touch Georgia, Syria, Iran and Iraq. Turkey hopes

⁴¹ Erasmus Student Network (2005) *The History of Erasmus Student Network*, Available from: http://www.esn.org/esn_international/history.php [Accessed 30th November 2005].

⁴² British Broadcasting Corporation (2005) Turkey's EU entry talks [online] BBC News, Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4107919.stm> [Accessed 25th November 2005]

⁴³ Fleming, Katherine (2005) How Far East Does the EU Go? Greece, Turkey and the EU [conference] *Columbia University*, Nov 11th

⁴⁴ Fleming [conference]

⁴⁵ Türkay, Mehmet. (2002) Turkey's Integration with the European Union IN *The Politics of Permanent Crisis: Class Ideology and State in Turkey*, Nova Science Publishers, Inc. New York, 5th. p. 226

that membership of the union will resolve Kurdish irredentists wanting to create “Kurdistan” in the area. Every time the EU enlarges, new aspirant countries emerge and start to look westward. In the case of Turkey this would in all likelihood be Georgia.⁴⁶

The Turkish Daily News recognizes a certain degree of “parochialism” by some Turkish politicians in their reluctance to making changes necessary for union membership; but the newspaper also claims that Austrian, Dutch, French and German right-wingers are also guilty as they “adhere to the vision of Europe that is no more... Turkish membership is the wake up call for Europe before the whole world turns against the West in general for being too exclusive, too selfish and too jealous of the qualities born out of the colonial past.”⁴⁷

If Turkey was not admitted and only offered “privileged partnership” status, as promoted by Angela Merkel, this is likely to cause a backlash in Turkey and promote the very fundamentalism Western Europe fears. The Turkish Daily News advocates that Turkey “raise its head... [from its drive for EU membership]... and should rise to the occasion and live up to the strategic role it is destined to play in the Black Sea, the South Caucasus and the Middle East”.⁴⁸

The Economist argues that enlargement has made the union into more of a “loose-knit and pragmatic undertaking” whereby new member states may be denied some of the privileges of older members.⁴⁹ The EU launched the “European Neighbourhood Policy” in 2003, a revamped version of the Barcelona Process and GMP discussed earlier, which

⁴⁶ Economist Writers (2005) Meet the Neighbours: A survey of the EU’s eastern borders, *The Economist*, Vol. 375 Issue 8432, p. 4

⁴⁷ Ergil, Dogu (2005) Looking Ahead [online] Turkish Daily News, Available from: <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?newsid=25461> [Accessed 10th November 2005]

⁴⁸ Kinikhoglu, Suat (2005) Changes in Turkey’s neighborhood: Opportunity? [online] Turkish Daily News, Available from: <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?newsid=27691> [Accessed 10th November 2005]

⁴⁹ Economist Writers, Vol. 375 Issue 8432, pp. 3-5

aims to advance relationships with non-EU countries. However, two economists with the UN Development Programme (UNDP) suggest that the EU “spreads its values through peer-pressure for change, linked to hopes of accession. Without such hopes, governments lose motivation. Aid, even market access, [and thus the European Neighbourhood Policy] is no substitute.”⁵⁰

A trend is forming whereby states do not have to participate in all EU projects – the Eurozone is an obvious example where only 12 of the original 15 members have joined. This has been termed “Europe à la carte”. The Economist argues that this may be beneficial, “the most important part of EU is that Europe’s political and economic values should go on penetrating and changing countries round about”.⁵¹ The authors of the Ankara papers agree with this assessment, preferring to describe the looser model of the EU in terms of “concentric circles” whereby if states want deeper integration they have the freedom to do so.

Integration theorists building on Haas’ “spillover” concept have expanded the definition further to include “spill-back”, where a reduction or reversal of the integrative process to a previous point occurs.⁵² The Europe “à la carte” or “concentric circle” concepts” create a fragmented and more complex system which requires a new typology than that set forth by Philippe Schmitter. The term “spill-pools” would be a suitable addition.

The old adage “the only certainty is uncertainty” appears apt in relation to the future enlargement of the EU. If expansion peters out, the EU risks triggering conflict and violence in states whose accession prospects have been removed. Therefore, the EU

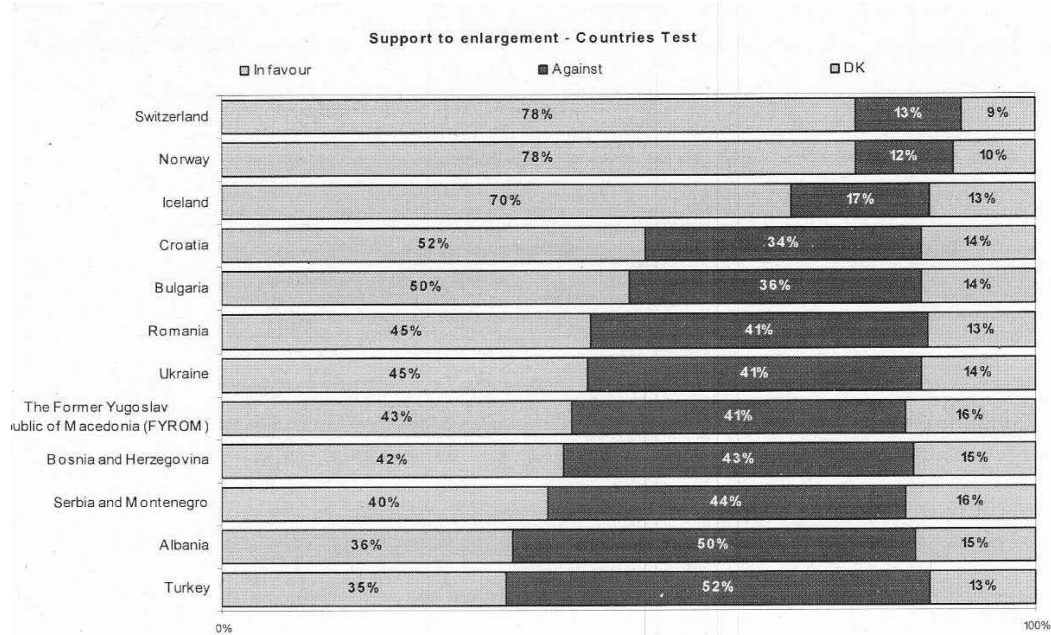
⁵⁰ Economist Writers, Vol. 375 Issue 8432, p. 4

⁵¹ Economist Writers, Vol. 375 Issue 8432, p. 5

⁵² Dougherty - 514

must continue with Turkish accession based on a system of “values” as laid down in the Copenhagen Criteria. The fostering of a stronger European identity will make this journey easier. Only through continuation of the enlargement process will the EU be able to maintain its influence in the region and realize its motto of “unity in diversity”.

Appendix A – Eurobarometer 63 – Support to Enlargement



Once again, it is clear that citizens of the new Member States are more open and positive as regards further enlargement than respondents in the 15 old Member States. The order of preferences is marked by different levels of intensity: thus, after Switzerland and Norway, interviewees in the 10 new Member States support clearly possible membership for Iceland and they are also more positive than their fellow Europeans as regards Turkey (there is a difference of 16 points between the two averages).

<i>For each of the following countries, would you be in favour or against it becoming part of the European Union in the future?</i>	EB63	
	Sp. 2005	
	EU15	NMS10
	In favour	In favour
Switzerland	76%	87%
Norway	77%	85%
Iceland	69%	76%
Croatia	48%	72%
Bulgaria	46%	70%
Romania	43%	58%
Ukraine	41%	66%
The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)	40%	57%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	39%	56%
Serbia and Montenegro	38%	54%
Albania	33%	47%
Turkey	32%	48%

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