

Turkey and the European Union

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Abstract

This study aimed at shedding light on Turkey's attempts and its wish to join the European Union, and explain the stands of the supporting and the opposing states, in addition to explaining the motives and different causes that push Turkey towards political, historical, economic and security Europe, and seek to pin- point the effect of the Islamic and historic heritage and the connected fears of jointing Turkey to the European Union. The problematic conceals in Turkey as a liberal Islamic country directed in the outlook to the West as an ideal in accordance with Kamal Ata Tork's wish, it is a strategic ally of the West a long time ago, and a member of the NATO alliance, in additions to numerous of the international European organizations, and signing an numerous of the international Treaties one of which is the Treaty of the customs Union with the Union. And it did plenty of political and legal reformations to fulfill the conditions of joining the European Union . In spite of that all the Turkish attempts did not lead to its joining this Union until now.

Keywords: Turkey, European Union, NATO

1. Introduction

The talk about Turkey's joining the European Union, is a subject with historical, civilized and political dimensions, and has economic, social, and cultural precariousness's, for after Ata Turk had dethroned the Ottoman Caliphate regime and ran the country in the direction of the west and laid secular acceptations in the community. The problematic conceals in Turkey as a liberal Islamic country directed in its outlook to the West as a ideal, especially Turkey is a member of the NATO alliance, in addition to numerous international European organizations and signing on numerous treaties with the Union, and made plenty of political and legal reformations to fulfill the conditions of joining the European Union. And since that time turkey was seeking to be European state in shape and content, but its seeking was always collide with the barrier of rejection at a time and temporization sometimes. And the complete membership remains for Turkey a dream, and an obsession for Europe that irritates her.

Turkey now is need of the European Union, and wants a complete membership with him” and not a distinctive partnership” and the European Union is in need of Turkey too, “And wants to suggest a distinctive partnership with her “and not a complete membership. The study will discuss the subject of joining Turkey to the European Union three topics.

The first topic: shows the historical relationship between Turkey and the European Union through presenting a historical brief about Turkey and the European Union, and also the previous Turkish attempts to join the Union.

The second topic: discusses Turkey's incentives to join the European Union through pin- painting: the geographical and historical incentives, and also the political, economic and security incentives.

The Third topic shows the stands of the European states from the Turkish attempts to join the European Union, through showing the stand of the supporting states and opposing ones to join the Union. In addition to displaying the Islamic and historical heritage and fears from joining Turkey to the European Union.

Significance of study and objectives:

This study is an attempt to shed light on Turkey's attempts to join the European Union, and pin-pointing the political, economic, and historical and security causes concealed behind Turkey's wish to join the European Union.

And it aims at uncovering the fears of Europeans from Turkey's joining the Union. And showing the stands of supporting and opposing states.

2. Problem of Study

This study seeks to answer a number of questions, the most important of which is, why does Turkey want to join the European Union? And what are the political, economic, geographic and security motives? Turkey's attempts to join the Union, and the conditions, which were described in return for acceptance of Turkey to join the Union? And what are the European fears from Turkey's joining the Union.

3. Methodology of study

This study presents a comprehensive methodology depending on the historical method for it presents a historical narration of Turkey and the establishment of European Union, and Turkey's old attempts and the present ones to join the Union, in addition to that the study uses the analytical method for plenty of information and available data about Turkey's wish to join the Union, and the stand of the states of the Union.

The First Topic: the historical relationship between Turkey and the European Union:

First : A historical brief about Turkey

Turkey is officially known as the Republic of Turkey. It is a state

The biggest part of it at the south west of Asia, and another small part at the south east of Europe. Both straits, Bosphorus and Dardanel straits and the sea of Marmara lie in its lands, the thing that made its location strategic and influencing the states overlooking the Black sea, Surrounded by Georgia, Iran, Armenia, and Azerbaijan in the east, Iraq, Syria and the Mediterranean sea in the south, with sea borders with Cyprus, Aegean sea, Greece and Bulgaria in the West, and the Black sea in the North. It is a member of the organization of Economic Cooperation on the Black sea.

The lands of Turkey amount to (1987) thousand square kilometers, and 97% of it lie in Asia continent and the rest lie in Europe. West of Turkey overlooks Aegean sea; south of it overlooks the Mediterranean sea, Syria, and Cyprus, and its north overlooks the Black sea. Eight states share it in dividing the borders with it, two of which are Syria and Iraq(1), according to statistics of the year 2008, Turkey's population amounted to (176.17.100) million people(2).

Turkey was a center for the Ottoman government until 1922 of establishing the Turkish Republic in 1923 by Mustafa Kamal Atatürk, After dethroning the last of Sultans, Mohammad, 6th Atatürk completely cancelled the Caliphate in 1924. Turkey Witnessed a patriotic movement after the World War one led by Atatürk (Father of Turks) and announced Turkey the Republic and became the President in 1923, Until his death in 1938. He replaced the Islamic principles with secular patriotic conventions, and cancelled courts and legal schools and replaced them with secular rules, and cancelled the Islamic rule and adopted the secular .

(1) Journal of Islam Today, the page of identification of Islamic countries, No. 27, year 26th., 2011, pp.125-128.

(2) Turkey's Joining the European Union, Dr. Gazi Rababaa', Journal, p. 150.

Personal status law, and replaced writing in Arabic by Latin in Turkey, and replaced the Arabic letters with Latin letters, by that he severed every contact of the Moslem people with his Islamic past, and cancelled the Ministry of Islamic Waqf, and cancelled the women's veil and made the holiday on Sunday imitating Christians instead of Friday and got rid of Islamic movements and Sufis. (3)

Turkey is the richest state in water in the Middle East, and the most important two rivers of the Tigris and Euphrates in Syria and Iraq spring from Turkey. And there in Turkey exists numerous sources of water like rivers and lakes. And more than one third of its area are agricultural lands and the forests cover more than one quarter of its lands. And there are many mountains in it, the highest of them Mount Ararat and Turkey governs many islands, most of them in Aija sea and the Mediterranean sea, the most important of them is Amrouz island.

And due to religion, Turkey is a secular state, where there is no official religion. The Turkish constitution grants freedom of belief, and most of Turkish population follows the Islam religion and 99% of the population are Moslems(4).

The Turkish Republic enjoys a political regime similar to the Western Democratic regimes, which are divided into legislative institution, executive, and judicial institution. The country adopt the democratic life after applying the constitution of the year 1982 and after years of the military government. The parliament forms the legislative institution. And consists of (550) represent actives, are directly elected from the people every five years.

And every citizen resident in Turkey has the right to elect, starting from the age of eighteen, so million of Turks abroad cannot participate in election Turkey started the policy of economic openness, for the private sector formed, in 1995, about 85% from the Turkish economy (445) from (500) big institutions, in origin, belong to the private sector. This sector gets activated outside Turkey, for it had investments with the value of (24) million dollars at (32) states. And shares in services with the rate of (b2.4) in economy and agriculture 15.8%, and in industry (21.9). But the foreign investments in Turkey amounted to about (22) billion dollars, between 1980 and 1997. Meanwhile, trade exchange concentrates about (45%) with the states of the European Union (5).

Center of industry and Turkish trade concentrate around the area of Istanbul city and in other big cities, especially in the west. Customs Union had been established between Turkeys and the European Union since 1996m fir the rate of exports of Turkey to the European Union amounted about 51.6% from the gross exports. Turkey is classified within the growing markets, which are distinguished with a dynamic economy and variant and the increase of its population and elevated rate of you this in it.

The most important industries in Turkey are the textiles nourshing materials, drinks, electricals, leathers and cars. And the most important of metal wealth available on Turkey land are: coal, iron, lead, and copper. There are small quantities of petroleum as a reserve in South East of the country. Cotton, barley, grains, citrus fruits, and hazelnuts are of the most important of agricultural produces in the country, and Tourism forms one of the important pillars of the Turkish economy, especially in the last decades.(6)

Secondly: A historical brief the European Union (7):

The establishment of the first European congregation refers to April 18th 1751 when six European states gathered, they France Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, and Italy, and agreed on forming the European Group for coal and steel, which will form the nucleus of performing the European economic Group, then the European Union.

And in March 25th., 1957 the states signed the Rome Treaty which enlarged the fields of cooperation, and the Group became bearing the name of the European Economic Group.

(3) Ai Hassoun, the Ottoman State and its External Relations, 3rd. ed., The Islamic office for Publication, Birut, 1983, pp. 278-249.

(4) Nizam Mardini, Turkey: location and roles, Journal , Middle affairs, No. 123 summer 2006, p. 165.

(5) Ibid – Nizam Mardini, P. 165.

(6) Saleh Lafi Al- Ma'yat, Turkey between the strategic location and the coming role, Journal of Jordan for International Affairs, No. 4.5.9.2009, p. 28.

(7) European Union Wekebidia, Free Encylopedia, www.wiripedia.org.

And in February 7th, 1997, Maastricht Treaty was signed in Holland, with which various European Corporations were gathered within one frame, it is the European Union, which became the official name of the Group. The Union takes the Belgium Capital, Brussels a permanent residence of its general secretariat and the European commissariat. And the city of strassborough, the a resident of the European parliament.

The European Union is governed by the periodical presidency system. Where the member status regularly alternative its presidency every six months, meanwhile acts the presidency of the secretariat the Portuguese, Khosei Manueil Baroso. The Union started with six states, they are: France Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and Italy. And in 1973 the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Greece joined the Union in 1981, Spain, and Portugal in 1986, then Ireland in 1993, Sweden, Finland, and Austria in 1995.

And from the beginning of 2004 the European Union extended towards the states Eastern Europe, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, where ten new states joined it. They are Isteria, Poland, Republic of Teech, Slovenia, Latvia, Letonia and Al-Majar, and also Syprus and Malta joined the Union in this year. And in 2007 Romania and Bulgaria joined the Union. The European Union members became (27) states. The Union was established with life basic structures to run its wheels, they are:

- The European parliament: which is elected directly from electors of the member states, and it has a legislative role.
- The European Secretariat: it is the executive institution of the Union and considered the most important institution it.
- The council of the European Union: it is the legislative institution of the Union and includes the cabinets due to the field of specialization and representatives of the member state.
- The Court of Justice: it is judicial institution supervises the respect of legislations and rules concerning the Union.
- Comptrollers Office: it is an institution of controlling and supervision the budget of the Union and controls it.

The Union also established numerous other institution at the shape of the European Council, which consists of presidents of states and governments of member states, the economic and social committee, and the Central European bank, and the European Investment Bank.

Thirdly: Previous Turkish Attempts to Join the Union:

Turkey first wanted to join the European Group for Coal and Steel CECA since 1959, but it faced plenty of difficulties, especially after the Military Coup 1st. on May 27th., 1960. The democracy and human right were vided by the vidence used. The cause of this military coup was dictatorship practiced by the government and the party of democracy between the two years 1950 and 1960, the thing that encouraged the return of the Islamic trend.

Turkey recently returned to apply for joining the mutual European market, or the European conomic Group in 1960. It got September 1963 the mutual membership description due to the Treaty of Angara, aiming to preparing Turkey to obtain the complete, membership. Treaty of Anqara included three stages: preparatory, transitional, and terminal begins in 1973 and terminates in 1995. But that did not come into force, for all what was done is concluding an agreement between Turkey and the European Union on March 6th., 1995. Due to this agreement turkey joined the European Customs Union. The agreement worlded to cancel the customs barriers and open dialogue and present loans and financial aids to Turkey to execute the developemting projects, on condition that Turkey performs more of constitutional reforms, especially in both fields of human rights and protecting minorities, especially Kurds and Armenians(8).

(8) Ruwaa' Zaki Al – Taweel, Role of the European Union in the Turkey Decision Making, Journal of the Middle East Affairs, No. 125, Spring 2007, pp. 175-178.

And in the period of Eighties and with the government of Suleiman Demirel reaching power (1979-1980) the hardness of discrepancy increased with the people Republican Party, who demanded alliance with the states of the Third world and communists opposite of the government trend, which increased its alliances with the USA and states of western Europe. After that Western Europe doubled its condemnation to Turkey for it demanded the European Economic Group to stop aids from all kinds and types to Turkey until the last commit to respect human rights.

Turkey started with a sharp and swift reaction, it was characterized with violence and crystallized in rejection of recognizing the decision of the European of condemnation, and considering it an intervention in ever outstanding of the Turkish national life. And threatened of final withdrawal from the European Council after it had withdrawn her parliamentarians.

Turkey also rejected to deliver the government to civilians due to call from the Europeans. In 1983 election were done the mother party, party of the homeland won the elections headed by "Torgot Ozal".

He was entrusted to form the government, remained until 1991. Turkey followed a reforming policy led by Ozal and concentrate, on enlarging the exporting industries and self-satisfaction in agriculture, and develop and great variant maternal industrial basis(9).

Turkey, presented an official application to join the European Group in 1987, enclosing that with a big campaign of propaganda for the interest of joining. The European Secretariat answered the application in 1989, clarifying that Turkey suffers from decrease in democracy, because of the axial role of the soldiers in the political life, and also because of the legal restrictions, which reduce the political work freedom, and the cultural quelling, which the Kurds suffer from in the east of the country, in addition to violating human rights in it.

Turkey and Europe after the termination of the cold war until Luxembourg summit in 1997(10).

Germany United after the collapse of Berlin wall in 1989, and the second Gulf War broke in 1990, and the Cold War terminated in 1991 between the two enormous powers: the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The last one was disconnected and communism collapsed, and the Middle and east European States got out the Soviet domination circle. All that affected the relationship between Turkey and the European Group, which was preoccupied in preparing for the suggestion of internal reform, which resulted in the Maastricht Treaties in 1992, aiming at sharing in the operation of reconstructing the European states after the termination of the Cold War. And Copenhagen Summit approved the conditions and procedures obliged to be done by the European states wishing to join the European Union. In this respect, Turkey responded to numerous European demands aiming at getting the consent of the European Union. The European Parliament performed a growing role in the Turkish political life, for it asked Turkey to condemn the numerous violations of the political freedoms, and supporting the cultural rights of the Kurds and respecting them in accordance with the authorized criteria in Europe, and cancelling the death sentence, and prevention of soldiers from intervention in the political affairs and make economic reforms.

Helsinki summit in 1999 and the historical transformation. (11)

The member states in the European Union agreed on the principle of accepting the application of Turkey, and granting her the state of a candidate to join the European Union, in Helsinki Summit held on (10-12) December, 1999, that was after Greece had cancelled its cautiousness by American pressure.

Some of which respect of minorities and human rights, by cancelling the death sentence and improving its relationship with Greece, and preventing the Turkish army from intervention in the political affairs.

(9) Ibid- pp. 178-179

(10) Ibid- Ahmad Dawoud Cughlo.

(11) Ahmad Dawoud Cughlo, the Strategic Depth, Turkey's location and its role in the International sphere, translated by Mohammad Jaber, the Arab Publication House, Beirut, 2010, p. 543.

The French stand had abundantly in this decision – making, because of president Jack Sherak’s support of the Track of Turkey’s joining the Union, for he acknowledged the efforts exerted by Turkey for the sake of reforming the state and the political regime, and instead on the necessity of achieving rapprochement between both divisions of the Middle East.

Turkey also signed the document joining partnership in March, 2001, including execution of numerous procedures on both sides; the political and economic to agree the state of political arrest, (12) because of sayings, oration, or opposing politing ideas, establishing political societies and forums, and alloing to use Non- Turkish languages like Kurdish and Arabic, in the mass media, publication and stations of broad casting and telecasting transmissions, teaching them in both schools, the public and the private but under the supervision of the state, and to decrease the retractions on the activities of the student and youth organizations , and un prevention the activity of any political party and closing its residence, because of its political opinions and cancelling the death penalty except for the times of war and emergency, and replacing it with a hard penalty, and granting rights to the non- Moslem minorities by owning waff and finance concerning adoration houses, and freedom of obtaining properties and buying real- estates in the country, and amendment of the rules of Journalism and printed matters, especially what concerns penafies concerning the selection of the armed forces and pole of the politico institution, and amendment of national societies rule, and allowing to walks and peaceful demonstrations. Forcing preventive penalties in operations of smuggling individuals. This decreases the disturbance of the Europeans due to the increase of the illegal migration phenomenon, which flows crossing Turkey’s borders and its long coasts. The European Union Welcomed these legislative reformations, but the Union started to delay nominating an official assignment to begin the joining negotiations.

The Government of the Party of Justice and Development (2002-2005):

In Turkey, on November 2002 parliamentary elections took place, in which the party of Justice and development, with the moderate Islamic trend, won the elections. The leader of the party, Rajab Taiyeb Ardoghan was appointed prime minister of the government, and the data issued by the Turkish state. In statute for statistics indicate to the states of economy in 2005 that the Turkish economy achieved a great leap through the few past years since the party took power in the country, from the rising data are five golden numbers – as said- they are :

- Decrease of the average of inflation from 70% to 7.63 in 2005.
- Rise of the value of the Turkish exports to abroad from (36) billion dollars in 2002 to (73) billion dollars in 2005.
- Increase of the average of growth in the national economy from 5.8% to 7.6% in 2005.
- Paying up (11) billion dollars from the Turkish debts payable to the International Credit fund. The government of the party of justice and development in herited (150) billion payable external debts with yearly high interests(13).

Ardoghan started a European round covered the states of the European Union to encourage them to nominate an assignment to start the negotiations of Turkey’s membership. He assured in his round that “ Turkey is surely existing in Europe through four million Turkish migrants (most of them in Germany) (and it is not a source of fears to the Europeans), and added that (the success of Turkey as an Islamic state may make it an ideal of the Islamic states) and demanded (the European Union not to be a Christian club) (14).

He also expressed his agreement on the comprehensive peace plan in Cyprus, in accordance with the plan suggested by the U.N. Secretary General, Kofi Anan, because this will assist in hastning the Turkey: joining the European Union. And assured Anqara’s rejection of any form of special partnership between the European Union and Turkey in stead of joining the last to the Union.

(12) Turkey’s Joining the European Union, Sit of Electronic Fighter News, www.mogatel.com .

(13) Ibrahim Al- Bayoumi Ghanem, The Turkish Political Economy and the Reform Journal of the Middle East Affaris, Summer of 2006, p. 179.

(14) Ibid- Ibrahim al- Bayoumi Ghanem, p. 180.

The Authorizer of the European Union for the enlargement affair Johnter Ferhogen oppsed to nominate an assignment to start negotiations with turkey inh Copenhagen's Summit on December, 2002 to join the Union, because of the decrease of political and economic reforms. He added " as long as the soldiers dominate politics and not politics dominate the soldiers, I cannot imagine Turkey a member in the European Union". Really the Copenhagen Summit in December 2002 postponed the decision of the date of starting the negotiations to the end of 2004(15), in spite of the hard American pressures on the European Union states. But the caue of these pressures is an American attempt to get Turkey's support in war on Iraq in return for its joining the European Union(16). But the European leaders were annoyed from the American intervention, which harmed the Turkish issue excessively, and expressed that during the evening dinner of the European Summit in Copenhagen. The Summit authorized enlarging the European Union by joining ten new states, Syprus was one of them and Greece (Malta. The issue of joining Syprus to the European Union, with its southern division privately on May, 2004 is still irritating abundant problematics in the relationship between the states of the Union and each of Turkey and Greece, And the Syprus Island is divided since 1974 at the effect of the Turkish military invasion in the North of the Island and occupying it. This was reflected on the future of the relationship between Turkey and the European Union(17).

Copenhagen Summit did not prevent Turkey from hope to reach the membership of the Union. The government of the party of justice and development initiated to more reforms of politics and economy until holding the European Summit in Brussels on December, 2004. The reforms covered increasing the guarantees, which protect the political and cultural freedoms and human rights, prevention of prosecuting the civilians at military courts, cancelling opinion crimes, and death sentence, allowing teaching the Kurdish at schools and mass media transmission in Kurdish. (18)

The reforms included legilaions decrease power of the military institution in the council of National Security. Ardoghan agreed on settlement of conflict about Syprus Island. Continuation the Armed Force in the broad casting service and Television and un equality between man and women on December 15th., 2004, the majority European representatives in the European parliament supported starting the negotiations of Turkey's joining the European Union. And before holding the summit in Brussels on 16-17 December, 2004 Ardoghan declared the following: " Turkey will freeze its candidacy to the European Union in case the European leaders forced unacceptable conditions, that will not be the end of the world". But the summit had taken a decision in which it specified the 3rd of October, 2005 an assignment to start negotiations with Turkey for the issue of membership, but that does not mean entering Turkey to the membership of the Union. The negotiations may continue until the year 2015 when Turkey completes the conditions of joining .

AT the beginning of 2005 the relationship between Turkey and the European Union improved. Turkey was asked to present more reforms in the field of democracy and human rights. And the issue of the Armans was raised and considered one of the great handicaps in the way to join the Union, the American lobby practiced pressures on the European Union and the USA to practice pressure on Turkey to confess of the massacres committed against the Armans in 1915, s a previous condition to join the Union. The second blow canefrom inside the Turkish Journal " hireet" issued the memorandums of the previous Ottoman prime minister, Tala'at Pasha written by his hand on April 22nd, 2005. He mentioned an important statistics assures the number of Armans who were immigrated to Syria amounting to 924.1.58. Persons . These memorandums formed a very important document; the hand of the European Union towards Turkey. Turkey rejected to comes with this issue , and imprisoned a number of Arman & Turk writers(19).

(15) Ibid- Turkey's joining the European Union, from the site of the fighter news.

(16) Ibid- Turkey's joining the European Union.

(17) Waleed Mohammad Ahmad, the European Union and Syprus Problem- the problematic syprus European relationship- Journal of Regional studies , no. 9, 4th year Jan, 2008, pp. 248-249.

(18) Brandon Currie, The Global Implications of Turkey Elestion, www.CIGI on line . org. 6/2011.

(19) Issue of Armans: The Armans claim that they were exposed to massacres by the Ottomans with (1.5) million Armans were Killed . The Turks claim the Armans practiced massacres against the Turks . (1) Jamal Ismael Koklay/ Stand of France towards the Armans issue in the light of Turkis journals, Magazine of Regional studies, No. 9, 4th. Year, January, 2008,pp. 223-227.

During that period, two opposing German parties: the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union suggested Turkey to be a “ distinguished member” , and Austria demanded Turkey to be a partner to the European Union on condition that not to promote to the level of complete membership. The thing that Turkey rejected. In the year 2006, the European commissariat recommended to stop the acting negotiations of joining the Union with Turkey, even if partially, because Ankara continues rejecting to open its sea and air ports in front of Cyprus ships and plans , and also rejects recognizing the membership of Cyprus in the Union.

And in the year 2007 the ambiguity dominated the European stand, the thing that irritated Ankara's concern. The Turkish Army did not encourage the joining of Turkey to the Union for fear of their authorities and impossibility of intervention in the political affairs, so the army encouraged the Turks not to join the Union. And on September 12th., 2010 a popular referendum was done to modify the Turkish constitution, and terminated in the Turkish people voting in the rate of 58% for the interest constitutional reformations, which included (26) (20). Items , the most important of which are:

- Making the military institution exposed to enquiry in front of the civil jurisdiction .
- The parliament opens larger files in appointing judges.
- Granting the official of the public institutions the right in the civil disobedience.

The second Topic motives of Turkey from joining the European Union:

Turkey seeks to join the European Union to achieve numerous objectives headed by:

Firstly: the geographic and historical motive:

Most of the Turkish elite, the political, commercial and cultural look at the relations with the European Union in context surpasses the considerations of foreign policy, because it believes that the future of its country and its strategic interests will depend in a great form on the strength of these relations, and so wants to get recognition that Turkey is a European state. Therefore it depended on natural geography . located in the European part, but it considered the rest of area a natural extension of Europe(21).

Turkey also considered the European part of it is the most important. But the whole Turkey is a bridge between the east and the west. And what concerns the cultural geography; Mustafa Kamal Ataturk wanted to grant Turkey the standard of the contemporary Western civilization. And the Turks found it impossible to imagine Europe without Turkey and enlisted their problems with the European Union within the internal problems not the external ones. This feeling generated a persuasion at the different Turkish elites that Turkey's future connects with Europe, so no replacement of joining the European Union(22).

Secondly: the political and economic motives:

The political motives that stand behind Turkey's wish to join the European Union are divided into two parts: internal and external. The internal motives are represented in the agreement of most of the Turkish political currents; of secular, Islamic, and liberal, rightist, leftist, and the commercial elites and cultural elites and the minorities, on supporting their country to join the European Union, that is because of their indignation against the internal policy followed by soldiers. The great power with which the Turkish military association demands a long time to be changed in the opinion of these people. So, Turkey's joining the Union will assist to do the required political and economic reforms, spreading democracy . protecting human rights, decrease the soldiers power and domination on the Turkish politics. And will allow the minority movements, and political parties to express their opinion and practice the political and cultural life in a better form(23).

(20) Ibid – Turkey's joining to the European Union, the Fighter.

(21) Ibid – Turkey' Joining the European Union, the Fighter.

(22) Dr. Alexander Abi Younis , the perplexed relations between Turkey and European Union, Magazine of the Nation of Defence, No. 16, www.lebarmy.gov.

(23) Ibid

But the external political motives are represented in completion with Greece, especially the last one employs its state as a member in the European Union to leave Turkey separated from Europe. Also USA encourage Turkey to join the European Union to guarantee its existence in the Western alliance to face its enemies. But Turkey does not want to depend on USA in every thing in order not the States to dominate it, though it preferred to join the Europeans to defend it when becomes in discrepancy with the states(24).

But the economic motives, the European Union represents the main exporting market of all agricultural and industrial products and get the European developed technology without complications. Also the continuous provision with capitalist goods from the Union, which are considers necessary goods for development and economic modernization in Turkey forms a basic demand for Turkey's commercial policy. And Europe forms an important opening for the Turkis workers to decrease the rate of unemployment in Trukey. Tand migration of workers guarantee a lot of foreign currency to flow through the workers trans formations. Turkey all aims at flowing of foreign investments directly from the European companies, that compen sates the decrease of reservations and assists in obtaining new technological experiences, Turkey is need of to continue the continuous modernization of its economy. Turkey also wishes to double the European investments in the frame of the European Union, with getting benefit of the modern technology in all fields of Turkish industries. And finding open European Markets for the Turkish industries. And finding open European markets for the Turkish products through removing all customs barriers(25).

Thirdly: Security Motives:

The security obsession formed the main cause, which pushed Turkey after the second world war (1939-1945) to merging in the western security system (The European – American) through accepting the offer, which was made available by Truman principle in 1947, concerning the commitment of the USA in the Middle East. And after developing the enmity between USA and the Soviet Union, Turkey merged in the Western Security and economic system through entering a group of its alliance, some of which are: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), The (GATT) Treaty and the North Treaty Organization Alliance (NATO). All of them considered basic to develop the country politically and economically. And through the Turkish annoyance from the USA, especially in the Syprus issue in 1974 and after it (1975- 1979) . Turkey felt the extent of its need to approach from Western Europe in spite of discrepancy with it, because the USA prohibited providing arms to it(26).

Turkey understood through its participation in NATO alliance that it is an important element to Europe more than it to the USA. So. It wished to get European aids en the military level, to compensate the decreased American aids. Be after the termination of the cold war in the Nineties, the Europeans neglected Turkey, for preoccupation in developing anew kind of the security and the defene policy in the frame of the frame of the European unity. But Turkey desired its national security to remain excessively connected and depended on the European security in its defensive and security frames, the thing pushes it to strengthen its connections with the Europeans. (27)

The Third Topic : The European States Stands from Turkey's Seekings to join the European Union.

In spite of the Turkish insistence on acquiring the membership of the European Union, but the opinions of the European states are variant, between the supporting and the opposing about that according to variance of their interests, from taking the decision in accordance with the balance of profit and loss.

Firstly : Supporting State:

The supporters of Turkey's joining the European Union depend on considerations the important of which, Turkey will be at the side of Europe against the American domination, in addition to that Turkey forms a big consuming market, Europe cannot ignore.

(24) Ibid

(25)I bid Saleh Lafi Al – Maa'ya, Turkey between the strategic location and the coming role .

(26) Hanish Kramer, Turkey, the changeable seeks a new dress , translated by Fudel Jitker, Al Ibeikan for publication , Riyadh, 2007, pp. 314-315.

(27) Binar Bilgin, Turkey and the Eu: yesterdays answers to tomorrows security problems ? bilkent university department of International relations Ankara, May 2011

And in a geopolitical frame Turkey by its neighborhood of the states of mid Asia represents a European entrance to that region. It is the gate of Gazween Sea and the surrounding states. Britain supports the Turkish membership in the European Union enthusiastically. For it believes that Turkey's existence in the Union is " a minar" of democracy and modernism", and assures that Turkey's joining the Union will cancel the theory of " Conflict of civilizations", and so was to Italy, Austria, Finland, Greece, Spain, and Sweden(28). USA is considered one of the most supporting states of Turkey's joining the European Union, either in theregn of president George Bosh, or in Oban's, for it considers Turkey its ally . Bulgaria and Romania, who joined the European Union in 2007, clear support Turkey. This refers to Turkey's support to Romania in joining the NATO alliance. And in Bulgaria the party which represents the interest of the Bulgarian Turks, that is Movement of Defense about Rights and Freedoms", forms one of the terminals of the government coalition(29).

Secondly: Opposing States: the opposing states of Turkey's joining the European Union depend on numerous considerations; Turkey will form a part of the European Unity for the interest of America, in addition to the piercing formed by Britain. From this point Turkey's joining is considered a two – edged arm, and its entrance the Union will form a demographic and cultural difference with what forms of population numeration added to Europe's population, and this is considered important kind of examination to secularism and democracy of Europe and faith fullness of its claims is a sample of political, intellectual, and economic variety.

The demographic element will grant Turkey at joining the Union a bigger weight in the operation of voting and in its representation in the Union (voting on decisions) and also leads to dominate the labour market And there are rears of Turkey to occupy a leading position inside the Union with its Islamic dyestuff, and so becomes a reference for all Muslims in the Union, and adopts their demands, (30) for there is what is called (The Islam ophobia) concentrated in the souls of the Europeans is an extent they consider Turkey with its secularism now, an extension of the Islamic state of caliphate, concentrated in their minds. This itself forms a danger on the states of the Union. (31)

And there is also a fear from migration and group emigration of the man powers working in Turkey to the more developed states of the Union, looking for labour opportunities, and Turkey works for wasting the European money, which will be pumped to it as economic aids(32). France is considered from the opposing states in spite of the form president Jack sharak had a supporting stand, but president Nicoloy Sarcoze opposed Turkey's joining the Union. Sarcoze declared that Turkey does not belong to Europe, but it is one of the states of Mid- Asia . He aimed at conserving the sovereignty of France inside the European Union, so he want. To prevent Turkey from joining the Union, because it is a big state amounting to (80) eighty million people, in addition to its property of economic energies grow in a dynamic effective shape.

Also Germany change its stand; the chancellor Angela Merkel reject Turkey's joining the European Union and called for " excellent partnership" instead of complete membership. Germany also fears like France form Turkey's great population, and it will compete her in power inside the Union and obtains parliamentary seats like her(33). Almajar, Denmark, Slovenia, Tchiek, and Astonia all of their oppose Turkey's joining the European Union(34).

Thirdly : The historical and Islamic heritage and fears from Turkey's joining the European Union. The Ottoman state is considered the source of historical heritage and it is the product of a civilization, ruling and was formed by a worldly organization. A heritage, historical systems lasted numerous countries.

(28) Dr. Ghazi Rababa', Turkey's joining the European Union, The second international conference of Turkish Arab Relation between the pastand present , (26-27 April, 2011, pp. 149-150.

(29) Ibid- Hanish Kramar, p. 318.

(30) Abdel Ghani Salameh, Turkey puts the European identity on the touch stone , the civilzed dialogue, No. 3479, September 7th, 2011.

(31) Ali Hasan Bakeer, Why does the European Union fear Turkey's joining magazine of the Age, October 23rd., 2011.

(32) Mu'tasem A' wad, Labyrirth of Turkey's Joining the European Union, World view net, March 15th, 2007. And look also, Khafeer Solana, Governing Relations between Turkey and European Union, Darel Khaleel Lilakhbat, Jun 7th, 2011.

(33) Ibid- Dr. Ghazi Rababa', Turkey's joining the European Union, P. 150.

(34) Hakan Yilmaz, Turkish identity on the road to the Journal of Southern Urope and the Balkans online.

The Ottoman state was the Unique political structure in the region, and formed a political sovereignty corresponding Europe, and this sovereignty formed by the Ottoman state had directly affected the operation of deteriorating the feudal structure in Europe , an forced Europe on openness to the world for discovering new commercial ways. The administration of the Ottoman state entered a reforming movement adopted by the Ottoman current, for confronting the influence the national wave, which shook Europe in dynamic circumstances generated by the French Revolution, and from another direction the Islamic World was exposed to an operation of geomancy and enrooted geocultural change, after the cold war. Presents primary indication on the case upon which the Islamic will in the Twenty First Century(35).

The first variable concerned comprehensiveness discussed big the conception of the Islamic world for the Islamic world had not been confined to both continents Africa and Asia, meanwhile Turkey was the only one Islamic state in the European Cooperation organization. Today the number of Islamic states rised to nine states, and the Islamic Cultural Groups while resided in the western societies and classified the western states in front of an inevitable trughth, that is these cultures became a part of the culture of the western societies (36) and it is natural for any community to seek merging in a civilized world, respects man, prevailed with science, scholar and developed systems, and comes the Turkish trand towards Europe in this respect, in spite of that there is a current inside Turkey has its fears and opsessins as they are those fears with the Europeans. For the Islamic terend believes that Turkey's identity is Islamic, and its direction should towards the Middle East instead of the European was Buriers of this view say' " merging in the European civilization creates problems between the Islamic and eastern traditions which utterly contradict with the western tradition. From here the question of identity will remain an obsession concerning the two parties, and if the fears of Europeans springing from their fear that Turkey will influence their lifestyles, because the way of Turks loss and their religion do not suite Europeans, but the life style of the Europeans them selves variant. There are persons where fear for the Turkish identity from melting and decay, and they are the people who is still living in honors of the Ottoman Empire. The life style of the Greeks, Spanish and Italians does not similar the like in London, Brussels and Paris. But fear from Islamic devastation of Europe and reformulate the Europeans, customs and expose the European pattern to danger, are fears produced by categories of the rightist Christians and Judaism in Europe.

This in intellectualism ignores the near past of a great number of the European states, which have a long heritage the religious wall and the domination of the church, and it had not been gotrid of except after the French revolution(37).

Some members prefer not to join Turkey in the Union, so as the borders of the Union do not become adjacent to regions of conflict and tension. These prefer Turkey to remain a secluding region separating borders of Europe from instable regions, so it avoids the Union from falling in these conflicts(38).

Turkey attempts to join the Union, which achieves its great dream on the political, economic and social levels. Achieving this dream conceals in the personality of the prime minster Ardoghan. Turkey's joining the Union proves the possibility of co-existence among religions and different civilizations. Turkey's by the form adopted by the party of justice and development transforms into a bridge of crossing civilization between east and west. This prepare and paves the way to strengthen the Christian Europe with the element of formation the main Islamic power locating at the threshold of its home. Turkey the secular country.

Moslems form 99% of its population. It has borders with Iraq, Iran, Syria, Georgia, Greece and Bulgaria and strategic alliance with Israel, and enjoys an important strategic location, and owns a great reserve of life(39).

(35) Ahmad Daoud Oghlo, the strategic Depth – Turkey's location and its role on the international sphere, p. 281.

(36) Ibid – p. 288.

(37) Ibid- Abdel Ghani Salameh, Turkey puts the European identity on the touchstone.

(38) Ali Hasan Bakeer, Why does the European Union fear from Turkey's joining.

(39) Ibid- Saleh Lafi Al – Ma'ya, Turkey between the strategic location and the coming role, pp. 27-28.

4. Conclusion

The subject of Turkey's joining the European Union remained a long time treated as a subject situated on the margin of the operation of the European construction, but suddenly it became at the front of subjects of the European political hour. This study shreds light on the Turkey's attempt to join the European Union, by showing its previous attempts, in addition to showing the political, economic, and security causes concealing behind Turkey's desire in joining the Union. And it showed the fears of the European party, and the stand of the supporting and opposing states of joining. There are opposing stands related to numeration of population of Turkey and fears of Turkey as an Islamic state, especially at referring to the history of the Ottoman state.

Some states support Turkey's joining, for their interests are with Turkey, and it is the bases. That is noticed at the stand of USA and UK. Turkey had done plenty of political and legal reformations to fulfill the conditions of joining the Union.

Turkey has to forward and to continue attempts in the future on the reformations and their application effectively.

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