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The Importance of Turkish Agriculture within the Framework of European Union



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THE IMPORTANCE OF TURKISH AGRICULTURE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EUROPEAN UNION

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1. INTRODUCTION

After the Ottoman Empire's collapse following World War I, Turkish revolutionaries led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk emerged victorious in the Turkish War of Independence, establishing the modern Turkish Republic as it exists today. Atatürk, President of Turkey, implemented a series of reforms, including secularization and industrialization, intended to "Europeanize" or Westernize the country. During World War II, Turkey remained neutral until February 1945, when it joined the Allies. The country took part in the Marshall Plan of 1947.

During the Cold War, Turkey allied itself with the United States and Western Europe. Europe has been an object of desire as well as a source of frustration for Turkish national identity in a long and strained history”.

Ever since the foundation of modern day Turkey in 1923, this country with a predominantly Muslim population has been a secular democracy closely aligned with the West and has been a member NATO since 1952. Turkey was a founding member of the United Nations, and after the ten founding members, Turkey was one of the first countries to become a member of the Council of Europe in 1949, and was also a founding member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1961.

2. EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union (EU) is an economic and political union of 27 member states that are located primarily in Europe. The EU operates through a system of supranational independent institutions and intergovernmental negotiated decisions by the member states. Institutions of the EU include the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Council, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank, the Court of Auditors, and the European Parliament. The European Parliament is elected every five years by EU citizens. The EU's capital is Brussels.

The EU traces its origins from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), formed by the Inner Six countries in 1951 and 1958 respectively. In the intervening years the community and its successors have grown in size by the accession of new member states. The Maastricht Treaty established the European Union under its current name in 1993. The latest major amendment to the constitutional basis of the EU, the Treaty of Lisbon, came into force in 2009.

The EU has developed a single market through a standardized system of laws that apply in all member states. Within the Schengen Area (which includes 22 EU and 4 non-EU states) passport

controls have been abolished. EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital, enact legislation in justice and home affairs, and maintain common policies on trade, agriculture, fisheries and regional development.

A monetary union, the Eurozone, was established in 1999 and is composed of 17 member states. Through the Common Foreign and Security Policy the EU has developed a role in external relations and defense. Permanent diplomatic missions have been established around the world. The EU is represented at the United Nations, the WTO, the G8 and the G-20.

With a combined population of over 500 million inhabitants, or 7.3% of the world population, the EU, in 2012, generated a nominal gross domestic product (GDP) of 16.584 trillion US dollars, representing approximately 20% of the global GDP when measured in terms of purchasing power parity, and represents the largest nominal GDP in the world. The EU was the recipient of the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize.

2.1. Enlargements

After World War II, The 1948 Hague Congress was a pivotal moment in European federal history, as it led to the creation of the European Movement International and also of the College of Europe, a place where Europe's future leaders would live and study together. 1952 saw the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, which was declared to be "a first step in the federation of Europe", starting with the aim of eliminating the possibility of further wars between its member states by means of pooling the national heavy industries. The founding members of the Community were Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany (Table 1).

Table 1: The Ever Wider Union

Original Member States (1958)	First Enlargement (1973)	Second Enlargement (1981)	Third Enlargement (1986)	Fourth Enlargement (1995)	Fifth Enlargement (2004)	Sixth Enlargement (2007)	Seventh Enlargement (2013)
Belgium France Germany Italy Luxembourg Netherlands	Britain Denmark Ireland	Greece	Spain Portugal	Austria Finland Sweden	Czech Republic South Cyprus Estonia Hungary Latvia Lithuania Malta Poland Slovakia Slovenia	Bulgaria Romania	Crotia

Since 1952, the EU's membership has grown to twenty-seven with the most recent expansion to Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. A scheduled expansion in 2013 will add Croatia to the union (Table 1). Currently, accession negotiations are under way with several states. The process of enlargement is sometimes referred to as European integration. This term is also used to refer to the intensification of co-operation between EU member states as national governments allow for the gradual harmonization of national laws.

To join the European Union, a state needs to fulfil economic and political conditions called the Copenhagen criteria (after the Copenhagen summit in June 1993), which require a stable democratic government that respects the rule of law, and its corresponding freedoms and institutions. Membership requires that candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union. According to the Maastricht Treaty, each current member state and the European Parliament must agree to any enlargement (Craig and Burca, 2007).

Norway, and Switzerland are the only unequivocally European countries that are neither members nor aspiring members of the EU.

2.2. Future Enlargement

The Western Balkans have been candidates for membership since emerging from war during the breakup of Yugoslavia; Turkey has been seeking membership since the 1980s and Iceland has lodged its application since suffering economic collapse in 2008 (Bomberg et al., 2012).

Switzerland applied for membership in May 1992 but later froze their application, and Norway has applied three times but withdrew its application each time, most recently in 1992.

3. TURKEY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH EU

The country first applied for associate membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959. On 12 September 1963 Turkey signed the "Agreement Creating An Association Between The Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community", also known as the Ankara Agreement. This agreement came into effect the following year on 12 December 1964. Ankara Agreement is the first preliminary step on the path to full membership. In November 1970, a further protocol called the "Additional Protocol" established a timetable for the abolition of tariffs and quotas on goods traded between Turkey and the EEC.

On 14 April 1987, Turkey submitted its application for formal membership into the European Community. The European Commission responded in December 1989 by confirming Ankara's eventual membership but also by deferring the matter to more favorable times, citing Turkey's economic and political situation as creating an unfavorable environment with which to begin negotiations. Turkey has been an associate member of the Western European Union since 1992.

A major turning point for Turkey's EU prospects was the decision reached at the Helsinki Summit in December 1999 to grant official candidate status to the country. In the period between 1999 and 2004, Turkey took great steps in order to meet the Copenhagen criteria, especially regarding stable institutions, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and the protection of minorities. A key step in this process was the signing of the protocol on the de facto abolition of the death penalty.

The next significant step in Turkey–EU relations came with the December 2002 Copenhagen European Council. Turkey had been waiting and working hard for accession to the EU for more than 40 years. The EU Brussels Summit on December 17, 2004 finally gave Turkey what it has been seeking for over four decades (Kalin, 2005). According to it, "the EU would open negotiations with Turkey 'without delay' on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission, decides that Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen political criteria." The European Commission recommended that the negotiations should begin in October 2005, but also added various precautionary measures. Nevertheless, practical negotiations on the 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire* (the rights and obligations EU share) only began in June 2006.

While Austria and Germany initially wanted to leave open the possibility that negotiations with Turkey would lead to a privileged partnership, less than full membership, accession negotiations were ultimately launched with the "shared objective" of membership.

Turkey signed a Customs Union agreement with the EU in 1995 and was officially recognized as a candidate for full membership on 12 December 1999, at the Helsinki summit of the European Council which was a milestone. Negotiations were started on 3 October 2005, and the process, should it be in Turkey's favor, is likely to take at least a decade to complete. The membership bid has become a major controversy of the ongoing enlargement of the European Union.

So far, only one chapter (science and research) has been provisionally closed. Twelve more have been opened, but eight remain blocked over. Five chapters are being blocked by France, three by Austria and Germany, and two by Southern Cyprus. In December 2009, southern Cyprus blocked 6 chapters of Turkish accession negotiations.

Due to these setbacks, negotiations again came to a halt in December 2006, with the EU freezing talks in 8 of the 35 key areas under negotiation. As a result, no chapter has been opened since June 2010.

In February 2013, Turkish Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry for EU Affairs, Burak Erdenir, claimed that the EU had yet to communicate to Turkey. He also suggested this was a deliberate attempt to slow their accession process.

3.1. Positive Agenda

After over 2 years of no chapter openings, the European Commission set up a "Positive agenda" designed to focus on common EU-Turkey interests. The EU Commission in its Enlargement Strategy for 2011-2012 published on 12 October 2011 proposed to develop a "Positive Agenda" between Turkey and the EU. The "Positive Agenda" initiative aims to give a new dynamism to Turkey's accession progress since Turkey-EU relations are undergoing a period of stagnation (İKV, November 2012). The proposal was considered favorably on the condition that it serves as an instrument in support of and complementary to the negotiation process with the EU. EU Commissioner for expansion Stefan Füle describes that the goal was "to keep the accession process alive and put it properly back on track after a period of stagnation which has been a source of frustration for both sides.

"Positive Agenda" kick-off meeting was held on 17 May 2012 in Ankara with the participation of Stefan Füle, EU Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy. As a result of the Working Groups meetings held so far, a total of four closing benchmarks were confirmed to have been met by Turkey in three chapters (Company Law, Consumer and Health Protection and Financial Control chapters).

3.2. Future of Accession Process

In 2007, Turkey stated that they were aiming to comply with EU law by 2013, but Brussels has refused to back this as a deadline for membership. In 2006 European Commission President José Manuel Barroso said that the accession process will take at least until 2021.

3.3. Visa Liberalization Process

The EU Commissioner of Interior Affairs Cecilia Malmström indicated on 29 September 2011 that visa requirement for Turkish citizens will eventually be discontinued. Visa liberalization will be ushered in several phases.

The current visa policy of the EU is a cause of much concern for Turkish businessmen, politicians and Turks with family members in the EU. The situation is described as: "Even non-candidate countries such as Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia are currently negotiating for visa-free travel." Turkey have had a Customs Union for 17 years, and half of Turkey's external trade is with Europe. Turkish

goods can move freely, but a visa is required for the owner of the goods. This is a violation of human rights.

3.4. Timeline

- 31 July 1959** – Turkey applies for associate membership in the European Economic Community.
- 12 September 1963** – Association Agreement signed, acknowledging the final goal of membership.
- 1 December 1964** – Association Agreement comes into effect.
- 23 November 1970** – Protocol signed providing a timetable for the abolition of tariffs and quotas on goods.
- 1980** – Freeze in relations following the 1980 Turkish coup d'état (blow against the state) .
- 1983** – Relations fully restored following elections.
- 14 April 1987** – Application for formal membership into the European Community.
- 18 December 1989** – European Commission refuses to immediately begin accession negotiations, citing Turkey's economic and political situation, poor relations with Greece and their conflict with Cyprus, but overall reaffirming eventual membership as the goal.
- 6 March 1995** – European Union-Turkey Customs Union is formed.
- 12 December 1999** – European Council recognizes Turkey as a candidate on equal footing with other potential candidates.
- 12 December 2002** – European Council states that "the EU would open negotiations with Turkey 'without delay' if Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen criteria."
- 24 April 2004** – Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus back the Annan Plan for Cyprus.
- 17 December 2004** – European Union agrees to start negotiations.
- 3 October 2005** – Opening of 6 chapters of the Acquis (Accumulated EU legislation agreed upon) :
Right of Establishment & Freedom To Provide Services, Company Law, Financial Services, Information Society & Media, Statistics, and Financial Control.
- 12 June 2006** – Chapter on Science & Research opened and closed.
- 11 December 2006** – Continued dispute over Cyprus prompts the EU to freeze talks on 8 chapters and state that no chapters would be closed until a resolution is found.
- 29 March 2007** – Chapter on Enterprise & Industrial Policy opened.
- 25 June 2007** – Chapter on Statistics & Financial Control opened, but the opening of the chapter on Economic & Monetary Policy was blocked by French President Nicolas Sarkozy.
- 20 December 2007** – Chapters on Health & Consumer Protection and Trans-European Networks are opened.
- 17 June 2008** – Chapters on Company Law and Intellectual Property Law are opened.
- 19 December 2008** – Chapters on Free Movement of Capital and Information Society & Media are opened.
- 30 June 2009** – Chapter on Taxation is opened.
- 8 December 2009** – Chapter on Environment is opened.
- 30 June 2010** – Chapter on Food Safety, Veterinary & Phytosanitary Policy is opened.

17 May 2012 – Launch of the "Positive Agenda" with Turkey.

1 July 2012 - 31 December 2012 - Turkey froze relations with the European Union for the duration of Republic of Cyprus' rotating presidency.

12 February 2013 - France's foreign minister Laurent Fabius announces that France will officially remove its veto over Chapter 22 Regional Policy and assist in the chapter's opening. The veto on Chapter 17 Economic and Monetary Policy may also be removed in the future.

3.5. Negotiation Progress

To accede to the EU, Turkey must successfully complete negotiations with the European Commission on 33 of the 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire*, the total body of EU law. (Two chapters do not require negotiation.) Afterwards, the member states must unanimously agree on granting Turkey membership to the European Union.

Table 2: Joining the EU: What Needs to Be Negotiated

Chapter Number	Subjects to be negotiated	EC Assessment at Start	Current Situation	Chapter closed
1	Free Movement of Goods	Further efforts needed	Generally aligned with the <i>acquis</i>	-
2	Freedom of Movement for Workers	Very hard to adopt	Considerable efforts needed	-
3	Right of Establishment for Companies & Freedom to Provide Services	Very hard to adopt	Alignment at early stage	-
4	Free Movement of Capital	Further efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
5	Public Procurement	Totally incompatible with <i>acquis</i>	Further efforts needed	-
6	Company Law	Considerable efforts needed	Generally aligned with the <i>acquis</i>	-
7	Intellectual Property Law	Further efforts needed	Generally aligned with the <i>acquis</i>	-
8	Competition Policy	Very hard to adopt	Further efforts needed	-
9	Financial Services	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
10	Information Society & Media	Further efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
11	Agriculture & Rural Development	Very hard to adopt	Further efforts needed	-
12	Food Safety, Veterinary & Phytosanitary Policy	Very hard to adopt	Further efforts needed	-
13	Fisheries	Very hard to adopt	Further efforts needed	-
14	Transport Policy	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
15	Energy	Considerable efforts needed	Generally aligned with the <i>acquis</i>	-
16	Taxation	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-

17	Economic & Monetary Union	Considerable efforts needed	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
18	Statistics	Considerable efforts needed	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
19	Social Policy & Employment	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
20	Enterprise & Industrial Policy	No major difficulties expected	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
21	Trans-European Networks	Considerable efforts needed	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
22	Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
23	Judiciary & Fundamental Rights	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
24	Justice, Freedom & Security	Considerable efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
25	Science & Research	No major difficulties expected	Alignment complete	12 June 2006
Chapter Number	Subjects to be negotiated	EC Assessment at Start	Current Situation	Chapter closed
26	Education & Culture	Further efforts needed	Further efforts needed	-
27	Environment	Totally incompatible with acquis	Considerable efforts needed	-
28	Consumers & Health Protection	Further efforts needed	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
29	Customs Union	No major difficulties expected	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
30	External Relations	No major difficulties expected	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
31	Foreign Security & Defense Policy	Further efforts needed	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
32	Financial Control	Further efforts needed	Generally aligned with the acquis	-
33	Financial & Budgetary Provisions	No major difficulties expected	Further efforts needed	-
34	Institutions	Nothing to adopt	Nothing to adopt	-
35	Other issues	Nothing to adopt	Nothing to adopt	-
Progress	33 out of 33 screening started and completed in 2005 and 2006. 17 out of 33 chapters frozen in 2006, 2007 and 2009. 13 out of 35 opened in 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2 chapters expected to open in 2013.			1 chapter out of 35 closed.

The EU Council froze the opening of eight chapters over Turkey's rejection to open its ports and airports to traffic from Cyprus in 2006. Some of the chapters do not proceed to the next stage in the process, because they are blocked by Southern Cyprus. Some of the chapters do not proceed to the next stage in the process, because they are blocked by France.

3.6. Turkey's Membership Issues

Generally those members of the EU who support a rights based free trade block do not oppose Turkey as adamantly as those who support a broader political union. The latter, in particular, are concerned that unification would be frustrated and the European project threatened by Turkey's inclusion.

- Proponents of Turkey's membership argue that it is a key regional power with a large economy and the second largest military force of NATO that will enhance the EU's position as a global geostrategic player.
- The Turkish high-speed railway network and the Marmaray tunnel can play an important role in improving trade and commerce between the EU and Turkey.
- According to the Swedish foreign minister, Carl Bildt, "the accession of Turkey would give the EU a decisive role for stability in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, which is clearly in the strategic interest of Europe." One of Turkey's key supporters for its bid to join the EU is the United Kingdom.
- Upon joining the EU, Turkey's 76 million inhabitants would bestow the second largest number of MEPs in the European Parliament. Demographic projections indicate that Turkey would surpass Germany in the number of seats by 2020.
- Turkey's membership would also affect future enlargement plans, especially the number of nations seeking EU membership, grounds on which Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has opposed Turkey's admission.
- On the other hand, Cyprus, which is geographically located in Asia, joined the European Union in 2004. Former French President Nicolas Sarkozy stated in January 2007 that "enlarging Europe with no limit risks destroying European political union, and that I do not accept. I want to say that Europe must give itself borders, that not all countries have a vocation to become members of Europe, beginning with Turkey which has no place inside the European Union."
- German chancellor Angela Merkel has long rejected Turkey's accession bid, and has proposed a "privileged partnership" instead.

3.7. Benefits of EU to Turkey

Despite negative impacts of the economic and financial crisis which is being felt during 2000-2001 and since 2008, Turkey, as the 6th largest European economy, occupied the first place in Europe. Turkey has intensive commercial and economic relations with the Union. The EU is our biggest trade and investment partner. Currently, approximately 37% of our total foreign trade is realized with the EU member states. 70% of the foreign direct investment in our country comes from the EU.

Turkey's accession will increase the size of the European internal market and strengthen the relative competitiveness of the EU in the global economy. Turkey will constitute a true asset for the Union, with its educated, dynamic and young population.

Turkey, which has close contacts with the EU in the field of foreign policy, also contributes to the civilian and military operations conducted in the framework of the EU Common Security and Defense Policy. Upon accession to the EU, Turkey expects to receive economic development aid similar to what Ireland, Greece, Spain and Portugal received. This will accelerate Turkey's rate of economic development. There is also an expectation that there will be an increase in European foreign investment in the Turkish economy, further driving economic growth. Additionally, in times of economic crisis, Turkey could expect economic assistance from the EU, similar to what Ireland and Greece received after the 2008 financial crisis.

Free movement of people across the EU will give many Turkish people the opportunity to easily migrate to other parts of Europe in search of work, or a higher standard of living. The option of migration out of Turkey will inevitably ease tensions in the east of the country, as the prospect of a better standard of living will tend to cool separatist tendencies. The accession of Turkey will contribute to the spread of secular western values in Turkey. The EU accession bid has stimulated Turkey's political and legal reforms and intensified the democratization process.

Given Turkey's large and growing population, Turkey will have a correspondingly large representation in the European Parliament. This will give Turkey strong direct influence over EU policies. Membership in the EU will also increase Turkey's prestige regionally and internationally.

3.8. Turkish Economy and Constitution

Turkey has taken some advantages of a customs union with the European Union, signed in 1995, to increase its industrial production destined for exports, while at the same time benefiting from EU-origin foreign investment into the country. In 2012, Turkey's exports reached 152.6 billion USD (main export partners: Germany 11.2%, UK 8%, Italy 6.95%, France 5.6%, Spain 4.3%, USA 3.88%; total EU exports 56.5%.) However, larger imports amounting to about 236.5 billion USD threaten the balance of trade (main import partners: Russia 13.8%, Germany 10.3%, China 7.8%, Italy 6%, USA 4.8%, France 4.6%, Iran 3.9%, UK 3.2%; total EU imports 40.4%; total Asia imports 27%).

Turkey has a secular constitution, with no official state religion. There is a strong tradition of secularism in Turkey. The constitution recognizes the freedom of religion for individuals, whereas religious communities are placed under the protection of the state. Approximately 99% of the Turkish population is Muslim of whom over 70% belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. A minority is affiliated with the Shi'a Alevi branch. Turkey would be the first Muslim-majority country to join the European Union. Turkish constitution defines all citizens of the Republic of Turkey as Turkish in terms of nationality, regardless of faith or race.

3.9. Women's Rights

Turkey gave women the right to vote in 1930 for municipal elections. In 1934 this right was expanded for the national elections, while women were also given the right for becoming elected as MPs in the Turkish Parliament, or for being appointed as Ministers, Prime Minister, Speaker of the Parliament and President of the Republic. Eighteen female members of Parliament joined the Turkish Parliament with the 1935 general elections, at a time when women in a significant number of other European countries had voting rights for the local municipal elections, but not for the national parliamentary elections. In 1993 Tansu Çiller became the first female Prime Minister of Turkey.

In its second report on women's role in social, economic and political life in Turkey, the European Parliament emphasized that respecting human rights, including women's rights, is a condition sine qua non (without which not) for Turkey's membership of the EU. According to the report, Turkey's legal framework on women's rights "has in general been satisfactory."

3.10. Official Points of View Regarding Accession of Turkey to EU

On 13 November 2008, the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi pledged to try and win over those EU members' resistant to Turkey's application by certain countries. "I am confident we will be able to convince them of the strategic importance of Turkey, within the European framework, as a country bordering the Middle East," Berlusconi declared.

On 4 November 2009, David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, during a visit to Turkey underlined the UK government's support for Turkey's bid to join the European Union, saying: "I am very clear that Turkish accession to the EU is important and will be of huge benefit to both Turkey and the EU."

On 27 July 2010, David Cameron, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, during a visit to Turkey has promised to "fight" for Turkey's membership of the European Union, saying he is "angry" at the slow pace of negotiations. He added that "a European Union without Turkey at its heart is not stronger but weaker... not more secure but less... not richer but poorer."

Former French President, Nicolas Sarkozy opposed the entrance of Turkey in the European Union, but wished Turkey to remain a partner of Europe. He also often mentioned geographical reasons to justify his position, thus saying "I do not believe that Turkey belongs to Europe, and for a simple reason: because it is in Asia Minor."

Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, the French newspaper Le Monde reported on 28 May 2009. Sweden favours further EU enlargement, including to Turkey. Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt told the French newspaper Le Figaro that "the EU has a strategic interest in Turkey's EU integration and

warned against 'closing the door' to Ankara.]" "If we judge Cyprus to be in Europe, although it is an island along Syria's shores, it is hard not to consider that Turkey is in Europe," Mr Bildt said, referring to Mr Sarkozy's repeated statements that Turkey is not a European country and does not belong to Europe.

Chancellor Angela Merkel has repeatedly opposed full membership of Turkey to the EU on German-Turkish summits, advocating instead a privileged partnership. Even some within Merkel's own Christian Democrats back fuller support for Turkey, risking the chancellor becoming more isolated in advocating for a "privileged partnership".

Guido Westerwelle said "We need to get new momentum in the negotiating process. If we aren't careful, the day will come when Europe's interest in Turkey is greater than Turkey's interest in Europe." EU Energy Commissioner Guenther Oettinger, a CDU member, said "I'd like to bet that within the next decade, a German chancellor along with their colleagues from France will go begging on their knees to Ankara saying 'friends come to us'"

Hillary Clinton said "With respect to Turkey, the United States, along with many other countries in Europe, support the membership of Turkey inside the EU. I know that it is an issue that divides the European Union. We don't have a vote, but if we were a member, we would be strongly in favor of it." In September 2012, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey, during a CNN interview with Christiane Amanpour was asked if Turkey still wants to join the EU, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan responded by saying: "There are 5 million Turks in Europe and 3 million Turks in Germany alone. We are a natural member of the European Union. Germany invited Turkish workers 50 years ago, however 50 years have passed and we have waited at the European Union's doorstep. No other country has experienced such a thing. We will be patient until a point. However when we cross that point, we will bring light to the situation and decide accordingly." During a trip to Yalta, Erdoğan expressed his stern disappointment regarding the EU Accession process: "I have to mention this of course. We are at the EU's doorstep for 50 years; we are still not a member. We are still an EU negotiating candidate. At such a position, I wish EU accession. Otherwise, such a scenario would affect a large region including Ukraine and Turkey."

4. TURKISH AGRICULTURE AT A GLANCE

Agriculture is of great importance to Turkish economy since 22% of its population is employed in this sector; it makes a contribution of 8% to GNP by food and fiber production and meets the raw material requirement of the industrial sector.

Turkey is also a rival of the EU production sector and is very rich in terms of biodiversity. Out of 11,000 to 12,000 endemic plants around the world, 3,500 exist in Anatolia. The mountains lining the country

create different production zones. Turkey is the largest producer of several agricultural products, and it can produce about 150 different products. Turkey is the seventh largest producer of cereals. With further infrastructural work, it can perform even better. This agricultural production potential presents great economic power and opportunity for Turkey.

Unfortunately, agricultural policies implemented in the last decade was not in favor of Turkish agriculture. Turkey now imports large quantities of many farm products such as wheat, vegetable oils, rice, cotton, meat. Agricultural imports increased to 8,6 billion dollars in 2014 from 2,7 billion dollars in 2004, while agricultural exports increased to 6 billion dollars in 2014 from 2,5 billion dollars in 2004. Thus a deficit of 2,6 billion dollars was seen in foreign trade of agricultural products in 2014.

5. THE COMMON AGRICULTURE POLICY (CAP)

CAP is the agricultural policy of the European Union. Its main objectives are to ensure a fair standard of living for farmers and to provide a stable and safe food supply at affordable prices for consumers. The CAP has changed a lot since it started in 1962, and continues to change today. The latest proposals, for the CAP after 2012, have 3 priorities:

- Viable food production
- Sustainable management of natural resources
- Balanced development of rural areas throughout the EU.

The European Commission collaborates with the full range of stakeholders (mainly through its many advisory groups) in preparing its proposals. On lawmaking, the Commission's proposals are decided on by the Council of agriculture ministers of the 28 EU countries, together with the European Parliament.

The day-to-day running of the CAP is the responsibility of the member countries. The EU's Court of Auditors plays a big role in supervising the expenditure. The CAP's budget is spent in 3 different ways (Wikipedia, February 2013):

- Income support for farmers – who receive direct payments, provided they live up to strict standards for food safety, environmental protection and animal health and welfare. These payments are fully financed by the EU, and account for 70% of the CAP budget.
- Rural development – measures to help farmers modernize their farms and become more competitive while protecting the environment, and to keep rural communities thriving. These payments are part financed by the member countries, and account for some 20% of the CAP's budget.

- Market support – for example when bad weather destabilizes markets. These payments account for less than 10% of the CAP budget.

These three areas are closely interrelated and must be managed coherently. For example, direct payments both provide farmers with a steady income and reward them for providing environmental services in the public interest. Similarly, rural development measures both encourage additional public services and help modernize farms (EC, 2013).

The budget is decided every year by the Council of the EU and the European Parliament. To keep long-term spending under control, they work within a multi-year "financial framework". The current financial framework runs from 2007 to 2013. The direct aids and market related expenditure make up 31% of the total EU budget. The total CAP budget is 42% of the EU budget (31% -direct aid + 11% – Rural Development). The CAP budget is constantly shrinking: from 71% in 1984 to an expected 39% in 2013.

When the next financial framework comes around, the CAP will also be reformed to adapt it to the new challenges facing farming and rural life in Europe.

By 2013, the share of traditional CAP spending within the total EU budget is projected to decrease significantly to 32%, following a decrease in real terms in the current financing period. In contrast, the amounts for the EU's regional support represented 17% of the EU budget in 1988, but will more than double to reach almost 36% in 2013.[2]

The six member states individually strongly intervened in their agricultural sectors, in particular with regard to what was produced, maintaining prices for goods and how farming was organized. This intervention posed an obstacle to free trade in goods while the rules continued to differ from state to state, since freedom of trade would interfere with the intervention policies. Some Member States, in particular France, and all farming professional organizations wanted to maintain strong state intervention in agriculture. This could therefore only be achieved if policies were harmonized and transferred to the European Community level.

By 1962, three major principles had been established to guide the CAP:

1. market unity
2. community preference
3. financial solidarity

Since then, the CAP has been a central element in the European institutional system. The CAP is often explained as the result of a political compromise between France and Germany: German

industry would have access to the French market; in exchange, Germany would help pay for France's farmers. Germany is still the largest net contributor into the EU budget. However, as of 2005, France is also a net contributor while the more agriculture-focused Spain, Greece, and Portugal are the biggest beneficiaries. Meanwhile, particularly urbanized member states where agriculture comprises only a small part of the economy (such as the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) are much smaller beneficiaries and the CAP is often unpopular with their national governments. Transitional rules apply to the newly admitted member states which limit the subsidies which they currently receive.

The aim of the CAP is to provide farmers with a reasonable standard of living, consumers with quality food at fair prices and to preserve rural heritage.

Intervention mechanisms have diminished significantly, for instance the Commission only intervenes on: common wheat, butter, and skimmed milk powder. Ministers also agreed to increase modulation, whereby direct payments to farmers are reduced and the money transferred to the Rural Development Fund. Milk quotas will expire by April 2015. Therefore, to prepare the dairy farmers for this transition, a 'soft landing' has been ensured by increasing quotas by one percent every year between 2009/10 and 2013/14. Farmers who exceed their milk quotas by more than 6 percent will have to pay a levy 50 percent higher than the normal penalty.

The European Commission is now discussing the next reform of the CAP which will coincide with the next financial perspectives package, as from 2014. The Commissioner responsible for Agriculture and Rural Development has outlined seven major challenges which the future CAP needs to address: food production, globalization, the environment, economic issues, a territorial approach, diversity and simplification

The reformed Common Agricultural Policy is due to come into force after 2013. Based on the wide-ranging public debate, on 18 November 2010, the Commission presented a Communication on "The CAP towards 2020". On 12 October 2011 the Commission presented a set of legal proposals to reform the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) after 2013. Its stated aim is to guarantee European citizens healthy and quality food production, whilst preserving the environment. The Commission has put forward its legislative proposals on 12 October 2011. Now the European Parliament and the Council, will debate the text. The approval of the different regulations and implementing acts is expected by the end of 2013. The CAP reform could come into force as from 1 January 2014.

CAP is an integrated system of measures which works by maintaining commodity price levels within the EU and by subsidizing production. There are a number of mechanisms:

- Import levies are applied to specified goods imported into the EU. These are set at a level to raise the World market price up to the EU target price. The target price is chosen as the

maximum desirable price for those goods within the EU.

- Import quotas are used as a means of restricting the amount of food being imported into the EU. Some non-member countries have negotiated quotas which allow them to sell particular goods within the EU without tariffs. This notably applies to countries which had a traditional trade link with a member country.
- An internal intervention price is set. If the internal market price falls below the intervention level then the EU will buy up goods to raise the price to the intervention level. The intervention price is set lower than the target price. The internal market price can only vary in the range between the intervention price and target price.
- Direct subsidies are paid to farmers. This was originally intended to encourage farmers to choose to grow those crops attracting subsidies and maintain home-grown supplies. Subsidies were generally paid on the area of land growing a particular crop, rather than on the total amount of crop produced. Reforms implemented from 2005 are phasing out specific subsidies in favor of flat-rate payments based only on the area of land in cultivation, and for adopting environmentally beneficial farming methods. The change is intended to give farmers more freedom to choose for themselves those crops most in demand and reduce the economic incentive to overproduce.
- Production quotas and 'set-aside' payments were introduced in an effort to prevent overproduction of some foods (for example, milk, grain, wine) that attracted subsidies well in excess of market prices. The need to store and dispose of excess produce was wasteful of resources and brought the CAP into disrepute. A secondary market evolved, especially in the sale of milk quotas, whilst some farmers made imaginative use of 'set-aside', for example, setting aside land which was difficult to farm. Currently set-aside has been suspended, subject to further decision about its future, following rising prices for some commodities and increasing interest in growing biofuels.

The CAP also aims to promote legislative harmonization within the Community. Differing laws in member countries can create problems for anyone seeking to trade between countries. Examples are regulations on permitted preservatives or food coloring, labelling regulations, use of hormones or other drugs in livestock intended for human consumption and disease control, animal welfare regulations. The process of removing all hidden legislative barriers to trade is still incomplete.

The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) of the EU, which used to fund the CAP has been replaced in 2007 with the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD). CAP reform has steadily lowered its share of the EU budget but it still accounts for nearly half of the EU expenditure. France is the biggest beneficiary of the policy by around 20%, followed by Germany and Spain (~13% each), Italy (~11%) and the UK (~9%).

6. HARMONIZATION EFFORTS OF TURKISH AGRICULTURE WITH COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY (CAP)

When we compare the European Union agriculture with the Turkish one, we see significant differences in the fields of productivity, sizes of enterprises in the fields of productivity, sizes of enterprises, organization of producers, technology usage, animal health and phytosanitary conditions. Therefore, agricultural sector will be the hardest and the most problematic area to be harmonized with the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union.

One of the committees that will manage the relations between Turkey and the European Union is the "Agricultural and Fisheries Sub-Committee" which carries on necessary studies for the implementation of the national programme for the harmonization with the Common Agricultural Policy. Besides this, a reform and restructuring programme has been prepared both for a great challenge in the Turkish agriculture and to harmonise Turkish agricultural policy with the CAP. This programme contains:

- Direct support system has been initiated in co-operation with the World Bank. The activities have been continuing for "Farmers Registration System" as well. The law on Agricultural Producers Union has been passed in the Parliament.
- One of the most substantial problems in Turkish agricultural sector is the small sized farms and fragmented parcels of farm land. Changes have been realized in the Heritage Law in order to optimize these farms by land consolidation which is in progress.
- A project for "alternative crops" such as tobacco, hazelnut and sugar beet has been prepared in order to prevent the surplus of supply in production and to avoid unwanted stocks as well as to increase the production of the imported commodities.
- Moreover, a new "Soil Law" has been prepared aiming to prevent the wrong use of soils.
- Cabinet established a new EU Ministry and appointed the chief negotiator and the EU minister. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry assures that the three chapters that relate to agriculture will most probably be opened at the very end of the negotiation process, Turkey is already working hard for the compliance with these chapters.
- The chapters blocked by France include the chapter on agriculture and rural development. Why is France in particular and the EU in general afraid of this chapter? According to Minister Eker, there are two components of the "hardships" of the agriculture-related chapters. First of all, Turkey has a population of 76 million, and 25 percent of that population is employed in agriculture. Chapter 11 deals with agriculture and rural development jointly. A large agricultural population means a larger investment in rural development. Secondly, agriculture is a low value-added sector. Since the profit is low in this sector, there is off-the-record unemployment there. As EU standards are met, this off-the-record unemployment will move to

the cities. This will necessitate development in the industrial and service sectors. Turkey may encounter many problems along the way, and the solutions will require a great deal of money.

7. CONCLUSION

Despite growing pessimism in Turkey regarding EU membership negotiations, domestic reforms in a number of policy areas such as asylum and competition policy have continued and have brought Turkish legislation closer to the European Union (EU) acquis (Aydın and Kirişçi, 2013).

Turkey regards the EU acquis communautaire as a kind of "quality standard." Even if the country doesn't become a full member of the EU, Turkish people will have the right to live under those standards. The prospective EU membership has provided a very strong incentive for adopting major political changes in Turkey, and one can confidently claim that without the EU incentive, those changes would have been much harder to adopt (Müftüler, 2005).

According to a research based on a non-linear mathematical programming model following the integration with EU, the net exports in agro-food products decline mainly due to the expansion of trade in livestock products (Eruygur and Çakmak, 2008). Overall welfare effects of including agro food products in the customs union and membership are small. Consumers benefit from declining prices. CAP supports will determine producers' welfare. The results of the simulations provide also updated estimates about the possible size of CAP expenditures for Turkish agriculture.

There are two sides for EU resistance to Turkey's membership with regard to agricultural policies: costs and competition. If Turkey enters the EU in its current situation, it will take the largest share of the EU's funds, and it will also enter the common market as a strong competitor to the existing players. For Europe it is best to force Turkey to solve its problems before it joins the union. They want Turkey to tackle the problems of the agricultural population before coming to the negotiation table. Labor movement from rural areas to EU countries following full membership seems to be another factor for probable EU resistance.

These are the important topics which are to be taken into consideration for the preparation on the chapters related to agriculture and rural development. In this respect the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry deals with three chapters: 11, 12 and 13. The first deals with agriculture and rural development, the second with food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy, and the last with fisheries. With regard to these three chapters, 12 bills have already passed in Parliament. The majority of these were related to EU harmonization. In 2004 the Agriculture Strategy Document, and agricultural support policies were tied to this document.

Within this framework, Turkey had several laws about food, seeds, organic agriculture and agriculture insurance. Agriculture Insurance Law was passed at the same time as France in the Parliament and protects farmers from natural calamities such as draught, frost, hail and fire.

Turkey prepared Rural Development Strategy and established the Rural Development Support Payments Institution in order to benefit from EU funds. The Development Agency had to use 750 million euros of the EU's rural development funds before 2013. The agency is in the accreditation process right now. These funds are being used in 42 provinces. These are decided according to objective standards that the EU provides.

Screening process has been completed on the three chapters. This was not easy at all. EU officials were informed about current situation in terms of Turkish regulations, agriculture, production and support policies. Today the EU knows the position of Turkey.

Turkey has the means for the collection of the statistics EU wants. In fact the institutional infrastructure existed or a long time. In this connection The Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry was organized in 81 provinces and more than 900 counties. In recent years, a system of close monitoring was established approximately in 10.000 villages through 2500 agricultural engineers and veterinarians. This is a very sound source of information and important for both Turkey and the EU. This information is used in the formulation and implementation of agricultural policies.

With regard to the number of animals in the country, Turkey has now an Animal Record System and a Farmer Record System. All agricultural support is bound to this system. If a farmer is not recorded in this system, he cannot apply for state support. Almost 98 percent of all our bovine animals are recorded.

The producers receive financial support for the recording of their husbandry according to the number of ear tags. An animal without an ear tag cannot be transferred from one place to another. If a lorry caught carrying such an animal, the vehicle is prohibited from traffic for three months.

After the screening process, certain opening criteria was given to Turkish agriculture. One of these was the establishment of an Agricultural Development Agency that would be accredited by EU institutions. The Ministry prepared a program for this agency, and it was accepted by the EU in February 2008. Now the Agency has started its activities regarding modernization of agriculture and rural development.

Turkish support system differs from EU in this respect and seems not to fit the EU criteria. Unfortunately, Agricultural Support Policies are not successful especially in the last decade due to the fact that increases in agricultural imports. Turkey now imports most of rice, wheat, corn, soybean, oil

plants, vegetable oils, even most of the pulses for human food. Therefore it is not easy to have quality standards in keeping with the EU harmonization process.

In the negotiation process there are issues the EU delays intentionally, and there are also issues Turkey wants to delay because of the current conditions. For example Cyprus issue was a criterion of EU for negotiations on fishing.

It was said that Turkey did not have a real land registry system. In 2003 land registry system was started by means of the Agricultural Reform Implementation Project (ARIP), and within that project, the Land Registry General Directorate was formed in order to achieve the land registry. The Minister states that the land registry of Turkey has been completed over 99 percent ready.

The firms producing fishes on the sea were leading to environmental pollution on the Aegean coast. In the past there were no clear-cut criteria for these firms. In 2006 a bill was passed that set criteria and today all fisheries are assumed operating within these criteria. Of course all fisheries are not state-of-the-art farms, but they also improve themselves. The technology develops as well. In the past the fishmeal that was used precipitated onto the seabed and created malodor. But today new fishmeal is produced that can stay in the water longer before precipitating. This is good for the fish farmer and good for the environment.

Institutional arrangements that shape the use of factors of production are still not in place or are not implemented effectively (Burrell and Oskam, 2005). Land property rights and rules for land transactions, for instance, need to be better defined if they are to support the growth of land markets. Water use, water ownership rights and pricing rules, especially in the context of the Southeastern Anatolia Project, need to be improved considerably. Environmental safeguards need to be integrated into economic activities in all sectors, the Environmental Impact Assessment regulation should be enforced in practice.

Though the agricultural potential of Turkey is high, current agricultural technology system is underperforming. Much better coordination needs to be achieved between bodies responsible for the design and implementation of agricultural research and technology policy. The present agricultural research system should be developed in line with current agricultural priorities. In addition, a major effort is required to improve the performance of the national extension services, and farmers and their organizations should be given power to create demand for public extension services.

Consequently the present situation signals the start of a difficult and lengthy process of negotiations that will change both Turkey, Turkish agriculture and the EU. Turkey's potential accession to the EU is a matter of importance for the European Union and Turkey,

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