

**A HISTORY OF TURKEY-THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY:
THE ROAD TO CUSTOMS UNION**

**A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Political Science and Public
Administration and the Institute of Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Masters of Science**

Murat ZENGİN
September, 1995

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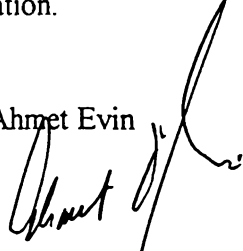
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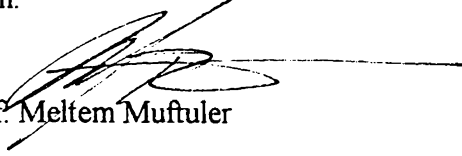
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Prof. Dr. Ahmet Evin



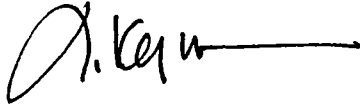
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Prof. Dr. Ali Karaosmanoglu



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ABSTRACT

The international politics increases the importance of European Community membership for Turkey. The modernization process that was started with the foundation of the Turkish Republic can reach its target through full membership. The willingness of all the Turkish governments has showed that the way of Turkey is on the West. Turkey tries to increase its strength in world politics through EC membership.

The possibility of Turkey's full membership to EC is examined on the basis of whether Turkey shares the European ideals or not. The effects of the changes in the EC politics to Turkey's application will also be examined. The EC was founded on the security base after the World War Two. EC changed its dynamics and democracy became the most important concept for the Community. EC demands improvements in Turkish democracy for both the customs union and the full membership. The political parties attitudes for the EC is also important in the full membership process. The lack of a consistent policy for the European Community seems to be the main obstacle for Turkey's full membership.

As a conclusion, Turkey has some disadvantages and advantages for the full membership. The weakness of the Turkish economy, the Cyprus issue and the high population growth rates seem to be the main obstacles. On the other hand, Turkey's geo-political situation and its impact on Caucasus region with the will of Turkish governments are the advantages. The European Community and Turkey can overcome these problems and Turkey can be a full member if there is political will to achieve the membership.

ÖZET

Uluslararası politika Türkiyenin Avrupa Topluluğu üyeliğinin önemini arttırdı. Cumhuriyetin kurulmasıyla başlayan modernizasyon hareketi Avrupa Topluluğu tam üyeliği ile hedefine ulaşabilir. Bütün Türk hükümetlerinin Avrupa Topluluğu tam üyeliği için istekliliği Türkiyenin yönünün Batı olduğunu kanıtladı. Türkiye dünya politikasındaki gücünü Avrupa Topluluğu tam üyeliği ile güçlendirmeye çalışıyor.

Türkiyenin Avrupa Topluluğu tam üyeliği Türkiyenin Avrupa ideallerini paylaşp paylaşmadığı temel alınarak incelendi. Avrupa Topluluğu politikalarındaki deęişiklięinin Türkiyenin başvurusu üzerinde etkiside ayrıca incelendi. Avrupa Topluluğu güvenlik amacıyla İkinci Dünya Savaşından sonra kuruldu. Avrupa Topluluğu daha sonra dinamiklerini deęiştirdi ve demokrasi en önemli olgu oldu. Avrupa Topluluğu Türkiyeden hem Gümrük Birlięi hem de tam üyelik için demokratik gelişmeler talep etti. Türkiyedeki partilerin bu taleplere ve tam üyelięe bakışlarında önemlidir. Türkiyenin tutarlı bir politikasının olmaması tam üyeliğinin önündeki en büyük engel olarak görölmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, Türkiye tam üyelik için belli avantajlara ve dejavantajlara sahiptir. Türk ekonomisinin zayıflığı, Kıbrıs sorunu ve yüksek oranları en önemli engel olarak görölmektedir. Diğer taraftan, Türkiyenin jeo-politik konumu ve Kafkaslar üzerindeki etkisi Türk hükümetinin istekliliğiyle Türkiyenin avantajları olarak ortaya çıkıyor. Avrupa Topluluğu ve Türkiye bu problemlerin üzerinden ortak politik isteklilikle gelebilir.

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INTRODUCTION

Turkey aims at generating an acceptance as a European country since the Turkish Republic's foundation in 1923. All the reforms of 1920s and 1930s aim to catch up with the West. The European Community is a target for Turkey for the approval of its European character. Turkey tries to be a part of this supranational organization and share the European identity that is in the core of the European Community. The membership of the European Community seems to be one of the main determinants for future of Turkey. The problematic of the thesis is to show whether Turkey is ready to be a part of the European Community by sharing the European ideals.

The thesis will consist of five chapters. The application of the full membership of Turkey in 1987 shows that Turkey's aim is to *integrate* with EC. The European Community has a complex structure. The similarities and differences between Turkey and EC are the key point for a healthy integration. Roger Cobb and Charles Elder's hypothesizes that define a healthy integration will be the tools to elaborate the possibility of the integration. The second chapter aims to see the theoretical basis of the European Community. The approaches to integration will create a basis in order to understand the logic of the European Community. The evaluation of the European Community will be specified in historical intervals.

The aim of the third chapter is to show the history of the Turkey-EC relations. Turkey's first application in 1959 and the Ankara Treaty in 1963 will be elaborated. The importance of the Joint Protocol in 1973 will be specified but the attention will be given to the improvements in the relations after the Turkey's application for full membership in 1987. The debates are not only limited to the customs union but also to the full membership procession in Turkey. The attitudes of the political parties are significant to see whether Turkey is ready for the customs union politically.

The fourth chapter will consist of a theoretical analysis of Turkey - EC relations. The demographic, political and economic aspects of a possible integration will be examined through the hypothesis testing in chapter one.

The argument of the thesis will be defended in the fifth chapter. The answer to the question why Turkey should be a part of the European Community will be answered with the help of the first four chapters. Roger Cobb's and Charles Elder's hypothesis will be the key determinant if Turkey is ready to integrate with Europe. The points in which Turkey fits the European norms will be specified. A brief conclusion will be at the end of the thesis for the future of the relations.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HYPOTHESIS TESTING FOR EC-TURKEY INTEGRATION

European Community's evaluation effected its relations with Turkey. Turkey showed her willingness to be a part of the Community since 1959. The activation of the customs union is the final point in the relations if the customs union agreement is approved by the European Parliament in December 1995. Turkey has some advantages and disadvantages on her way for an integration with the Community.

A healthy integration is difficult even if it is done between two countries. When a country tries to integrate with a community, the integration process is more delicate. In the case of the Turkey-EC integration, Turkey faces with this kind of problem. Although the Member Countries accept to behave according to the EC laws, it should be noted that each of them also protects their own laws, regulations and values. All the member states have certain interactions with Turkey and most of them have different attitudes against Turkey. The simple example of this complication is the Greece problem. Greece is a member of European Community yet, its foreign policy against Turkey is mostly concentrated on national level. It should be noted that although the national characters of the member countries may create certain complications, this complications is not only applicable for Turkey. All member countries experience these kinds of problems but find solutions at least

to a certain extent. When the integration process is examined, it is better remember these points one should keep in mind Turkey tries to integrate with EC, not the each member country one by one. If the necessary harmonization is sustained, that should be sufficient.

There are several variables that show if two sides fit to each other's norms. It will be useful to test the possibility of the integration process between Turkey and EC. The method will be the usage of the hypothesis of Roger Cobb and Charles Elder's (1970) about the propensity of any two countries to interact with each other.¹

1. 'The more geographically proximate two nations are, the more they will be integrated with each other.'²

Since we are not comparing two nations but a nation and a community, it is hard to say an exact thing. Turkey has boundaries with Greece who is a member of EC but there are thousands of kilometers to reach United Kingdom. Turkey can be considered to be geographically close to EC because EC must be thought as a totality. Turkey's geography is also significant when her south border to the Middle East is considered. Since most of the roads coming from

¹ Roger Cobb and Charles Elder's hypothesis are listed in order to compare two countries integration possibilities but I believe that the Turkey's application for the integration with EC has some similarities. Besides, some authors as I mentioned before, believed as Hallstein claimed, Europe is no creation. It is a rediscovery of shared ideals, history and culture. So this test will be influential, if it is accepted as comparison between the European and Turkish identities.

The hypothesis are taken from Michael Haas's article, international integration in Michael Haas, *International Systems* (New York and London: Chandler Publishing Company, 1974), p.207-208.

² Ibid., p.207.

Middle East pass from Turkey, she plays the role of a bridge between the EC and the Middle East and this increases Turkey's strategic importance.

The geography factor is important for Turkey. Turkey controls the traffic from Black Sea to the Aegean Sea. Turkey has also a beneficial geographic situation through its eastern borders. The Caucasus region that recently becomes very important in world politics has direct contact with Turkey. The historical and cultural linkages of Turkey with this region are of course other positive points.

When the subject is the geography. The question to be answered seems to be what is the Community. The two gear Community discussion has to be remembered. The Community is Brussel or the Community is Mediterranean countries. The member states who have stronger economies or the other medium sized economies. It will be useful to think of the Community as whole.

2. 'The more public opinion is cognitively and affectively favorable among the peoples of two nations, the more they will be integrated each other'.³

The possibility of the full membership for Turkey in the near future seems to be low. EC enlarged once more in 1 January 1995. Finland, Sweden and Austria are the new members. The integration of these new members has to be maintained before a new enlargement. In the next round of enlargement, Turkey will come after the Baltic Republics, Estonia, Lethonia, Litvania and East European countries as Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and Check Republic. The top officials' views are different to a large extend. Even

³ Ibid., p 207.

the Turkish Prime-Minister Tansu Çiller claimed that Turkey will be a full member of EC before the year 2000, and the Turkish citizens are supporting the full membership. It is remarkable that more than 80% of the population is for the fullmembership.⁴

There is another side of the coin. The image of Turkey is not so good in Europe. There are two important reasons for this image. The first reason is historical. Turkey is perceived to be the descendant of the Ottoman Empire which was an enemy of Europe. The image as the *defender of Islam* of the Ottoman Empire creates also a hostility against Turks as the enemies of Christianity. When the Ottoman Empire broke down, Turks had beaten the western allies once more and founded Turkey. The second reason for the image of Turkey is more recent. Democratization and the human rights problems also strengthen the Turk image which was not already good in the European minds. When these two reasons are examined separately, it should be noted that the historic reason can be overcome more easily. After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, some of the authors like S. Huntington in his famous article, *The Clash of Civilizations*, claims that the new threat for the West is the clash of cultures. Although religion is a subculture, fundamental Islam is accepted as the new enemy. The dangerous trend in the West is, they take the Islamic society as a whole. There are variations in Islam as there are variations in Christianity. Turkey is the only secular country who has a Muslim population in a large majority and she has good relations with most of the Muslim countries. Turkey

⁴ Public Poll conducted by Piar-Gallup for Milliyet in 1995.

is also the member of crucial Western organizations such as the European Council and NATO. She is also between the problematic Middle East and Europe geographically so Turkey may play the role of a mediator between the two civilizations by sharing characters of the both sides. Democratization and human right problems are more severe because the improvements in this areas need time. The public reacts to the demands of EC and accepted them as interventions to the Turkish internal politics that creates a negative atmosphere against EC. The new constitutional reform has positive effects on both sides. The authorities are claiming that Turkey needs improvements in these areas but they must be done not because of the demands of West but they will be done because Turkey needs them for further improvements.

3. 'The more culturally homogeneous two nations are, the more they will be integrated each other.'⁵

Turkey and all the countries in EC have very different cultural background. First, the religions of the two sides are totally different. Turkey is Muslim but all of the EC countries are Christian. The religious difference creates an important problem but it is claimed several times by the EC authorities that EC is not a Christian club. The truth in this claim is open to discussion but although they share the same religion, there are important differences between the member countries. The problems between the Catholics and Protestants sometimes become very severe for instance. The

⁵ Michael Haas, *International Systems* (New York and London: Chandler Publishing Company, 1974), p.207.

social norms vary from country to country. When the subject is EC and Turkey, the cultural differences seem to be detailed. The amount of the cultural differences are not a crucial barrier between two sides for several reasons. First, each society contains conservatives, liberals, moderates and fanatics. Second, the history of Turkey should be remembered at this point because the Ottoman Empire controls the land up to Vienna in the history and they have direct interaction with the Europeans so both sides has the chance to absorb some of their cultural characteristics. Third, although Turkey has not been a full member of EC, there are millions of Turks living and working in Europe who are in total more than some of the member countries populations such as Luxembourg. Although there are some existing problems, it is seen that both sides can live together despite of the cultural differences.

The member states faced problems within their history as difference of the languages or rising nationalism. They have overcome these problems through constant debating. The European ideal is based on freedom to choose so respect to different cultures is an outcome of this understanding.

4. 'The more similar the two nations are in terms of their historical experience, the more likely they will be integrated with each other.'⁶

Turks are a part of European history. The interaction was not good for centuries since Turks have acted as the defenders of Islam since the Crusaders. With the foundation of the Ottomans Empire, Turks become the main enemy of

⁶ Michael Haas, *International Systems* (New York and London: Chandler Publishing Company, 1974). p.207.

the West. It should be noted here that the growth of the Ottoman Empire did not only bring opposition but also a tradition of alliances between Ottomans and Europe. France was the first European country to obtain important economic privileges from Ottomans under the name of *Capitulations*. Ottoman Empire was an important ally of Germany in the first World War. Turkey took her place in the Second World War twenty years later. Although Turkey did not participate actively, Turkey declared war against Germany at the end of second World War and showed her side. The Turkish soldiers fought in the Korean War in 1950 with Western allies. The most recent example of Turkey's allegiance with the West is the Gulf crisis in 1990-1991. In addition, after the war started in former Yugoslavia, Turkey play a very active role in the resolution efforts. Turkish troops are still in Zenecia in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Turkey share the most important events in the European history. Turkish soldiers fight with European soldiers against a common threat. The important point here is Turkey experiences all important historical events with the Europe actively so they share the common historical history.

5. 'The greater the homogeneity of two nations with respect to social welfare values, the more those two nations will be integrated with each other.'⁷

The dynamics of the social welfare are quite different on both sides. First of all, the member countries in the EC have stronger economies than Turkey . This creates more capacity for the member countries to create better social welfare systems. States need money to bring social services to their

⁷ Ibid., p. 207.

citizens and as they have more money they bring more opportunity. Although non-profit organizations are quite popular in EC members, it is hard to compare them both in quality and quantity with their Turkish counterparts. The unemployment fees are sufficient in the majority of the member countries but the ones with even having a regular job, experience difficulties in Turkey due to the low wages. The economic capacities of the both sides are crucial in here. Turkey is economically backward and lack a welfare state. This seem to create the biggest obstacle against Turkey's full membership.

6. 'The greater the homogeneity of two nations with respect to internal social developments, the more they will be integrated with each other.'⁸

The level of the social developments may be different but Turkey also experiences the same kind of developments. Social problems are caused by the insufficient economic conditions. Unemployment caused problems on both sides. But Turkey has larger social problems caused by her relatively weak economy to EC. The internal migration from east to west of Turkey cause adaptation problems in the cities. It should also be noted here that Turkey is faced with terrorism to an extent that none of the EC members are experiencing. There are also existing similarities in the internal social developments. Women rights organizations are becoming active in Turkey and people starts to be related with environmentalism.

⁸ Ibid., p. 207.

7. 'The greater the homogeneity of two nations in terms of regime stability, the more they will be integrated with each other.'⁹

When the question is regime stability, it is very hard to compare a country with a community. Turkey faces with three interruptions in her democracy since 1960. But there are also some interruptions within the same period in some member countries. Greece experienced military intervention in 1967. Spain and Portugal were dictatorships from 1930s to 1974 and 1975. Even, France experienced an intervention in 1958. The first condition for the regime stability is the free and regular elections. When the military coups in the history of Turkey are examined, they have an unique character. All the leaders of the coups stated right after the coups that they intervened in civilian governments in order to protect democracy and after they sustained the regime stability, the army would return to his original position. When the conditions before the two military interventions are examined, it is seen that the country was in chaos both economically and politically. The economic conditions of Turkey has been improved since 1980s . Although the past interventions were welcomed by the society, people now believe that the problems of Turkey must be solved through the democratic institutions. The top officials of the army declares this kind of view as well. This can be considered as the strength of the regime stability. Democratization is one of the most discussible topic in Turkey. The improvements in Turkish democracy has the chance to strengthen the regime stability.

⁹ Ibid., p. 207.

8. 'The more homogeneous two nations are with respect to military power, the more they will be integrated with each other.'¹⁰

The European Union is an economic and political institution. Since it does not have unique army, the comparison can be made on the country base. But when the Europe and West is the case, NATO seems to be the army of the West. Turkey is a member of NATO since 1952 so she is already integrated to the European institutions on the military base. Turkish army is the second largest army in NATO after USA. Turkey and most of the member countries of EC already cooperate under NATO command.

9. 'The more homogeneous two nations with respect to economic capabilities, the more they will be integrated with each other.'¹¹

EC is the biggest economic organization of the world controlling 39.5% of the world trade and when the new three member are added to this share they come close to 45%.¹² When the comparison is made on the countries level it is seen that Turkey is the poorest among all member countries in terms of GNP per capita.

Table 1: GNP for the EC Members and Turkey

Countries	GNP (Billion dollars)	GNP/Capita (Dollars)
Germany	2041.5	24945
France	1318.9	22757
Italy	1020.2	17805
Spain	480.3	12259
Turkey	132.2	2182

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 207.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 207.

¹² Haluk Ceyhan, *İsletmeler Yönünden Türkiye - Avrupa Birliği Gümrük Birliği*, (İstanbul,1994) p.21.

Holland	328.5	21301
Belgium	226.7	22715
Austria	195.6	24166
Sweden	194.7	22201
Portugal	87.5	8874
Greece	77.6	7460
Denmark	147.4	28286
Finland	95.9	18837
Ireland	51.8	14494
Luxembourg	13.6	36757

* The Table was taken from Yeni Yüzyıl., 3 April 1995, pp.14

A barrier to closer economic integration between Turkey and EC lie in unequal economic capacities of the two sides. The health of the Community lies in the economic powers of its members. If there are tremendous gaps between the economies, the system can not work. The rich ones will dominate the poor ones so EC should strengthen Turkish economy through various resources. When the history of the Community is examined, it is seen that the economies of Spain, Portugal and especially Greece was not so good, either in the integration years but the problem is tried to be overcome by certain EC funds. Laffan states in her book *Integration and co-operation in Europe* that Greece is the country with the lowest per capita income in the community. "Greek entry into the Community in 1981 was the culmination of a relationship that began with the Association Agreement of 1962, the first such agreement signed by the EC. The military dictatorship (1967-1974) stalled the operation of the agreement. With the resumption of democratic government in 1975, the government of Constantine Karamanlis applied for full membership. Although

the Community wanted to treat the Greek application in tandem with Iberian countries, the Council of Ministers was prevailed upon to accept speedy Greek accession in order to protect democratic institutions.”¹³ Greece economy has been supported by EC to a large extent. “ Notwithstanding significant financial transfers from the Community, the income gap between the EC and Greece widened during 1980s. GDP per capita declined from 58 percent of the Community average to 54 percent in 1989. High inflation, and budget and trade deficits in recent years leave Greece ill-equipped to meet the challenge of EMU without a period of economic stabilization.”¹⁴ The point here is, whether EC is willing to give such an aid to Turkey or not.

10. ‘The more homogeneous the bureaucratic capabilities of two nations, the more two nations will be integrated with each other’.¹⁵

The bureaucratic capability of the two sides is hard to compare. But it is a fact that Turkey has a very slow functioning bureaucracy that tries to be computerized where EC has a working computerized bureaucracy although certain problems exist. Although the technological systems seems to be different within the bureaucracies of the two sides, the dynamics are more or less the same. They have a similar type of bureaucratic organization and every EC organization has more or less an equivalent in the Turkish bureaucracy.

¹³ Brigid Laffan. *Integration and Co-operation in Europe*, (London: Routledge. 1992), p.198.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.199.

¹⁵ Michael Haas. *International Systems*, (New York and London: Chandler Publishing Company 1974.) p.207.

11. 'Two nations will be more likely to be integrated with each other if they have collaborated previously together.'¹⁶

. This assumption is valid for two countries but when a community is the subject, it is very hard to compare because most of the countries as Turkey did, had war with each other in a shared history. But the same countries also cooperated with each other in different times. But Turkey is cooperating with most of the EC countries under NATO command for years. Turkey is a member of OECD and Council of Europe for years. The collaboration is observed in defense subjects more or less. The Korean War and the Gulf crisis are two examples of this. Turkey also collaborated with these countries under the UN command in Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although the assumptions are for the comparison of integration of two countries, I believe that they are useful to show how uneasy and complicated the relations between Turkey and EC are. It is very hard to give a direct answer to the questions and this shows that Turkey fit the European ideals to certain extend which is very normal for the interaction that goes on for centuries.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 208.

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEORY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

The year 1989 was significant in the history of the European Community. The post war conditions effected the Community to give more importance to political issues. The democracy and the individual rights of the people increased their role in the Community's agenda. European Community aimed to reach its main objective, the formulation of a common market by the year 1992. The deepening of the integration through economic, monetary and the political union seemed to be the new objectives. The breakdown of the Soviet Union and the German unification were the two important historical events that increased the level of deepening and widening. "The EC is faced with the enormous challenge of deepening the level of integration, while at the same time coming to terms with the revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe and with the fact of German unification."¹⁷

After World War II, Europe was divided into two parts having different economic, political and social systems. The European Community emerged as a regional organization at that time. EC had a significant place in the integration theories. It had the characteristics of both international co-operation and integration. EC could be regarded as an example of international co-operation

¹⁷ Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.1.

at the beginning. It turned to be an integration later on. Brigid Laffan stated the difference between international co-operation and integration. “International co-operation and integration both involve states in collective action, but the latter can be distinguished from the former by the intensity of relations between the participating states and the manner in which those relations are organized and managed.”¹⁸ The organizations that aimed to promote international co-operation do not exercise power on the participating states’ sovereignty. Haas claimed on the other hand that “integration is a process for the creation of political communities.”¹⁹ The states share some of their sovereignty with other states when they integrate with each other.

There were two kinds of integration according to Wallace. One is the formal integration and the other is the informal integration. Formal integration is defined as “deliberate actions by authoritative policy-makers to create and adjust rules, to establish common institutions and to work with and through those institutions where informal integration includes intense patterns of interaction like communication, technology, market dynamics and social change.”²⁰ European Community had the characteristics of both kinds of integration through its institutions and its dynamics.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁹ E.B. Haas, ‘The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joys and Anguish of Pretheoryizing’, in . Lindberg and S.A. Scheingold (eds), *Regional Integration: Theory and Research* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), p.6. in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.3

²⁰ W. Wallace, *The Transformation of Western Europe* (London: Frances Pinter, 1990), p.54. in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.6.

There were various attempts for collective action in the European history. The Council of Europe, the OECD, NATO and the Western European Union can be given as examples. The European Community differed from these examples with its integration dimension. The Community showed the characteristics of international co-operation in the foundation years but turned out to show its willingness to integrate in the following years. The Single European Act had an important place in this integration attempt that will be examined specifically later on.

Before the historical sequence that shows the change in the Community's agenda from the security-economic domain to political domain, the aim of the integration and the levels of the economic and political integration will be specified. The aim of an integration has to be specified in order to understand the European Community example clearly. The economical dimension should be cleared first. "Potential economic benefits arising from increased specialization, economies of scale, improved terms of trade and increased competition provide the economic rationale for integration."²¹ As Laffan indicated, John Pinder developed two ways of integration. Negative integration by demolishing the barriers against free flow of goods, capital and labor and positive integration by formation common policies and laws. It can be stated that the negative and the positive integration were on the core of the formulation of the Community. Laffan also claimed that the economists

²¹ Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.4.

determined levels of economic integration which are the *free trade area*, *customs union*, *common market*, *economic and monetary union* and *total economic integration*.²² The tariffs and quotas eliminated for member states in free trade area where barriers to trade are removed and a common external tariff is applied to third countries in a customs union. The free movement of labor, capital and services are allowed in a common market. Harmonization of national economic policies and single currency are the prerequisites in economic and monetary union. The economic policies are integrated in a total economic integration as a final step. The European Community achieved free trade area, customs union and formulation of a common market. A single currency and the integration of the economic policies of the member states seem to be the new targets of the Community.

When the political integration is examined, "it is useful to distinguish between four different aspects of political integration. The institutional integration, policy integration, attitudinal integration and security integration."²³ The supranational institutions can take decisions independently from the member states in institutional integration. The decisions that which particular policies will be taken into consideration in a co-ordinated way is achieved through the policy integration. A legitimate domestic consensus is necessary for attitudinal integration. Security integration depends on Deutsch's

²² Ibid., p.5.

²³ This categorization is taken from R.S. Jordan and W.J. Feld, *Europe in Balance* (London: Faber & Faber, 1986), p.91. The different categories are elaborated on by J.S. Nye, *Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization* (New York: University Press of America, 1987), pp.21-54 in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.6.

notion of security community characterized by a well-established expectation of non-violent inter-state relations. "According to Deutsch there are two types of 'security community'- an amalgamated security community which achieves a common government, and a pluralistic community which preserves peace but falls a common government."²⁴ It can be stated that the first three approaches to political integration was achieved to a certain extend in the history of the European Community. The security integration has not been achieved yet.

There are various approaches to European Community integration. Federalist, neo-functionalist, intergovernmentalist and domestic politics, and interdependence perspectives will be mentioned in the following.

The federalist ideas were important in post-war Europe. The idea of European Federation started to be discussed. Although it was very hard to talk about a federation fully functioning in Europe, some of the characteristics of a federation seemed to have influence on European Community's political system. The basic implication of this similarity is 'the locus of external sovereignty at the higher level.'²⁵

The neo-functionalist views on integration emphasized on the social and economic issues among the states. David Mitrany also claimed that 'integration is the gradual triumph of the rational and the technocratic over the political.'²⁶

²⁴ K. W. Deutsch, 'Attaining and Maintaining Integration'. in M. Hodges (ed.), op. Cit., pp.108-23. in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.6.

²⁵ Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.8.

²⁶ C. Pentland, 'Political theories of European integration: between science and ideology', in D.Lasok and P. Soldatos (eds), *The European Communities in Action* (Brussels: Bruylant, 1981), p.551. in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.9.

the neo-functionalist approach to integration gave importance to Mitrany's views and stated that the political actors shifted their loyalties to higher institutions having authority over nations. The critics to neo-functionalism focused on that point. The expectation of the national politicians to shift their loyalties to higher institutions was not fulfilled in European community. The Council is the most powerful institution in European Community and this is accepted as the national governments protect their power. The domestic dimension of the integration seems to be underestimated in the neo-functional approach to integration.

The traditional school of international relations claimed that the national governments were the most important figures in integration. Hoffman claimed that the national governments can 'stop or slow down the building of a central political system.'²⁷ The intergovernmentalists claims that the decision-making process in Brussel is just the top of an iceberg. It is very influential into the national politics.

The authors like S. Bulmer stressed on the domestic politics. The national politics is the basic unit in the European community. The EC policies are formed in the national level and lead to international arena.

The interdependence perspective on the other hand claimed that no government had the potential to direct this kind of an international system. The international economics has already been active. The national sovereignty has

²⁷ S.Hoffman, 'Obstinate or obsolete: the fate of the nation state and the case of Western Europe', *Daedalus*, 1966, vol.95, pp.862-915, and S.Hoffman, 'Reflections on the nation state in Western Europe Today' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1982, vol.21, p.30. in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 11.

been reduced by international trade, the flow of international capital and multinational companies. There was a need for inter-state collaboration for 'environment, public health and the problem of crime.'²⁸ The interdependence approach stressed that the conditions in interstate relations forced the national governments to create a higher authority. The international economics has already gone beyond the national level. Keohane and Nye stated that 'in the absence of a central authority in the international systems, regimes are based on coalitions between governments and involve procedures, rules, norms and institutions for the conduct of interstate relations.'²⁹

No theory or approach has been able to capture the European Community with its all dimension. The Community has a complex structure and it changes over time. It will be useful to see the evaluation of the European Community through time intervals since the dynamics of the Community changed according to the specific conditions of this intervals.

1945 - 1960

Europe faced with important problems after the World War II.. All of the countries that were effected from the war experienced an economic, politic and social troubles. Although the war was finished, there were still international problems. The German question kept its importance. Although

²⁸ Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge. 1992), p.12.

²⁹ R. O. Keohane and J. S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977) in Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.13.

Germany was beaten, it remained as a major problem. The precautions to protect Europe from a future German threat seemed to be the major political goal. The German threat was over at least in the near future but the Soviet power was the new threat over Europe. The war destroyed most of the European cities. There were problems of reconstruction, housing, food and refugees in each European country. The European dominated international system seemed to be weakened. United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union (USSR) were the new world powers. USA had both the economic and the military powers. She made agreements under the name 'Pax Americana' against communism so Soviet Union. On the other hand, Stalin was the leader of the Soviet Union and his Red Army was the biggest military power in Europe. Soviet Union started to dominate the Eastern European countries through the communist parties in these countries. She refused to join the international organizations and formed its own multilateral economic system under the name of COMECON.

After the World War Two, Germany was controlled by USA, French, British and USSR. This division led to two different countries. Federal Republic of Germany was founded in 1949 in the territories controlled by USA, French and British. On the other hand, German Democratic Republic was founded in the territories controlled by USSR.

All these developments in the world politics increased the need of a European economic integration. The extreme nationalism needed to be overcome. Germany had to be controlled. Small states had to be helped to

overcome the war damage but most important of all, an integrated Europe could only resist to USSR and USA.

There were various steps for this integration. The British Prime-Minister Sir. Winston Churchill had a significant place in this integration.

The Speech of W. Churchill for the European Integration

The significance of the BEU is, it creates a model of integration for Europe but it is quite interesting that a European integration idea was offered by Winston Churchill, prime-minister of United Kingdom in a speech he gave in Zurich University on 19 September 1946, just after the second world war.

Churchill stated that:

“I am going to say something that will astonish you. The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral leadership of Europe. There can no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and spiritually great Germany. The structure of the *United States of Europe*, if well and truly built, will be such to make the material strength of a single state less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honor by their contribution to the common causeI shall not try to make a detailed program for hundreds of millions of people...but if this is their wish, they have only to

say so, and means can certainly be found, and machinery erected, to carry that wish into full fruition.”³⁰

W. Churchill clearly states that Europe should unite to gain more strength. The only way to protect Europe from a future war was to unite so there would be no enemy. He saw France and Germany as the leaders of new Europe. When it is remembered that Germany and France were the two enemies of the past two World Wars, W. Churchill’s aim can be understood as if they cooperate together, they can not fight with each other. He also added the small nations into this integration so as to share this honor and increase the strength of new Europe. Another interesting point in Churchill’s speech was, he did not count United Kingdom as a part of this new Europe but only stated his wish to cooperate. “In all urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America, and I trust Soviet Russia- for then indeed all would be well- must be friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live and shine.”³¹ It is very clear that Churchill was for a United States of Europe but he did not want the United Kingdom in it. Churchill’s speech was quite important politically in order to show the will for an integration but the economic conditions of the continent was not so good. The two world wars gave damage to all of the member countries and they tried to rebuild their countries. USA (United States of America) decided to help Europe at that time.

³⁰Leon Hurwitz. *The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation* (London: Greenwood Press, 1987). p.11.

³¹ Ibid., p.13.

The European Recovery Program (1947)

The European Recovery Program was well known with its founder's name as Marshall Plan. US Secretary of State George C. Marshall declared for the US wish for an economic assistance program for the Western Europe in his speech at Harvard university on 5 June 1947. After Marshall Plan was approved by the US Congress in 1948, it started to operate for four years. OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation) was founded in order to coordinate the funds on 16 April 1948. "But the OEEC went beyond just finding ways to spend the American funds: the countries involved recognized the interdependence of their economies, the need to maximize trade within the area, and the necessity of improving the international payment system." ³² OEEC helped the European countries to come nearer and to work under an organization. OEEC turned to be Organization for Economic Cooperation and development (OECD) in 1961 and went beyond European character. Marshall plan and OEEC gave the economic cooperation in European 1950s but the European countries also started to integrate through military alliances by that time.

The Brussels Treaty, The Western European Union, NATO

After the Second World War the common enemy was changed for France and the United Kingdom. It was no longer Germany but the Soviets.

³² *The organization for European Economic Cooperation: History and Structure* (Paris: OEEC. 1953) in Leon Hurwitz. *The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation* (London: Greenwood Press. 1987). p.14.

Although France and United Kingdom signed the Dunkirk Treaty on 4 March 1947 against a possible future German aggression, the change in the enemy created the Treaty of Brussels on 17 March 1948 with the co-operation of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom against the Soviet threat. "The Brussels Treaty was much more than a limited military alliance, it was a defensive partnership. The treaty called for collective self-defense and economic, social and cultural collaboration."³³ The economic, social and cultural collaboration was not implemented too much but the emphasis was on the military cooperation. The London conference was held in order to strengthen the military alliance in 1954 and the Western European Union (WEU) was founded in Paris ministerial conference in October 1954. The agreement was ratified on 6 May 1955 and United Kingdom, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and West Germany founded the WEU. The importance of Paris conference is to call West Germany to join both WEU and NATO so to take her place in the European integration. The most important military organization of the Western integration is NATO (The North Atlantic Treaty Organization). It was founded in 1949. "The basic motivation for the creation of NATO was the enhancement of the security of the member states because even the capabilities of the most powerful member- the United States - were perceived as insufficient to meet the threat of aggression in Europe by the Soviet Union."³⁴ The importance of NATO agreement is if a member country is

³³Leon Hurwitz. *The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation* (London: Greenwood Press, 1987). p.15.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.16.

attacked, the other member countries accept to come to help so the military integration in Europe strengthened to a large extent.

The Council of Europe

The Council of Europe was founded in May 1948 through the report of the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity. The two world wars gave considerable damage to the Europe because of rising nationalism. The idea of protecting Europe from nationalism brought the European countries to transfer some sovereignty to an international organization. "The Council of Europe's major success has not been in the area of political integration; rather, it is within the area of the harmonization across Europe of certain laws and standards and operating procedures."³⁵

The aim of the Council of Europe was to adapt the common values of Western European Democracy. The most important of them was the rule of law. The Council of Europe also has similar bodies with the European Community. Mitrany's functionalist approach corresponds to the Council of Europe with its stress on the intergovernmental aspect. 'The range of the policy instrument at its disposal remain, however, very limited, it relies on conventions or intergovernmental agreements with no independent law-making power.'³⁶The harmonization of several laws and procedures with addition to similar organizational structure, the Council of Europe opens the way for the

³⁵ Ibid., p.19-20.

³⁶ Brigid Laffan, *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.29

European Coal and Steel Community that will be EEC and then EC in the future.

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

ECSC was founded as a free trade area for the coal and the steel sectors. The general aim of the ECSC is to make the European governments to work together on coal and steel so a common understanding on other issues can be developed. “ This spillover effect did indeed take place: the ECSC was basically an economic solution to a political problem, but, as the economic benefits mounted for the participating governments, it was all but inevitable that the functional areas would be expanded.”³⁷ The ECSC was the idea for Jean Monnet, a French economist who is for the European co-operation and integration. His colleague, Robert Schuman was the French Foreign Minister who was able to convince other countries’ officials so as to found European Coal and Steel Community. The Paris Treaty announced that ECSC was founded by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands on 18 April 1951. Robert Schuman announced the proposal of the ECSC as to “assure the establishment of common bases for economic development, which is the first stage for the European federation, and will change the destiny of these regions which have long been devoted to the production of arms to which they themselves were the first to fall constantly

³⁷ Leon Hurwitz. *The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation* (London: Greenwood Press. 1987). p.20.

victim.”³⁸ The ECSC seem to be the cornerstone of the European integration. The supranational characters of the duties of ECSC was stated in Paris Treaty. The institutional formation of ECSC as a mixture of supranational and federal institutions like the Commission, the Assembly, the Courts of Justice, the Council of Ministers created the basic institutional roots of European Community. ‘Strong supranational institutions were to constitute one of the unique features of the European Community and formed the neo-functionalist approach to integration.’³⁹As Mr. Schuman stated the aim was to stop wars between the European countries. The sources of the European countries were aimed to be used for the economic development of Europe, rather than producing arms and destroying it. One of the reasons of the second world war was the Saar region. The Saar has valuable coal and steel resources and the control of the region created a hostility between France and Germany. After the second world war, France was controlling the region up to 1948 as war reparation and it was left to International Ruhr Authority that was bringing USA, Great Britain, France, and the BENELUX countries to control. The tension between West Germany and France was going on and the problem was solved through ECSC. ECSC was an institution for peace. It also helped West Germany to participate other European countries under a higher authority so the hostility left its place to cooperation by ECSC.

³⁸Statement of Robert Schuman, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France (9 may 1950). U.S. Department of State Bulletin (12 June 1950) p.936. in Leon Hurwitz. *The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation* (London: Greenwood Press. 1987)

³⁹ Brigid Laffan. *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge. 1992). p.33.

When the power of the West Germany is thought, another advantage of ECSC beside its potential of creating European cooperation was to keep West Germany under control. "French foreign-policy planners were cognizant of the fact that West Germany could not be kept under allied control forever. This seemed especially true in the heavy industry sector, where the Korean War had placed emphasis on the renewed production of European steel."⁴⁰ Europe was divided into two in both of the world wars. When Germany gained too much power, the struggle for more power begins and this struggle mostly ended with war. The other European countries this time aimed to solve the problem by not war but taking Germany to their club to cooperate. The cooperation between these six countries opened the way for European integration later on. The nationalistic barriers between the six countries were abolished in the coal and steel sectors and the ECSC opened the way for the European Economic Community so as to expand the numbers of the sectors and increase cooperation. "There were too many other sectors of the economy that were related to coal and steel but with which the ECSC structure had no competence to deal. The development of the ECSC revealed the need to enlarge the common market."⁴¹

The Common Market idea will be in the heart of the European Community. The general will to form a common market in Europe was stated in the Messina Conference.

⁴⁰ Leon Hurwitz. *The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation* (London: Greenwood Press, 1987). p.23.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.25.

The Messina Conference

The Foreign Ministers of the six member countries of ECSC met on 1 June 1955 in Messina. They formed the idea of a common market by taking the BENELUX joint Memorandum as a base. The Joint Memorandum consisted of the ideas of the BENELUX countries that the time for an economic integration in Europe comes. This is necessary in order to achieve developments in the national economies. A large common market and harmonization of the social policies in order to support this market has to be formed. The foreign Ministers announced that the efforts for an integrated Europe has to proceed by integrating the national economies and by forming a common market. They decided what has to be done first is to form a common market.

“- the speed of the abolishment of the trade barriers and the common customs policy that will be implemented to the third countries.

- to obtain the common financial, economic and social policies.

- to obtain the free flow of labor step by step.

- to define the competition laws and regulations so as to abolish all the nationalist protection measures.

- to create a development fund so as to develop the undeveloped regions of the member countries.

- to obtain the similarity for the working periods in the member countries.”⁴²

⁴² Jean-François Deniau & Gerard Druesne. *Ortak Pazar* (İletişim Yayınları: Presses Universitaires De France. 1995) p.25-26.

The Ministers also decided to found a committee to give a report for the future of the Common Market.

The Spaak Report

The report is known with the name of the head of the committee . The report was given in April in 1956. The Council of Ministers of the European community met in May in 1956 and they accepted the report completely. The report stated that the aim of an European Common Market is to create a large production unit for continuous growth, development and increase in welfare by making the countries to create a harmonized common economic policy region. The common market can only be successful if the necessary time is given to make the necessary adjustments. The tools and the applications that will define the competition between the producers can only be defined that way. The liberalization of trade in world is good but the common market can only consist of limited countries. The common market can be regional which means it can only consist of the countries that can make their regulations harmonized and that can supply the political cooperation.

The Spaak Report also define the necessary institutions that can reach to the common market. The European Commission will be responsible for the execution, the other institution will be Council of Ministers who will represent the member countries and take the necessary decisions. The Court of Justice and the Parliament will be the other two institutions that will control the evaluation of the process. The Spaak Report creates the core of the European Economic Community Treaty.

“ The signing of the European Economic Community (EEC) Treaty in Rome on 25 March 1957 by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg represented a historic event. Six sovereign independent countries- each with its own separate history, culture, language, and traditions, and whose past relations were usually characterized more by suspicious and warfare” than by cooperation and the resolution of conflict by peaceful means- willingly and voluntarily created a supranational organization. This historic transfer of sovereignty was based on the realization that the future of western Europe could be secured only by greater international cooperation and integration.”⁴³

The aim of the agreement is stated briefly in Art.2 of EEC treaty.

” The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it.

In order to meet these basic objectives, the EEC Treaty goes on, in its next article, to list the following priority activities:

- (a) the elimination, as between Member States, of customs duties of quantitative restrictions on the import and export of goods, and of all other measures having equivalent effect;
- (b) the establishment of a common external customs tariff and of a common commercial policy towards third countries;

⁴³ Hurwitz. Leon .. The European Community and the Management of International Cooperation. (London. Greenwood Press .1987).pp.11

- (c) the abolition, as between Member States, of obstacles of freedom of movement for persons, services and capital;
 - (d) the adaptation of a common policy in the sphere of agriculture;
 - (e) the adaptation of a common policy in the sphere of transport;
 - (f) the institution of a system ensuring that competition in the common market is not distorted;
 - (g) the application of procedures by which the economic policies of Member States can be co-ordinate and disequilibria in their balances of payments remedied;
 - (h) the approximation of the laws of Member States to the extent required for the proper functioning of the common market;
 - (I) the creation of a European Social Fund in order to improve employment opportunities for workers and to contribute to the raising of their standard of living;
 - (j) the establishment of a European Investment Bank to facilitate the economic expansion of the Community by opening up fresh resources;
 - (k) the association of the overseas countries and the territories in order to increase trade and to promote jointly economic and social development.
- (Art. 3 EEC)⁴⁴

The international institutions that emerged between the years 1945 - 1960 can be categorized in two groups. The political-security institutions as NATO, WEU and the political-economic institutions as the Council of Europe, the European Community, EFTA, BEU.

The political security domain became very important as Europe was divided into two after the World War II. 'The politics of security were

⁴⁴ John Cole & Francis Cole, *The Geography of the European Community* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993) p.11-12.

dominated by Western Europe's sense of vulnerability and the desire of many Western European states to institutionalize as US commitment to their defense in a multilateral context.⁴⁵ It was quite obvious that the ideological separation led to a non-communist camp against the Soviet threat. The European integration seemed to start as a security based integration on economic scale.

1958 - 1972

When the history of the European Community is examined, it is seen that 1960s were the years in which adjustments for the reduction of trade barriers made. The member countries experienced high GNP growth rates. Laffan claimed that the Community appeared to fulfill neo-functionalistic expectations in these years. The customs union and the common agricultural policy was the goals of the Community.⁴⁶ The economic decisions for integration were important. A value added tax system and free movement of people were achieved.

The domestic politics were influential at that years. French President De Gaulle seemed to be the supporter of the national sovereignty. The problems within the EC policies were decided to be solved in the Council until a consensus achieved. 'When De Gaulle Left politics, completion, deepening and widening, a phrase coined by French government at that time, captured the issues facing the Community in 1969.'⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Brigid Laffan. *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992). p.40.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.50-52.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.52.

Georges Pompidou, the French President and German Chancellor Willy Brant was two important figures. Deepening opened the way for economic and monetary union, technological cooperation and a common foreign policy. The widening of Community was achieved through the new members Britain, Denmark and Iceland in 1973.

1973 - 1980

The year 1973 was significant with the Arab oil boycott. When the oil prices increased, the European economies went into recession. Unemployment and inflation increased. The member states tried to overcome the crisis through protectionism. The member states acted according to the conditions in world economics. The domestic politics were quite strong.

Although these were the crisis years, there were also some institutional developments. The periodic submits of the European Council thrice a year increased collaboration. Direct elections for the European Parliament was held first time in 1979. Greece became a member of the European Community in 1981. The Community reached equilibrium economically in 1982.

1980s: The Process of European Community Integration

The two Mediterranean countries Portugal and Spain that made their application in 1981 became fullmembers in 1986. One of the most important

events in EC history was experienced between the third and the fourth enlargements of the Community. It was Single European Act. The Community experienced the oil shock of 1970 and when they come to the mid 1980s, the USA and Japan become very serious economic rivals for the Community. "In June 1985 the European Commission published a White Paper which traced the consequences of the removal of each non- tariff barrier, and the follow up action that would be required to ensure that the removal of the different barriers worked in a coordinated way."⁴⁸

The White Paper consisted of three stages:

- “ * the removal of physical barriers, such as border checks on people and goods;
- * the removal of technical barriers, including technical standards and specifications, rules on the awarding of public contracts, and laws governing services movements and industrial co-operation;
- * the removal of fiscal barriers (VAT and excise duties).”⁴⁹

The White Paper aims to remove all the technical, physical and fiscal barriers and it opens the way for the Single European Act aiming a frontier-free Community. The Community changed its characteristics through the White Paper. 'The success of the White Paper depended on strengthening the Community's decision-making capacity in turn required institutional reform.'⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Stanley Budd & Alun Jones. *The European Community; A guide to the Maze*. (London: Kogan Page. 1991). p.48.

⁴⁹ Cole & Cole.. *The Geography of the European Community* . (London & New York: Routledge. 1993). p.41.

⁵⁰ Brigid Laffan. *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge. 1992). p.57.

The SEA was signed by all the EC members and activated by 1 July 1987. "Its objective is to accelerate European integration through the improvements in the functioning of the institutions (widening of powers) and greater flexibility in the decision-making process."⁵¹ The Single Act also aims to improve democracy within the Community. The strength of the European Parliament increased as a result of it. "The decision-making process concerns the procedure for cooperation with the European Parliament. This applies only to the decisions to be taken by qualified majority and strengthens the Parliament's legislative powers."⁵²

After the Single European Act, the political process of the Community started to be emphasized more. The Community was not only an economic union but the political integration was also strengthened through the SEA agreement. The importance given to the European Parliament increased. The European Community tries to implement reforms to reach a complete integration with its economic and political dimensions. EC see its continuity through democracy within the Community because this size of an integration can only be achieved if the members works on equal bases.

European Community showed its willingness to form a unique Europe by the Maastricht Treaty. It was signed on 8 February 1992.

⁵¹ Stanley Budd & Alun Jones. *The European Community, A guide to the Maze*. (London: Kogan Page, 1991). p.50.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.51.

“The treaty:

- (1) committed the EC to launching a common currency by 1999. Britain and Denmark are to be allowed to opt out if they so decide.
- (2) sought to establish common foreign policies for the Twelve;
- (3) laid the groundwork for a common defense policy under the Western European Union;
- (4) added to the policy issues in which the EC would have a voice;
- (5) gave the EC a role in social policy - the ‘social chapter’ (from which Britain excluded herself,)
- (6) pledged increased aid for the four poorest nations of the Community: Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain;
- (7) somewhat increased the powers of the European Parliament, for instance through the procedure of co-decision-making.⁵³

The Community tries to be different from other supranational organizations. Council of Ministers still make the important decisions but the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Court of Justice are responsible to the peoples of Europe and to the democratic ideals of the Community.

1990s

European Community deals with deepening and widening under post cold war conditions. The social policies of the Community gains importance. The free movement of capital takes an important place in the deepening agenda. The widening continues. Austria, Finland and Sweden become new members

⁵³ David Weigall and Peter Strik, *The Origins & Development of the European Community*. (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1992). p.203.

by 1 January 1995. AS the SEA agreement strengthened the role of the European Parliament, the European Parliament gives importance to human rights problem and democracy. The European Community increased its influence in Eastern European countries.

The political agenda with the issues of human rights and democracy seem to be dominant in the European Community rather than the security issues of 1960s and the economic issues of 1970s and 1980s.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF TURKEY - EUROPEAN COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Turkey made her application on 31 July 1959 just after Greece applied to the EC on 15 July 1959. It seems that this application is a governmental decision that can be considered as a reaction to Greece. EC replied Turkey's application in 11 September 1959. It stated that Turkey had the right to apply and gave the right to Commission to negotiate with Turkey in order to determine the type of association.

The first meetings were between 28 September and 30 September 1959 in Brussels. Turkey demanded that the application agreement should depend on customs union. A five to seven years of preparatory and twelve to twenty-two years of transitional periods was decided. Turkey demanded considerable EC aid from the preparation period for both economic and technical aspects. EC replied that Turkey expected everything from the union but she should also share some responsibility to make herself ready for community conditions. After the second meeting done in 11 May 1960, the 27 May 1960 military intervention created a very negative atmosphere in EC. The third meetings continued afterwards. Greece signed the association agreement in 9 July 1961 in Athens. The agreement was very beneficial for Greece. So Turkey saw that time was against her. She started to apply pressure to the EC in order to reach an association agreement, same as Athens Agreement. After the tenth tour of

the negotiations, the association agreement was signed in Ankara in 12 September 1963. The similarity between the Athens and the Ankara agreements is important. "The introductory part of the agreement was the same, word by word with Athens agreement. The only difference was Turks and Turkey used in the place of Greeks and Greece. " ⁵⁴ Before the agreement, the main difference between EC and Turkey is that Turkey accepted the agreement as a step for full membership by customs union where EC accepted it as only a trade agreement. The reason behind this difference that customs union is very important for economic integration that it can not be the final aim because if Turkey goes to a customs union with EC that she is not a member of or she will not be a member of in the future, she has to obey the rules that are put by others and she has no right to say something. EC saw it as a trade agreement because Turkey is not ready for the full membership economically but its potential of being a good market can not be undermined so good economic relations can be sustained through this kind of a trade agreement. When customs union is analyzed in Ankara agreement, it is seen that the definition of the customs union depend on the Rome Treaty. " The community is founded through the principle that including all the property exchange and all the customs used in import and export in member countries by forbidding all the taxes equal to customs through accepting a common customs regulation which applicable to the third countries. " ⁵⁵ It is clearly seen that the Community was founded on the

⁵⁴Tevfik Saracoglu. *Anlasmalar* (Istanbul: Akbank Yayinlari. 1992). p.57.

⁵⁵Ibid.. p .71.

basis of a customs union. Saracoglu states that when Ankara agreement is analyzed on the basis of a customs union, it seems that:

1. Customs Union creates the base in Ankara agreement, as Athens agreement and Rome Treaty.
2. The Customs Union covers all the property exchange by definition but there may be certain exceptions.
3. It is seen that the EC common customs rate will be used in Ankara agreement, just as Athens agreement.
4. There should be laws and regulations in order to prohibit unequal competition. The laws and regulations will be determined through the transition period.
5. There should be a closing to the regulations that EC apply for international trade which will be determined through the conditions of transition period.

The aim of the Ankara Agreement can be stated as to help Turkey in way of a future full membership in the EC by supporting economic development and by improving the life standards. The Association was divided into three stages . First, the preparation, second, the transition and third, final periods. The preparatory stage was to last a minimum of five years with the aim of strengthening Turkish economy by EC aid to make Turkish economy ready for sharing the responsibilities in the transitional and the final stages. The transitional stage was to last a minimum of ten years and its aim is to make customs union active by emphasizing the two sided balanced obligations and to

make Turkish economic policies come closer to the EC economic policy in order to improve association. If the transitional period is finalized with success, a two sided total judgment will supposed to be made in order to sustain customs union at the final period which will take minimum five years.

Certain institutions were founded for the association between EC and Turkey: Association Council, Association Commission and the Joint Parliamentary Commission. The Association Council has the sovereignty to put rules and regulations and to supervise them. Association Commission helps the continuity of the common understanding in order to help council to work better. The Joint Parliamentary Commission is a democratic supervisor that is formed by eighteen parliamentarians from both EC and Turkey.

The preparation stage began on 1 January 1964 and ended on 31 December 1972. It aimed an easiness in exporting agricultural goods and an aid of 175 million ECU. The preparation for transitional stage started in January in 1969 and the agreement sustained in 22 July 1971 and passed from Turkish Parliament by law no 1448. The legal beginning of the Additional Protocol was 1 January 1973. Haluk Ceyhan stated that " through the additional protocol, the borders of customs union was drawn as :

1. Customs Union contains industrial goods in principle, which means the goods under the legitimacy of ECSC.
2. Although the time determined for the transitional period was twelve years, the period to go to customs union is determined as twenty-two years.

EC abolished the customs on Turkish industrial export goods from 1 September 1971. But there are more influential protection mechanisms. Turkey will abolish the customs on EC industrial goods, from the start of Additional Protocol, 1 January 1973. There were two lists. 55% of industrial goods in 22 years and 45% of industrial goods will be abolished in 12 years. When the customs are examined in 1994, Turkey reached its aim in the 12 years list with a 90% and in the 22 years list with 80 %.

3. Turkey will use a common customs rate to the countries out of EC and EFTA. She reached its aim by 1993 with 80 % in the 12 years' list and 70 % in the 22 years' list. Turkey decreased all of her customs taxes for all countries since 1983 so the customs are lower than the rates that are stated to the EC. Turkey abolished all the taxes from the import with an exception of housing tax. They all become single tax. Turkey applies the customs rate to the EC and EFTA as it was stated in the Joint Protocol but applies a tax rate of minimum 10% more to third countries.
4. EC has the right to make negotiations with the third countries for Turkey in international trade and make agreements.
5. Turkey will accept all the EC agreements done with third countries with all their rights and responsibilities.
6. If there is an unequal competition in international trade, EC legislation will be used.
7. The EC competition law will be used. There will be no difference between national and foreign companies, also there will be no difference in application to import and export goods. The small firms will be protected against dominant ones. The monopolies will be under EC law abolishment.
8. The monetary policies will aim to sustain consistency to Turkish currency. A balanced common payment program must exist parallel to EC.
9. The goods has the right of free circulation.
10. The public adjudication's will be opened to all member countries.

11. Turkey will implement common agricultural policy with EC. ⁵⁶

The relations between Greece, Turkey and EC attracted the interests of some third countries in the early 1970s. Trade representative of US President Nixon, William Eberle claimed that “They were against the EC policy to put Greece and Turkey into her influence area by giving some advantages. They stopped their objection since Turkey and Greece will be full members.”⁵⁷ The importance of this speech lies in the American assumption that Turkey will be a full member of EC and they accepted this.

The RPP (Republican Peoples Party) - NSP (National Salvation Party) coalition government formed in January 1974 had positive and negative implications on the EC-Turkey relations. NSP was against the full membership of Turkey to EC under any circumstances. Although NSP created a negative atmosphere politically, the Turkish government had some negative implications with the economic side of the relations and decided to tell these in Berlin meeting on 24-28 March 1974. Mr. Kamran Inan was chosen as the head of the parliamentary commission from JP (Justice Party). The foreign Minister Turan Güneş from RPP also decided to go to the meeting but since the German foreign minister did not participate the meeting. The meeting was arranged the parliamentary commissions. Turkish commission told that the trade between EC and Turkey improved against Turkey and it should be changed. “The

⁵⁶Haluk Ceyhan. *İsletmeler Yönünden Gümrük Birliği* (Istanbul: Borusan Holding A.S..1994). p. 160-164.

⁵⁷ İlhan Tekeli & Selim İkin. *Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu II* (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık. 1993) p.180.

European parliamentarians who attended the meeting stated that if something would change, the free circulation right of Turkish workers in 1976 should be remembered.”⁵⁸ The free circulation of Turkish labor would create real problems with in the relations. The social security rights of the Turkish workers was to be implemented according to the Article 39 of the Additional Protocol on 1 January 1974. The second problem with the free circulation of Turkish labor was the free circulation of the Indian and Pakistani workers who had the right of UK citizenship. The economic conditions of EC was not suitable to solve these problems.

The Cyprus problem came in this troubled time. The military intervention of Nikos Sampson on 15 July 1974 was followed by Turkey’s use of her guarantee right and intervened in Cyprus to save Turkish Cypriots on 20 July 1974. Although the USA-Turkey relations was effected negatively because of the intervention , Turkey-EC Association Council meeting was held on 14-15 October 1974 in Luxembourg that was not held for one and a half year.

In Turkey, “the coalition government broke down and Sadi Irmak created a transitional government in 17 November 1974 which means an uncertainty in the relations.”⁵⁹ Süleyman Demirel formed a coalition of right parties named as the first nationalist front in 31 March 1975. The coalition was formed by JP, NSP, NMP (Nationalist Movement Party) and TP (Trust Party). The Süleyman Demirel government gave importance to the economic side of

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 185.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 185.

the relations with the EC and they claimed in the government program that “everything possible will be done to improve the association in order to improve our economic development and industrialization.”⁶⁰ The improvements in the EC-Turkey relations created some problems in Turkey-USA relations in the mid 1975. USA declared that she preferred to improve her economic relations with 89 countries in March 1975 and 23 countries was out of this list. Turkey was among this 23 countries. USA demanded the same priorities from Turkey that Turkey sustain for EC in order to take Turkey among the 89 countries.

There was only one Association meeting in 1975 that took place in 16 September in Brussels. Turkey demanded that the agricultural priorities meeting that was not held for two years should be started. Turkey also demanded information about the Greece application for the Community according to the Item 56 of the additional protocol. The free circulation of the labor was also one of the important topics of the meeting. EC answered all these that the first meeting for agriculture will be united with the second one, there will be an European offer for the social security rights of the Turkish workers and Turkey’s rights will be protected in the EC-Greece relations.

A crisis erupted in the Turkey-EC relations in 1976. “The export of Turkey to EC declined from 712.2 million dollars in 1974 to 615.1 million dollars in 1975 and the import from EC rose from 1708 million dollars in 1974 to 2338 million dollars in 1975. So the foreign trade unbalance rose from 991

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 188.

million dollars to 1722 million dollars.”⁶¹The Association Council Meeting was founded on 1 March 1976. The Turkish Foreign Minister Ý. Sabri Çađlayangil stated the uneasy points about which Turkey was disturbed. He claimed that the balance of the agreement was destroyed and EC was not fulfilling her responsibilities and this created a discomfort in the relations. Çađlayangil declared that the EC policy about the agricultural priorities created an atmosphere that dangers the association between Turkey and EC. Çađlayangil stated what Turkey gained from the meeting when he returned to Turkey. “Turkey got EC guarantee for the workers’ social security rights. The free circulation of the labor will be studied on. EC accepted an application that protect Turkey against the competition because of the priorities given to third countries by EC.”⁶²

The NSP part of the coalition government declared several times that they were against the full membership and claimed that past experience showed them that EC wanted to be master and saw Turkey as the servant.

The Association Council Meetings were postponed two times in 1976. Since Turkey demanded more time to answer the EC proposals, it was postponed for the first time in 23 July. The meeting decided to be done in 16 October but since the vice-president of the EC, Christopher Soames was ill, the meeting postponed once again. Çađlayangil stated in the Joint Parliamentary Commission meeting on 7-8 November 1976 in Ankara that the relations were

⁶¹ Ibid., p.193.. from *Iktisadi rapor 1977*. (Ankara :Türkiye Ticaret Odalari. Sanayi Odalari ve Ticaret Borsalari Birliđi. 1977) .p.504-505.

⁶² Tekeli & Ilkin.. *Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluđu II*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık.1993) .p.200.

not in a good mood and a possible Association council meeting was out of question until the conditions get better. EC proposed some improvements but declared that she can not go any further. EC gave some priorities to the 33 products against Turkey's 65 product demand. The conditions for the Turkish workers in the EC member states would not be improved. The legal workers can search for new jobs in their states if they worked for three years. If they worked for five years, they have the living permission. Turkey's export to the EC became 959 million dollars and import became 2342 million dollars so the trade gap became 1383 million dollars in 1976. Although the gap lessen when it is compared to 1975, it was still very important. NSP used all her force in the government against EC by that time. Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of NSP and vice-prime-minister declared that all suggestions must be approved by the Turkish Council of Ministers and he also demanded that the relations must be stopped until EC accepted Turkey's demands.⁶³ The demands of Mr. Erbakan was not found serious but Mr. Erbakan stated that there were five shortcomings of the EC protocol.

1. The 1967 import figures of Turkey were taken as example.
2. Turkey accepted to open her market to EC year by year but EC failed to do so.
3. When Turkey tried to protect herself, she should have took the approval of the all member countries.

⁶³ Ibid.. p.211.

4. Turkey should take the permission of EC when she wanted to have trade with the third countries.
5. Turkey was tied to the protocol to do everything she had promised⁶⁴.

Erbakan suggested that the sectoral liberation must be done sector by sector not according to the 1967 import rates. Leather, textile, beverage and construction sectors were already ready for the liberation. Erbakan suggested that there was nothing to be afraid of the freezing of the relations. Turkey lost lots of money through the abolishment of the customs. These money can be collected in a fund and spent in the sectors where EC did not give priority. All these suggestions and Erbakan's declarations against the EC strengthened the crisis in the coalition.

The important crisis between Turkey and EC was seen in the two Association Council Meetings on 4 February and 15 March 1977. EC wanted to limit sweat-cotton export of Turkey. This action was seen that EC can not tolerate Turkey's superiority in even one sector and strengthen the negative atmosphere against EC. The result was the Association Council can not meet for 1977.

After the elections in 5 June 1977, RPP was the biggest party but it can not reach to the necessary number to form a government. Mr. Demirel formed the second nationalist front in 21 July 1977 with JP, NSP; NMP.

Turkey postponed the decrease in the customs at the end of 1977. She should decline the customs rate by a 10 percentage for the products in the

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.211.

twelve years list . The government changed in the early 1978. Bülent Ecevit, the leader of the RPP transferred some JP parliamentarians and became the prime-minister of Turkey by 5 January 1978. The government declared in its program that they won't let Turkey to be in an inferior position with EC. The Association must also work for the benefit of Turkey.⁶⁵ Prime-minister Ecevit had the support of Socialists in the European Parliament and promised a consolidation with IMF. Ecevit government made a devaluation of the Turkish lira and declared that 1 US dollar is equal to 25 liras so he kept his promise. The US embargo because of Cyprus forced Turkey to have close relations with EC. "The Ecevit government did not see any other alternative to comfort the economy which was in a bad position because of foreign payment balance problems in June."⁶⁶

The works of the government for the next six months showed that the future of the relations were not so good. Mr. Caporale, the head of EC's Turkey bureau came to Ankara to make negotiations for a new Association meeting. Turkey made the following suggestions.

1. Turkey needs four to five years to improve her economy, since the Joint protocol and additional protocols created heavy responsibilities on the Turkish economy.
2. Turkey will show some efforts to maintain her responsibilities against the member countries.

⁶⁵ Ibid.. p.216.

⁶⁶ Ibid.. p.220.

3. Turkey demanded for more improvement in the association with member countries in industrial sectors and trade so as to improve her economy.
4. EC should stop to limit the agricultural good's export from Turkey and approve the free circulation of labor.
5. The new problems caused by the new three members of EC should be emphasized.⁶⁷

The EC-Turkey relations come to a crisis point with the governmental decision of Prime-Minister Bülent Ecevit to freeze the financial protocols of the association agreement in 25 December 1978 for five years. The idea behind this decision was the dissatisfaction of Turkish government from the second and third financial protocols. The main conflictual point according to the government was the amount and the type of EC aid. It is not a direct aid but EC supply credit opportunities to Turkey in order to create business with member countries. As the third protocol was going on, the EC Council declared that the EC aid will not exceed 800 million ECU and Turkey will receive 310 million ECU. The EC did not want to be in the position to do everything that Turkey asked for. Saracoglu stated "EC has some doubts that Turkish government was willing to become full member to the Community which also had negative impacts on the relations."⁶⁸The military intervention in 12 September 1980 made the relations worsen. European Parliament declared her wish for Turkey to return back to democracy immediately. EC declared that if Turkey return to

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.222.

⁶⁸ Tefik Saracoglu, *Antlasmalar* (Istanbul: Akbank Yayinlari, 1994), p. 296.

democracy immediately than the relations will proceed as it is decided before. EC started to wait the answer of Turkey. The democratization demand of EC was answered by the military judges to find prime-minister Ecevit guilty for not keeping his responsibilities and sent him to prison. So the fourth protocol was stopped by EC.

The democratization of Turkey with the elections of 1983 enabled the Association Meetings once again. The Motherland Party (MP) won the elections with majority. But European Council decided to cancel the free circulation of labor that should be activated by 1 December 1986 which was decided upon by the 1970 Additional Protocol. The decision created very negative atmosphere both at the government and at public level in Turkey. MP government saw that things were going bad so something must be done to accelerate the relations. It should be noted that Greece became a full member by 1981. MP made the official application in 14 April 1987. Turkey wanted to take her place in all of the European institutions so Turkey also applied to Western European Union in 13 April 1987. The European Council decided that Turkish application can be discussible on legal terms so send it to the Commission. The Commission stated that Turkey is eligible to become a member but there are some economical and political drawbacks. On 18 December 1989, the Commission also added that no application negotiation can begin before 1993. Since than the European Parliament decisions about the human rights in Turkey increase tension in the negotiations.

The drawbacks of the Turkish economy can be listed as Turkey lack of a welfare state and has not completed her industrialization yet. The negative sides of the politics are the human rights problems and democratization. The main international problem seems to be Greece. Since, Greece become full member to EC before Turkey, she carries the problems among two countries to the Community and block any improvement in the relations. The problems between Turkey and Greece can be listed as the Cyprus case, the Aegean Sea problem and the Turkish minority rights in the northeast of Greece.

Through the negotiations, a common ground is reached on 6 June 1990 which is the Commission Package:

- "1. Completion of customs Union by the end of 1995.
2. To create financial and industrial cooperation.
3. To increase scientific and technological cooperation.
4. To strengthen the political and cultural cooperation. "⁶⁹

The points of difference between Turkey and EC are the southeast problem of Turkey, Cyprus problem, financial cooperation, trade of agricultural goods and free circulation of labor. The relations began to activate in 1994 once more as the twenty-two years time period for the customs union finalized in 1995. Through a series of meetings, the Customs Union was to be finalized in 1 January 1995 but it postponed and a new meeting is arranged to 6 March 1995. The Customs Union Agreement signed on March 6, 1995. The realization

⁶⁹Deniz Vardar, edited by Faruk Sonmezoglu, *Turk Dis Politikasinin Analizi* (Istanbul: Der Yayinlari, 1994), p. 129.

of the union will be on January 1st, 1996 after the approval of the European Parliament.

THE ATTITUDES OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN TURKEY

When the attitudes of the political parties' for the European Community are examined, the majority of the political parties can be considered as for the European Community. After the Ankara Agreement in 12 September 1963, the two great parties of the parliament, RPP (Republican Peoples Party) and JP (Justice Party) declared several times that they were for the agreement and they accepted the agreement as being apart of the Europe. "RPP saw the agreement as a inescapable decision for Turkey who exists on the two continents but belong to West through civilization and mentality."⁷⁰ JP declared that EC would bring a dynamism to Turkey. According to JP, "It is impossible to be out of EC for Turkey as regionalization is the main trend in world economics."⁷¹ The only party that was against EC was the TWP (Turkey Workers Party). Their opposition seem to be ideological one.

The history of the political parties are not continuous in Turkey. The military interventions both in 1960 and 1980 closed some political parties. Although the names of the political parties changed, most of them claimed that they are the continuation of the closed ones. The Democrat Party (DP) was

⁷⁰ Tekeli & Ilkin., *Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu I* (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1993), p.206.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.207.

closed by the 27 May 1960 military intervention but Justice Party (JP) that was founded after the intervention claimed to be continuation of DP.

The period between 1960- 1980 passed with ups and downs in the relations that was stated in the history of relations. The 1980 military intervention closed all the parties and various parties are opened later on. The political parties whose views will be given are the parties of this period. Their view points on EC membership and customs union are important so as to have an idea for the future of Turkey-EC relations.

MP (Motherland Party) :

MP has the priority between parties by making the full membership application. The application was done by the Minister of State, Ali Bozer on April 14, 1987. MP stated that Turkey's place is on the West but this integration is not only for the good of Turkey. E. U will also benefit from this relationship by entering a seventy million market. " MP exercised a huge campaign in order to create consensus for integration with EC. A total support from the opposition parties and from the intermediate associations made the opposition marginalized."⁷² MP government accepted the customs union as the most important step for integration. After the customs union is activated, full membership will be the next step. The necessary laws were started to prepared

⁷² Deniz Vardar, edited by Faruk Sonmezoglu, *Türk Dis Politikasinin Analizi* (Ankara: Der Yayinlari, 1994), p. 377.

in order to activate economic and political integration. They concentrated on basically monetary laws, customers' protection laws and patent laws.

When the European Commission gave her report to the direction that Turkey needs some improvement both in political and economic aspects, MP told to EC that the report was to be found very negative in Turkey. It was quite interesting that they also underlined the positive sides of the report in Turkey. They blamed the governments of 1970s and the military regime for the negative side of the report. When the MP voters in favor of the EC membership is examined in the years of application, it is seen that according to the Inter-strategy and Strategy surveys, in April 1989, the ratio was 76,74% in favor, in April 1990, it was 83,67 % and in January 1991, it was 86,1%. The survey done after the negative report of the European Commission by Inter-strategy showed those MP voters in a ratio of 46,78% accept a possible refusal as a failure. 26,21% of the voters claimed that it will not be a big lost.

MP lost her majority in the parliament in the general elections in 1991 and became the main opposition party against the TPP-SPP coalition. As the customs union date getting closer, MP started to criticize government harsher.

Mr. Kamran Inan, Bitlis parliamentarian of MP, criticized both the government and the EC to a large extent.⁷³ Unnecessary emphasis was given to the European Parliament in Turkey. According to Mr.Inan, the European Parliament is the weakest organization in EC. Anybody can get any decision in

⁷³Kamran Inan. *IR 525: International Dimensions of Turkish Foreign Policy, Lecture Notes.* (Ankara. Bilkent University. Fall 1994)

it because people know it means nothing. Prime-minister Tansu Ciller's accepting member countries' ambassadors before the Association Meeting is wrong. This type of action must be done on under secretary level. The EC demands are totally unacceptable so they must be rejected in Brussels. A new meeting to negotiate these are humiliating for Turkey. Mr. Inan gave reference to Samuel Huntington and claimed that the borders are defined through religion in the 1990s and gave the examples of Bosnia, Cecenia, Kashmir.

Mr. Inan claims that EC will not accept Turkey to full membership and it showed this through not inviting Turkey to European Council meeting in Essen on 10 December, 1994 although the six east European countries are invited. The enlargement of the EC is possible but Turkey is not yet in the line. Mr. Inan stated that EC already decide the new possible members. EC will accept three Baltic republic's first that are Litvania, Lethonia and Estonia, than six East Europe countries that are Poland, Hungary, Check Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania, and than Malta and Cyprus are waiting.

Mr. Inan opposite to his party views and believed that EC is a dead organization. It is not so important for Turkey to be a member. "All the postwar institutions lose their importance and EC is one of them with UN and NATO. Turkey is a powerful giant whose head, the governmental part, is too small. She needs a shock therapy to understand her power. Turkey can create alternatives in Black Sea region, Caucuses or in the Muslim world and

finalized his comments by giving Japan as an example. Japan is the second country in trade and they are not in the European Union.”⁷⁴

When the parliamentary meeting for the customs union made in 1st March 1995, Engin Güner, the Istanbul deputy declared MP’s view points.

Mr. Güner claims that the customs union is not a gift first of all. It is Turkey’s natural right. It is wrong to have debates on that right. If the debate is about Cyprus, it is unbelievable. The United Kingdom even acts against Greece so the passivity of Turkey is very hard to understand.

According to Mr.Güner, when MP made the application, the timing was right. Turkish economy was in a better situation and Turkey can compete with the European Community. Now, there is high inflation, the economy is getting smaller 6% every year and the unemployment is increasing day by day. These may all cause social movements within the country.

The other crucial point is, if there will be no full membership, the customs union will not mean too many things. Turkey did all her promises. The exports reached to twenty billion dollars. The customs were abolished up to 90%. So what will Turkey get in return ?

The financial protocols are another problematic topic for Mr.Güner. He claims that when the financial aids are examined, it is seen that European Community is not keeping her promises. The fourth financial protocol is still under Greek veto. The financial aid must put into agreement declaration. The loss of Turkey seems to be two and a half billion dollars. Two billion dollars of

⁷⁴ Ibid

financial aid is promised but it is not clear when or how Turkey will get it. EC must give information to Turkey about the future of the financial aids.

According to Mr.Güner, Turkey must receive a financial aid of 10 billion dollars when he becomes a full member because this money is needed to improve Turkish economy. Otherwise, Turkish economy can not adapt to the other member countries' economies.

A third problematic subject for Mr. Güner is Turkey should accept all of the economic decisions of the European Community with out having any right to veto if she goes to customs union before being a full member to EC. This economic decision may involve an embargo against Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic (TRNC). Turkey must have a say in the decision making to protect herself from this kind of possible future improvements.

The free circulation of labor is another problematic subject for MP. Turkey's rights has been canceled in 1986. A new date must be stated. The textile quotas that are put by the European Community must be abolished immediately.

Mr. Güner stated very clearly that the most uncomfortable subject is Cyprus case for MP. According to the 1960 Zurich Treaty, the item eight stated very clearly that Cyprus can not apply to an institution in which Turkey and Greece are not full members at the same time. It should be noted once again that the customs union is Turkey's right so Turkey can not give Cyprus or textile quotas as gifts to sustain the agreement.

The Parliament's view is not asked by the government in that subject. The foreign Minister who signed the agreement will change in the near future so this seems to be a sign of irresponsibility. If Cyprus will be left alone, TRNC will disappear in history in 1998. The membership procedures for Cyprus will start in 1997 and it will become a full member by 1998. The fullmembership of Cyprus to the European Community means Cyprus will be a Greek island. The logic behind this argument of Mr. Güner is, when Cyprus become a member of EC, the Turkish soldiers on the island become invaders and Turkey will be forced to turn her soldiers back. If the protection of Turkey is abolished, the Greek Cypriots may attack as they did before. The Greek Cypriots made their application for the whole of the island which means they will demand rights for all of Cyprus. Turkey can not unite with Cyprus to protect her because she has to take the approval of the community if she sign the customs union agreement.

Mr. Güner offers a solution for this problem. Turkey should sign a defense cooperation agreement with Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus before the customs union agreement was approved by the European Parliament. The benefits of the customs union agreement is not known but what will happen if Turkey loose Cyprus is very well known according to Mr. Güner. The government should not put the future of Turkey under obligation.

The leader of MP, Mesut Yilmaz claimed that "this is not an integration but only an abolishment of the customs. The government is celebrating the customs union as a victory as if the customs union is the final goal. But the final goal is the integration with the European community. The customs is not

only abolished by Turkey. The loss of Turkey is 2,8 billion dollars. The benefits is five billion dollars in five years period. There are two conflictual points that MP can not accept. The first one is the Cyprus problem. Turkey must apply embargo to TRNC if EC demands and secondly, Turkey accepted some improvements in human rights and democratization as if they were failures as European Community claims.”⁷⁵

When the arguments of Motherland Party is examined carefully, it is seen that MP criticize the TPP-RPP coalition as seeing the customs union as an end. MP see the customs union agreement as a step to full membership and they claim that if Turkey goes to customs union without being a full member of EC, than this will not be for the benefit of Turkey. The second topic that MP finds very important is Cyprus. It should be noted here that since Cyprus is a very delicate subject by having international dimension, MP looks to the subject very emotional. Mr. Güner made some speculations about the future of the island and states that Cyprus can not be a tool for bargaining under any circumstances.

Although MP applied to the European Community for the fullmembership, she seemed to change her politics towards EC. They declared that the economic and political conditions changed so the customs union agreement will not be good for Turkey. Some of the important parliamentarians like Kamran Inan is totally against EC. There is no consistency of the Euroeapan Community politics within the party and their views change after they becomes the main opposition.

⁷⁵ Yeni Yüzyil, 8 April 1995, p.8.

TPP (True Path Party) ;

TPP was in the opposition when the application for membership was done. They gave their support but criticize the MP government for being unable. They are totally for the full membership. When TPP voters are examined in the application years, it is seen that according to the survey of inter-strategy, the TPP voters for the EC membership was 71,6% in April 1989, 85,86% in April 1990 and 76,58 in December 1990. After the negative report of the commission, according to the strategy, 44,11% of TPP voters saw the possible rejection as a big lost where 23,95% did not agree it is a big loss.

Mr. Coskun Kirca stated in Yeni Yuzyil on 22 December and 23 December 1995 that the demands of the European Union are totally political and no government in Turkey may accept these demands especially on the issues like Cyprus. Turkey is a peripheral country in Europe. The interests of Turkey may not always fit to the core countries of Europe. She had very important benefits in the Middle East or in the Caucuses regions. The pressure comes from European Union about these regions or more crucial topics as if Cyprus will not be welcomed by Turkey. The application done in the Ozal period is not reasonable. An atmosphere as if Turkey will do anything to be accepted the EC is observed which gave damage to Turkey's prestige especially on the issues with Greece. Turkey with its huge population will have too many words in the EC if she becomes a full member because the decisions are taken in institutions that are formulating according to populations. Besides the huge work force is another factor that threaten the EC. Customs Union will cost too

many things for Turkey. Our obligations are much more than EC's. In order to overcome these deficiencies, technology transfer is necessary that is not supplied until now. The Customs Union can be successful only under the transfer of technology and decreased inflation rates.

Prime-Minister Ciller on the other hand seem to be totally for the EC membership and realization of the Customs Union before the 19 December meeting. She accepted the ambassadors of the member countries and tried to persuade them. She declared that the relations will continue and the customs union agreement is a success. Prime-minister stated after the meeting that EC is not the only alternative for Turkey. They will maintain democratization not because EC wants it but it is good for Turkey and they want it. She saw Greece as the main problem and stated that Greece would better be afraid of Turkey's rivalry if their negative attitude will go on.

Orhan Kilerciođlu, the Ankara deputy of TPP stated the views of his party in the parliamentary meeting about the customs union on 1st March 1995. He claims that Cyprus is a national issue and no compromise can be given to the European Community. The subject is not entering to EC or not. Discussions is about the conditions and timing.

Customs Union is an economic need. It is a tool for integrating to a larger market. Turkey will be a link between the European Community and the Turkic Republics in Caucasus. The industry will improve, the technology will develop. The cost will decrease and the rights of the consumers will be protected. The government will not let the financial aid to decrease.

It is true that attending customs union before integrating with the community will create some problems. Cyprus, human rights, democratization and Turkey-Greece relations are the problematic subjects. The Cyprus problem was created by Greece. Greece was acting like a spoilt child. Cyprus can not be accepted to the EC under any contend until Turkey becomes a full member. Otherwise, this is Enosis. This will lead the island to be divided into two parts.

The two demands about democratization and human rights should be rejected. The human rights is the problem of Greece and Greek Cypriots.

Prime-Minister, Tansu Çiller made a speech to the nation on television on 6 March 1995. She stated that “this day passed to history. This agreement is the start for the integration with the European Community. The customs union is a historic step that is reached after 32 years. Turkey will be a peace bridge between East and the West.

The customs union sustain each commodity with an increased quality. The trade will also increase. Turkey’s ability to choose will also increase and the consumers will be protected. The foreign investments for Turkey will increase. New work opportunities will be created. All institutions will be reshaped from health to justice from finance to education. They will come to the European level. Turkey will be one of the leading countries of the world. The right economic policies applied by the government are also approved by the European Community. Europe can not undermine Turkey because of Turkey’s relations with Caucasus and also Turkey controls the strategic oil ways. Besides, Turkish nation will not accept to be secondary under any circumstances.”

Tansu Çiller also claims that Turkey has no alternative but to be a full member to the community in the year 2001. She states that the countries that

will not be included to three economic communities will be poor and unstable in the near future. The customs union will bring changes to Turkey. People start to produce and they will demand for their rights and freedoms. They will not want the state to give all of these to them but earn them by themselves.⁷⁶

The EC coordinator, Ali Tigrel states that the biggest problems on the way to agreement is the democratization and human rights. There are different views in the parliament each of which must be respected but it should be noted that there are some people who wants to create pressure on Turkey with these subjects. As soon as Turkey solve her problems, she will have more power to deal with the outside pressures.⁷⁷

The TPP as the governing party seems to be for the full membership. But they have some common characteristics with MP. Some of their parliamentarians like Copkun Kyrca is against the customs union. Although the TPP-RPP government is very active in the last months of 1995, TPP does not seem to have a constant policy for the European Community.

RPP (Republican Peoples Party) :

RPP was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on 9 September 1923. It was closed down by the military intervention on 12 September 1980. Republicans People Party took this name after serious unifications. RPP was opened in June 1992 after the ban put by the military intervention was

⁷⁶ Yeni Yüzyıl. 10 March 1995.p.9.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 5 April 1995. p.14.

abolished. It united with Social Democratic Peoples Party (SPP) in 1995. SPP was founded by the unification of Peoples Party and Social Democratic Party in 1986. SPP was in the opposition in the parliament as their coalition partner TPP now, when the application was done. They seem to be totally for the EC and Customs Union but they criticize MP's policies at this period. They are for harsh negotiations. When the voters of SPP is examined in the years of application, it is seen that according to the public survey conducted by strategy, in April 1989, they are for EC with a ratio of 80,59%, in April 1990 the ratio was 73,16 % and in January 1991 the ratio was 89,94%. The SPP voters saw a refusal as a loss in a 47,76 % according to strategy survey in December 1989 and 26,68 % did not consider it a big loss.

Turkey was represented by foreign minister Mr. Murat Karayalçın in Brussels in 19 December 1994 meeting. Mr. Karayalcin accepted the meeting as a total victory of Turkey. He stated that all the member countries were against Turkey before the meeting but now only Greece is against.

The ex-foreign minister Mümtaz Soysal criticized the demands of the Community and he considered them as political. The customs union is a technical subject so these demands are unacceptable. The Cyprus case and Aegean Sea is out of negotiations.

Some of its important parliamentarian like Mümtaz Soysal is against the customs union as MP and TPP. The party politics changes according to if the govern or if they are in opposition.

DLP (Democratic Left Party) :

DLP is the most interesting party in the opposition wing to the EC. Although the leader of the party is well known with his anti EC ideas, the voters of DLP have a positive tendency for the EC. According to the surveys done by inter-strategy, in April 1989, the ones who are in favor of EC are 74,36%, in April 1990 it was 73,68 and in January 1991, it reached to 84,63 %. DLP voters accept the refusal of EC as a big loss in a rate of 57,99 % which is the highest among all in December 1989.

The leader of the DLP is Bülent Ecevit who was the prime-minister of the government when the financial protocols frozen for five years in 1978. After the 19 December 1995 Association Meeting, Mr. Ecevit declared that Turkey is not ready to go a customs Union with EC. Only a few industries will survive if the customs union takes place and the others will clash down. Mr. Ecevit offer a referendum in order to learn the wish of people. He also criticized the government because of not informing the parliament.

WP (Welfare Party) and NMP (Nationalist Movement Party) ::

The two radical parties of Turkey are against the fullmembership because of ideological reasons. They are not too much interested in economic aspects. WP claimed that Turkey will lose all her sovereignty if she is accepted to the European Union.

NMP declare same kind of thoughts and wanted to improve better relations with the Turkic republics in Caucuses region. When the voters of the two parties are observed in the years of application, it is seen that they are against the EC according to the survey done by inter-strategy. The ones who are for entering EC in April 1989 18,49% for WP and 24,86% for NMP, in the April 1990 survey, the ratio was 23,81 % for WP and 17,65 % for NMP and finally the ratio became 35,71 % for WP in January 1991 survey.

The one who believes not entering to EC was a big loss for Turkey was 4,85 % for WP and 6,96 % for NMP in the survey done by Strateji in December 1989.

Abdullah Gul from WP stated that if the governments of the member countries want they will overcome Greek veto. But this is not good. These events are good for Turkey to see the double standards of Europe. Turkey must find alternatives and the Muslim world is a potential as WP stated.

Cevat Ayhan, the deputy of Sakarya stated the views of the WP in the parliamentary meeting in 1 March 1995. He claims that the customs union is seen as a transition period for the final goal that is fullmembership. But this is against the 6th article of the constitution that states the sovereignty belongs to nation with no doubt. The State Planning Institution also stated in 1983 that the fullmembership can not be sustained before the abolishment of this article.

Mr. Ayhan claims that the aim of the customs union is to colonize Turkey. They will become the partner and we will become the market because of sustaining customs union before entering the EC. The debt of Turkey will increase at the end of this agreement. The industry is not ready for the customs

union. The institutions in which less than one hundred people is working can not compete with the Europeans. Even the agriculture sector is not ready to compete. Turkey was selling seven items to Europe in 1970s and buy only one but in 1990s, the ratio becomes one to one.

According to Cevat Ayhan, Turkish economy is not ready for customs union. There is high inflation. The Community is not honest about financial protocols. The future of the financial aid must be known by the Turkish government. The gap between export and import to the Community is large. Mr. Ayhan claims that Turkey has a total import of seven billion dollars to the Community in 1994 but the Community exported a total of thirteen billion dollars to Turkey. WP claims that these numbers proves who will benefit from the customs union agreement. The vice-president of WP, Pevket Kazan also states that they will abolish the customs union agreement as soon as they gain majority in the parliament.⁷⁸

The views of the political parties shows some commonalties. The ones who are supporting EC membership states that the customs union agreement is not an end. The final goal of Turkey must be full membership to the European Community. Although the economic aspect of the European Community was emphasized in the beginning of the relations, the political aspect also gain importance in the last negotiations for the customs union. Although the customs union agreement is waiting for the approval of the European Parliament, the democratization and human rights issues seem to be influential in the decision of the European Parliament. The technical discussions about the customs union

⁷⁸ Yeni Yüzyıl .. 7 March 1995. p.4.

is a complicated subject. The sectors who are ready and who are not ready to adapt to the new conditions by the customs union are discussed by the political parties to a large extent but when the parliamentary meeting for the customs union in 1 March 1995 is examined, the most delicate subject for all of the parties seem to be the Cyprus issue. The opposition parties, MP, DLP, WP and NMP, all states their hesitations for Cyprus. The demand of the European Council for the improvements in Cyprus problem creates an atmosphere of the Turkish government also negotiate the Cyprus problem for customs union. The coalition partners TPP and RPP replied the arguments that Cyprus is out of negotiations and it can not be bargaining tool. The second topic that all the opposition parties stress on is the export import ratio. They state that this gap should be lessen to go to a healthy customs union. Otherwise, Turkish economy can be damaged. The third point that all the parties stress on is whether the economic sectors are ready to compete in the European market or not. The answer of this question will be searched in the following sectoral analysis. The various sectors that are chosen for the analysis are the so called strong sectors of Turkish economy so the competition chance of the other sectors can be assumed. It should be noted here that the three discussible subjects become the agenda of Turkey in 1994 and 1995. A consensus is maintained that democratization and improvements in human rights are necessary for the future of Turkey. They must be achieved for that reason not because of European Community is asking for. The Cyprus issue is one of the greatest problematic of Turkish history. All the claims about the future of Cyprus seem to be speculations.

When the party politics is examined, it can be stated that Turkey does not have a well planed policy for the European Community. The parties act according to if they govern or if they are in opposition. The membership for the EC and the customs union are used for domestic politics.

CHAPTER FOUR
A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The following chapter investigates the emergence of a unified Europe and the process of integration. This thesis analyzes the extent to which Turkey is ready to share the European ideals or to ask the question in a different way, can Turkey be ready for this identity. The European Community is an international organization but it is different from the other international organizations such as the United Nations. It is supranational. The difference of EC from other regional organizations such as NAFTA or ASEAN is most of the member countries are already the greatest economic powers of the world. When the economic and political powers of Germany, England, France and Italy come together, they really create a very important supranational organization with the support of other members. This gives the chance the member countries to share a common ideal and they also protect their unique characters. This is done by creating a higher authority and respecting to it.

The only successful way for EC to survive is a democratic form of representation within the institutions of EC. But this equality may not be enough to survive because each nation forming the community has its identity with various specifications. The sustainment of the authority within the community's internal logic is crucial and this authority needs legitimate base to function. "As influential observers such as Ernst Haas and Leon Lindberg were to argue, actors in the integration process would create webs of co-operation and would shift their loyalties and activities to the higher institutions, and

>upgrade the common interests<.”⁷⁹ The upgradation of the common interest to sustain a legitimate authority is done by creating European consciousness that is the *European identity*. The European ideal is centered on defense of individual freedoms, the rule of law, democratic and limited government, mixed economy and secular society. But some of the authors claim that this is not a new thing. “As Hallstein was to claim: ‘Europe is no creation. It is a rediscovery of shared ideals, history and culture.’”⁸⁰

The discussions about the Turkey’s full membership to the European Community mostly emphasize on the advantages and the disadvantages that full membership will bring Turkey. The aim of the third chapter is to show what are the advantages and disadvantages of Turkey in this integration process. Since Turkey’s application to the Community will be investigated to this criteria, the answer of this question is crucial for the full membership of Turkey to the Community. The answer to the question will be elaborated according to three dimensions, the demographic dimension, the economic dimension and the political dimension.

The Demographic Dimension

One of the main problematic topic in the Turkey-EC relations seem to be constantly rising Turkish population with respect to free circulation of labor. The populations of the member states and their populations are given below.

⁷⁹ Armand Clesse & Raymond Vernon. *The European Community after 1992: A New Role in World Politics?*, (Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft: Baden-Baden. 1991). p.83.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

Table 2: Populations of the EC Members and Turkey (1989)

<i>COUNTRIES</i>	<i>POPULATIONS</i>
<i>Germany</i>	79 000 *
<i>Italy</i>	57 525
<i>France</i>	56 160
<i>England</i>	57 236
<i>Turkey</i>	55 255
<i>Spain</i>	38 888
<i>The Netherlands</i>	14 849
<i>Portugal</i>	10 537
<i>Greece</i>	10 033
<i>Belgium</i>	9 938
<i>Denmark</i>	5 132
<i>Ireland</i>	3 513
<i>Luxembourg</i>	378
<i>Austria</i>	7 633 *
<i>Finland</i>	5 000 *
<i>Sweden</i>	8 607 *

* 1991 Populations

OECD: Main Economic Indicators, Paris June 1991, pp.178. ⁸¹

The population of the member countries was 59% before the unification of Germany and the new enlargement in 1995 by Austria, Finland and Sweden. The percentage will increase over 60% through this jointments according to the EOROSTAT, the average fertility rate in the EC was 1,6 children in 1988 and this was not enough to protect the population constant. When Turkey is examined, the fertility rate was 3,7 children in 1989.⁸² The increase in the populations and the future estimations will be given in table 4 and table 5.

⁸¹ Faruk Ben & Manfred Cryns & Andreas Goldberg & Yasemin Karakaşođlu & Gülay Kızılöcalak & Sedef Koray. *Türkiye'nin Tam Üyeliliđinin Avrupa Topluluđuna Sađlayacađı Yararlar* (Zentrum Für Türkeistudien) p.11.

⁸² Ibid., p.130.

Table 3: Average Population Increase (%)

Countries	1960- 1968	1968- 1973	1973-1979	1980- 1989
W.Germany	0.9	0.8	-0.2	0.11
France	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.42
England	0.7	0.4	-	0.18
Italy	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.22
Belgium	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.10
Denmark	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.03
Greece	0.6	0.4	1.1	0.49
Ireland	0.3	1.1	1.5	0.42
Luxembourg	0.8	0.9	0.5	0.40
The Netherlands	1.3	1.1	0.7	0.57
Portugal	0.1	-0.3	-	0.59
Spain	1.0	0.9	1.1	0.46
Turkey	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.36

* OECD: Historical Statistics 1960-1989. Paris 1991. pp.28.⁸³

Table 4: The Estimations of the Future Population Increase Rates (%)

Countries	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2020	2020-2030	2030-2040	2040-2050
W.Germany	-0.2	-0.6	-0.7	-0.8	-0.7	-0.8
France	0.2	0.1	0.0	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3
England	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	-0.2	-0.2
Italy	-0.1	-0.2	-0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-0.7
Belgium	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.4	-0.4
Denmark	-0.3	-0.4	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	-0.7
Greece	0.2	0.2	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4
Ireland	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	-0.4
Luxembourg	0.2	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.2	-0.1
The Netherlands	0.3	0.0	-0.2	-0.2	-0.5	-0.5
Portugal	0.3	0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.4	-0.5
Spain	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	-0.2	-0.3
Turkey	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.2	0.9	0.4

* OECD: Ageing Populations: The Social Policy Implications. Paris 1988. pp.18.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid. p.14.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.14.

The demographic aspect of the integration seems to be the most disadvantageous one because the Community stress on democracy in its institutions. The member countries has numbers of seats in the European Parliament according to their populations. Turkey already has a population of sixty million that means she will have at least the same number of seat with Germany. The population trends also threaten both the politicians and the masses in Europe. When the hypothesis two (the more public opinion is cognitively and affectively favorable among the peoples of two nations, the more they will be integrated each other) is thought, this creates a negative point for the full membership of Turkey.

The Economical Dimension

The economic integration is the most problematic aspect since there is a big gap between the economic power of the two sides. When Roger Cobb's hypothesis (the more homogeneous two nations with respect to economic capabilities, the more they will be integrated with each other.) is remembered, the achievement of the economic integration seems to be difficult. Turkish economy can not compete with EC.

When the steps for economic integration that Brigid Laffan listed is taken into consideration, Turkey is dealing with the customs union step. Turkey is not in the common market since she has no right to free movement of labor, capital and services. The economic and monetary union seem to be far way because Turkish Parliament has not passed the laws for the harmonization

of national economic policies, yet. Even, the customs union has not been achieved and the European Parliament will decide if she will approve or disapprove the agreement in December 1995.

The inequality of the economies is quite observable in Table 1, the GNP per capita, but the export and import ratios are also not good for Turkey. The difference can be seen in the exports to EC and imports of Turkey from the EC. Turkish Trade with the EC⁸⁵

Table 5: Exports and Imports of Turkey (in million dollars)

Year	Imports	Exports
1990	9328	6906
1991	9221	7042
1992	10063	7460
1993	12301	7242

When the export-import ratios between Turkey and EC is looked up, it is seen that there is a gap between the export to the Community and import from the Community. When the import from the Community is examined, the industrial goods are mostly imported. EC has the largest share in both export and the import of Turkey. Turkey accepted to go to customs union with the Community and the activation of the agreement is only waiting for the approval of the European Parliament so nothing will change economically for the European Community at that point. "The customs union agreement is consisted of the industrial goods. The customs union for the agricultural goods will be achieved after the full membership of Turkey. Turkey is on the 20th place

⁸⁵ State Statistics Institute. Ankara. Foreign Trade Statistics. 1992. p.7.

between the countries that EC made trade for agricultural goods”⁸⁶ It should be noted here that Turkey is between the six countries who can supply their agricultural needs with her own resources. Although the industrial sector is emphasized within the relations, the agriculture sector must not be undermined. Turkey may supply an increase in the welfare in EC in the agricultural sector after the full membership. On the other side, it is very hard to claim that an increase in welfare through industrial goods can be achieved.

The measures that Turkey can apply if her application is rejected by the Community should also be examined. Turkey had two choices at that point. The first one is, Turkey may abolish all the priorities that she gives to the European Community. The second one is, Turkey may give same kind of priorities to other countries. The first choice is very hard to be achieved by Turkey because Turkey will face with damage more than EC. EC is the biggest market that Turkey is exporting her goods.

Table 6: EC’s share in Turkey’s total export and import

Year	Imports from EC	Exports to EC
1990	41.8%	53.2%
1991	43.8%	51.8%
1992	44.0%	50.7%
1993	41.8%	47.2%

*State Statistics Institute, Foreign Trade Statistics, 1992, p.7.

The numbers are quite clear, EC is the biggest market for Turkey. The alternatives can not take place of EC if the export and import trends of Turkey continues that way. The new republics that are founded in the Caucasus region

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.31.

after the breakdown of the Soviet Union are stated to be new good economic markets. But these countries do not have strong economics for the present. They have foreign currency shortage which means that the economic relations is depended on exchange trade. The significance of these countries lies in their rich underground resources and especially oil. Turkey is implementing a very active policy to pass the pipelines from Turkey. It should also be noted that Turkish construction companies are very active in the area. The historical background of these countries and their ethnic background most of which are Turkic origin, creates advantages in the trade relations. The Community can be more influential if Turkey is a full member. The effect of Russia is still important in the region and USA also tries to be influential in the region so EC may have a very good advantage by using the good links of Turkey by being a full member.

Another possibility to improve the trade with the region is Black Sea Economic Cooperation Region. It aimed to free movement of service, capital and labor within the region. The region was consisted of Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Georgia, Azerbeycan, Armenia, Bulgaria and Moldavia. But it should be noted here that, “ Turkey can not obtain advantages from the priorities that are given to developing countries such as the East European countries since these countries can not supply the industrial goods that Turkey import from EC.”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.38., quoted from Nienhaus. Volker report for the Zentrum Für Türkeistudien.

One of the import rules of trade is the capital needs politically and economically stability to make investments. Turkey is strategically at a very important place. The benefits that EC gains from the Turkish economy is listed above from the export-import ratios. The stability of the Turkish economy is directly related with the continuity of this benefits. Turkey has also a part in the regional trade. Turkey's links with Caucasus and the Middle East cause that an instability in Turkey is directly felt in this region and has negative consequences in these regions. The full membership of Turkey to the European Community will have a positive effect for the economic and political stability in Turkey and in the region. When the history of the European Community is examined, there are some EC applications in that way. When the Greek application for the full membership was accepted, some of the member countries want to consider Greek application with the Iberian countries but Greece application is considered separately and Greece became a full member to the Community in 1981. The reason for this application, the military intervention give certain damages to democracy in Greece and the Community want to give a hand to Greece to improve her democracy after the military intervention. It is very hard to claim that the Greece economy supply the necessary conditions for the EC membership at that time and Greece still has one of the weakest economies of the Community. It may be claimed that EC wish to improve economic and political stability in Greece played a significant role in the full membership.

It will also be good to examine the investment opportunities of the foreign investors to the Turkish market. The demand for foreign goods is high in Turkey. The reasons for this trend is, price of a good is shown as the quality of the product in Turkey. Since the prices of the foreign goods are high according to their Turkish similar, the Turkish consumer has the tendency to buy foreign goods. The nationalist trends is not too strong in the consumption patterns of the Turkish consumers. Although the cost of labor is also increasing in Turkey, it still offers good opportunities for the foreign investors. The ex-Soviet republics seem to create good market opportunities in the near future for the investors. Turkey is having an advantageous position both geographically and historically. The Turkish partners can be very useful for the European joint ventures.

When the sectoral analysis of the foreign investment is analyzed, the industrial sector takes the lead by 50.20% in 1990, the service sector is the second biggest by its share of 46.60% in 1990, the agriculture sector takes only 2.20% in 1990.⁸⁸ The advantages of the full membership of Turkey to EC in terms of foreign investments can be understood when the economic changes in Turkey since 1980 are elaborated.

The liberalization movements after 1980 enables an increase in the foreign capital investments. "On 24 January 1980 the Turkish government announced a major stabilization and liberalization program. The short-term goal of the program was to stabilize inflation and cope with the balance of payments

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.55., quoted from TOBB (Union of the Chambers. Industry, Maritime Trade and Commodity Exchange of Turkey). Economic Report 1990. (Ankara: 1990. pp.328 & ITI (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce). Ekonomik Rapor. Istanbul 1990. pp.150

problem, the long-term was to liberalize and restructure the Turkish economy so as to enable a convergence with the EC standards. The liberalization program heralded the end of fifty years of protectionism and marked the beginning of a period of far-reaching structural changes leading to a market economy.⁸⁹ The outward and market-oriented transformation⁹⁰ Turkey underwent rested on policies to restrain the growth of domestic demand and on structural reforms to augment supply through an improved allocation of resources. To do so, economic policies that reduce or eliminate restrictions on foreign trade and/ or capital transactions, as well as price controls, government subsidies and state investments were adopted⁹¹The government introduced this orthodox stabilization program under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund.⁹² The role of the Turkish application become important in this structural changes. The IMF has a direct impact on the structural change as Turkey signed a stand by agreement with IMF but the main stimulus that was back of the liberalization program is Turkish desire to be accepted as the 13th member of the EC and to prepare for the customs union.⁹³ All these liberalization movements has two aims. The first one is to adapt to the EC laws and regulations and the second one is to open the Turkish market to foreign investments and leave the protectionist policies of the state. The Value Added tax was implemented for the first time to adapt the EC norms. The foreign investors stated that the economic conditions become more favorable in 1982 when it is compared to 1980.⁹⁴

One of the other conditions effects the foreign investments is the market size. Turkey has a big market with its 60 million of population. The demand for consumption is rising. The foreign investors in Turkey also stated that they have modernization and development plans for the future because of the

⁸⁹ Müftüleri, Meltem., *Turkish Economic Liberalization and European Integration*., Middle Eastern Studies, Vol 31, no.1, January 1995, p.85-98., (London, Frank Cass Publication.) p.91., quoted from Tefik Nas and Mehmed Odekon, *Liberalization and the Turkish Economy* (London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p.10.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.91 quoted from George Kopits, *Structural Reform, Stabilization and Growth in Turkey* (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund Paper No.52,1987) pp.1

⁹¹ Ibid., pp.91, quoted from Anne Krueger, *Foreign Trade Regimes and Economic Development: Liberalization Attempts and Consequences* (Cambridge: Ballinger Press, 1978), pp.37

⁹² Ibid., p.91.

⁹³ Ibid., p.91.

⁹⁴ Zentrum Für Türkeistudien., *Türkiye'nin Tam Üyeliginin Avrupa Topluluguna Saglayacagi Faydalar*, p. 66., quoted from: *Foreign Investments in Turkey: Changing Conditions under the new Economic Programme*, (Paris: OECD, 1983),p26.

increasing consumption trend in the Turkish market.⁹⁵The demand for the foreign goods is high in the domestic market.

If Turkey becomes a full member, there will be a need of modernization in technology in various sectors of the Turkish economy to compete with the other member countries. Turkey will prefer to obtain the necessary high technology goods from the EC market to modernize its technology since there will be no customs. The competition strength of the Turkish economic sectors is also important. The competition strength is not so strong when Turkey becomes a full member to the Community. 20.3% of the small sized, 60.2% medium sized and 70.2% large sized firms claimed that they believe they can compete with their European similar.⁹⁶ The high competitive sectors are textile, food, and automobile industries and the low competitive sectors are paper and chemicals industries according to the SIAR report. The future of this small and medium sized establishments is also important if Turkey becomes a full member. If these establishments are closed after the membership, the demand for this good can only be supplied in the short term through imports. When the import ratios are examined, it is seen that Turkey mostly imports from EC. On the other side, Turkey can not supply her needs by imports forever. The small and the medium sized establishments' competition strength must be increased. This possibility also implies some technology transfer from EC members. This also creates new market opportunities for EC firms.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.66.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.67. quoted from *Private Manufacturing Firms in Istanbul* (SIAR: Summary Report of the Survey . 1987). p.11.

Although the Turkish economy need financial aid from EC to come to EC level economically, the advantages that Turkey offers to EC should also be kept in mind. The sectoral analysis of Turkish economy is useful to see how much Turkish economy is ready for the integration.

The Textile Sector

The leaders of the textile industry claimed that Istanbul will be the center of the world fashion as Milan and Paris after the agreement. Istanbul has the base for this position. It is stated that Turkey is the twenty-seventh exporter to EC in 1980 but now she is the second after China. After the agreement Turkey's seven billion dollars export will become ten billion dollars so she will become the first. The textile industry provides work to two billion people that means 20 % of the whole working force. The average cost of a worker in the textile industry reaches 400 mark today but after the agreement, it will reach to 1000 mark.

The Greece factor is not important for the textile industry because Britain, Germany and France are for the agreement so Greece does not have too many things to do.

“The developments of the textile industry was due to the funds supplied by the state in the early 1980s. Since the quantity of Turkish cotton is very high, it becomes expensive. This results with importing cotton for the inner market. The main problem of the textile is the sustainment of quality control and sustainment of the raw material according to world prices. The textile sector is ready for the customs union.”⁹⁷

The textile sector started to implement export oriented policies because the domestic demand decreased after the economic policies of the state in 1980.⁹⁸ The textile sector had an important export experience since 1980s and it

⁹⁷ Yeni Yüzyıl, 16 March 1995, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Fikret Sazak & Emin Tangören. *Gümrük Birliği ve Çalışma Hayatı*. (Ankara: Sistem Publishment, 1994) p.49.

is one of the leading sectors that will not be effected negatively from the customs union.

The Stock-Exchange Market

The stock-exchange market reached the highest value by the reachement of agreement between Turkey and the EC. The record was 31108 points and everybody agrees that the effects of the agreement will be more positive. The short term aim is 35000. The textile papers start to rise because the customs will be zero with the agreement. Most of the textile papers reached the top values.

The Automobile Industry

The automobile industry seems to be ready for the customs union. Haluk Güngör, the general manager of the TOYOTA SA states that the cost of a car is more or less the same all around the world. The difference lies in the taxation. The customs union is a chance for their industry because they will have the chance to sell their cars to a market of twelve billion dollars. The important thing in the automobile industry is the technology that they sustained to a large extend. He claims that this is a team job and they have a very good team.⁹⁹

The whole sector is not thinking as TOYOTA SA. The Koç enterprises states they have some doubts about the effects of customs union to the automobile sector. "The automobile industry is protected against imports with high customs and the supporting sector of automobile will have difficulties when customs union is achieved. The technology they use is less developed when that are compared with EC so they will have difficulties in competing with the EC members."¹⁰⁰

The Iron Industry

When the iron industry is examined, there are ninety-three large companies. The share of the iron industry in the total export is twelve percent

⁹⁹ Siyaset Meydani.. 10 March 1995.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.. Sazak & Tangören. p.51.

and they exceed two billion dollars last year. The customs union agreement will be beneficial for the sector because the import of the cheap iron that comes from the ex-Soviet Union republics will supply a cheap raw material benefit to the sector. "There is a need of modernization in the sector in order to increase the quality of the products."¹⁰¹

The results of the public poll about how the industrialists look to customs union can show some sights about how the industrialists feel about the agreement. The poll is done on 813 companies on production sector. The conclusion can be drawn as the benefits of customs union are much greater than the costs. The small scale enterprises are positive with a 55.9%. The medium range enterprises are positive with a percentage of 59.5% and the large scale enterprises are positive with 56.5 %. The ones with negative view points are 27% for small, 17.2% for medium and 18.9% for large scale enterprises.¹⁰²

When the economic sector analysis of the Turkish economy is made, the small and the medium sized enterprises will seem to be effected from the customs union negatively. The large sized enterprises declare that they can compete with EC members but they also states that some of the supportive industries will be effected negatively from the agreement. The activation of the agreement will bring the necessity of modernization in most of the sectors. This modernization process will need an important financial source.

The Political Dimension

When the political integration is examined, Roger Cobb's hypothesis of the similarity of the political values increased the possibility of political integration is quite important. Turkey has the capacity of increasing the

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp52.

¹⁰² Yeni Yüzyıl., 22 February 1995, p.8.

political power of the European Community. The European Community stresses on democratization in its internal logic. It was stated several times in the customs union negotiations that the democratization process in Turkey should be improved. As it was mentioned before, the emergence of a political community based on trust, loyalty and shared values.¹⁰³ The political integration between Turkey and EC depends on the political values are coincided or not. The European Community gives importance to the abolishment of 8th article of the Turkish crime law. The Turkish government states her willingness for the abolishment in the democratization package but she has not done so. The political harmonization can be achieved through new political reforms in Turkey.

On the other hand Turkey has some advantages in the international politics. The good relations that Turkey has with the Turkic ex-Soviet republics may supply an advantage to the member countries politically in the region. *"Turkey can be defined as a European, Balkan, Black Sea or Caucasus country with respect to her Geo-strategic situation."*¹⁰⁴ EC has various advantageous in all these regions. The current history shows the importance of Turkey in Gulf crisis. Turkey has the chance to play a more active role in the solving of Bosnia conflict as a EC member. She stays as a model for most of the Middle East countries. The stability in the region is also related with the stability in Turkey. "The importance of Turkey for the European security mostly disappears after

¹⁰³ K.Deutsch. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1957).

¹⁰⁴ Pükrü Elekdag. *Geo Stratejiden Stratejiye Görüş* .(Istanbul: TÜSIAD Yay. Ocak 1992). p.39.

the breakdown of Soviet union but there are new threats for Europe replacing the Soviet threat. The high war risk in the Middle East is very important for EC. Turkey may be a stabilizer in the region if she takes the support of West.”¹⁰⁵ The developments in the region shows that the importance of Turkey will increase for the European security in future.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.88.. quoted from the report of Dr. Heinz Kramer (Science and poliites foundation) submitted for Zentrum Für Türkicstudien

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

After Turkey accepted as an association member to the European Community, the aim of Turkey was to establish a customs union with the Community first and then to become a full member. The customs union will be achieved if the agreement is approved by the European Parliament in 1995. Turkey spent more than three decades for the customs union and the final objective, the full membership seems to be a far-reaching objective for Turkey. The EC membership is understood as reaching her biggest desire for Turkey. Turkey sees the full membership as the approval of her European character by the Europeans. The point underestimated here is if this definition is correct and if being a European passes from being a full member to the European Community, then Norway or Switzerland are not Europeans.

The European Community is specialized with its supra-national character. There are fifteen members of the Community, each having different history and governments. Most of them do not share a peaceful history with each other and they experienced two world wars through being enemies. They aimed to cooperate with each other to reach a more wealthy and democratic Europe. Since this kind of a supranational organization can only live through equal partnership, the Community is based on democracy. The authority and democracy is succeeded by not refusing the members' identities but by

creating a higher identity which is the European identity. The roots of the European identity is the defense of individual freedoms, the rule of law, democratic and limited government, mixed economy and secular society. The question here is whether Turkey will be a part of such an organization.

When the results of the hypothesis testing is examined, it is seen that the hypothesis 'the more homogeneous two nations with respect to economic capabilities, the more they will be integrated with each other' results in negatively for the integration. When the Turkish economy is examined, it is under the EC average. The GNP per capita in Turkey is less than the half of the poorest country among the Member States, Greece. Some sectors of the Turkish economy, such as textile industry can compete with the other member countries but most of the Turkish sectors lack this kind of a competition strength. The medium and the large scale organizations in most of the sectors also lack this kind of a competition strength. It should be noted that although the Turkish economy is relatively weak to the EC similar, this does not mean that Turkey will not add something to the Community. The customs income that Turkey will supply to the Community is an additional point for Turkey. If Turkey is accepted to the Community, Turkish economy needs to be modernized. This will create a market for the EC since there will be customs union between the two sides.

As it is stated before through the hypothesis testing, the economics is an important criteria for the full membership but the Community also considers political aspect. The hypothesizes that aim to examine whether Turkey shares

the same ideal with Community politically focus on the democratization and the human right issues. The Community demanded some reforms in democratization in Turkey even for the customs union. Turkey tries to implement a limited reform in democracy through the limited constitutional changes. The effects of this limited constitutional change will be seen through the European Parliament's decision for the approval of the customs union agreement

When the integration is tested in social terms, the social security systems in Turkey is not strong as their European similar. Turkey has an impact on the Caucasus region that will help EC to have warmer relations with the countries in the region. The Cyprus problem and the problems with Greece who is a member of the Community is other problematic areas for the full membership of Turkey.

The customs union seem to be finalized in 1996 but the full membership objective is far reaching. The most important advantage of Turkey to reach this objective is the strong desire of her to be European. The desire is so strong that it can cause economic reforms as the 24 January 1980 economic decisions or it can cause political reforms as the limited constitutional change in 1995.

When the security aspect of the integration is tested, the importance of Turkey for European security is seen with its role in Gulf crisis. The breakdown of the Soviets open the way for Turkey to be a regional power through its historical and ethical roots.

The future of the European Community is quite important through its relations with Turkey. The Community was founded on both economic and security reasons but after it reaches most of its objectives by preventing war in its borders and creating an economic success, the Community stressed on political domain. Democratization in the Community effects its relations with the other countries. The economic aspect seem to leave its place to political aspect. The people is the most important concept. 'There is a perceived need to transform the Community from a producers and consumers Europe into a people's Europe.'¹⁰⁶ Turkey has important problems both in economic and political aspects. The weakness of the Turkish economy and some weaknesses of Turkish economy are basic ones. Whether Turkey is ready to share this new European ideals based on more democracy and people will be seen in future but the will of all the Turkish governments and Turkish People's demands for more democracy like Europe show that Turkey is ready to share this ideal. The problems between the Community and the Turkey can be solved through a common understanding.

The economic and democratic reforms with Turkey's potential to be a regional power may be positive points to make the European Community to speed up the full membership process. Although the full membership seem to be far a reaching objective, the path that was drawn with the foundation of the Turkey in 1923 seems to continue.

¹⁰⁶ Brigid Laffan.. *Integration and Co-Operation in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.207.

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