

## **The long and longing relations of the EU with its neighbors and the case of Turkey Why the collaboration works but integration does not work?**

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### **Abstract**

*The main purpose of this study is to focus on the economic and political target of the EU towards its neighbor countries, with a special consideration of the case of Turkey. The consideration examines this case from a critical-constructivist point of view. It evaluates these relations from a global and pluralistic perspective and investigates them through comparative analysis. It concludes that supporting economic and political reforms in Turkey and in its hinterlands will bring more stability for the EU as well as for all participating countries. Moreover, economic and political stability can make these countries important partners for the future of the EU and for its neighbor countries.*

**Key Words:** EU, Turkey, Integration, Neighbor, Economic Growth, Cooperation, Immigration, Poverty, FDI, International Trade, Foreign Trade, Economic Theories

### **Theoretical Perspective of This Study**

We consider the relations between EU and its neighbor countries as a positive perspective for the economic and political future of the respective countries and the EU. Within this framework, we investigate why it is important to support these relations through a wide ranging perspective and to study how these relations can be further improved.

Therefore we select different perspectives and harmonize them, which could help us to find concrete steps as well as current gaps in these relations. Moreover these perspectives allow us to make tangible distinctions between various details of this subject.

### **How the Relations between EU and Turkey have been designed**

Table I demonstrates the structure of EU and Turkish relationships, showing how these relations have been planned and implemented in the long run according to the theories which are given in Table.

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**Table I:** The Structure of EU und Turkish Relations According to Different Theories

Targets Theories	Economic	Political	Turkey	EU
Economic Integration	Customs Union / Free Trade		Customs Union	Integration / Cooperation
International Trade	Export Import		Economic Integration	Integration / Cooperation
Location Theory	FDI		FDI	Eco Potential / Benefits
International Relations Theory	Stability / Economic Partner	Reforms / Values of EU	Political Integration	Integration / Cooperation
Development Theory	Stability	Stability	Stability / Integration	Integration / Cooperation

In Table I, these relationships have certain economic and political purposes, and to achieve these aims, strategies have been built with various economic and political instruments. The table can be summarized briefly as follows: The instruments of the economic integration of EU are customs union and free trade. Therefore the EU signed a customs union with Turkey. For the Theory of International Trade, the main elements of economic activities are exports and imports. They have been applied in this study to explain the economic policy of EU towards Turkey. The Location Theory explains the motives behind the inflows and outflows of FDI, as well as the goals and importance of FDI linking countries to one another. The main target of FDI streams is mutual gain. The International Relationships Theory helps to explain the political aspects of these relations. The main objective of the EU here is to maintain Turkey as politically stable neighbor countries. Thus, the EU aims to integrate Turkey into the EU and to support it in becoming a strong, stable political cooperation partner. Both sides can profit from the political values of the EU: democracy, respect for human rights and internal as well as external political stability.

The EU targets the integration of Turkey into its system. Therefore, as a first step, the Economic Integration Theory and the Theory of the Customs Union are applied.

The EU economic policy to integrate Turkey is based on the International Trade Theory. The FDI policy of the EU is based on the Location Theory, the EU political approach towards these countries is based on the International Relations Theory.

The reasons why the EU supports projects and seeks to find associations between these countries are based on the Development Theory, although short term advantages and high costs of these relations also occur.

**Table II:** The Structure of EU und Turkish Relations According to Goals and Benefits

Goals of EU	EU	Turkey
Economic Advantages	X-M	X-M
Economic Advantages	FDI	FDI
Political Advantages	Enlargement	Memberships Process
Economic Integration	Customs Union	Customs Union
Internal Economic/ Political Uniting / Stability	Internal Integration	Memberships Eco/Political Supports
Uniting / Protecting European Economic / Political Area	Economic Priorities	Economic Crises
External Economic / Political Stability	Political Neighbors	Political Problems
Keeping Internal Economic / Political Stability	Fighting Against Illegal Migration	Supporting Turkish Economic And Politic Structure
Extension to Economic /Political Areas	Creating Economic/ Political Potentials	A Member of EU / or a Privileged Partner

Table II demonstrates the goals and benefits of these relations for the EU. From the data in Table II, it can be concluded that the structure of the relationship between the EU and Turkey are based on the following goals and benefits: EU has various economic and political targets.

Economically, the EU aims to be a global “economic power”. Due to this fact, the EU tries to enlarge its export–import and FDI volume by cooperating with Turkey. Export, import and FDI volumes are the instruments to reach a respectable international trade volume with its eastern and southern neighbors.

### **The EU’s Enlargement and Integration Strategy**

Through their process of unification, European countries are trying to create co-operation for developing their relationships with one another and with the rest of the world, not only regionally, but also globally. This means their neighbors' policies and relationships take on a special meaning. In other words, internal and external effects encourage the EU to create relations with other regions and countries.

The fundamental objectives of the EU are to improve the economic and social condition of its member countries citizens. Therefore economic integration has been realized; free movement of goods, services, money and people, the customs union, single market and monetary union. The strategy of the European Union in trying to reach these goals has two main aims. The first one is to complete internal integration in the current member countries with all institutions as well as to create a constructive and expedient growth in its enlargement area, and second to develop their relationship with the rest of the world. For the realization of this second aim, biand multilateral as well as partnership agreements are in power to create regional partnerships as well as global collaborations. Therefore the European Union extension to Turkey and its co-operation with Mediterranean partner countries take on considerable meaning.

### **Economy and International Relations**

The EU is a supranational organization, which based on the integration and collaboration of various countries of the European continent. As we have already mentioned above, the main goal of Integration or cooperation is to secure the economic and political interests of member countries. Peace and stability are the main elements of integration. Economic integration is a term used to describe how different aspects of economic systems are integrated. While the economic union increases, the barriers of trade between

markets decrease. It could be argued that the most integrated economies are the European Union and the Euro zone.

Another significant fact is that, in the globalization process, trade is the main goal of international relations. In the organization of trade processes, economic and political relations play an important role. For that reason cooperation is an obligation. Countries cannot work or trade with each other without peaceful relations.

Gilpin stressed Kant's argument that trade and war cannot be lead with the same country. No country can carry on both at the same time.<sup>2</sup> C. Montesquieu says: "Peace is a consequence of free trade and free trade brings peace"<sup>3</sup>. John S. Mill sees free trade as a guarantee for peace.<sup>4</sup> Following these perspectives, neo-liberals see a solution for all problems in the free trade and market system. The market is also the main theoretical, historical, social, economic and political foundation of neo-liberal policy.<sup>5</sup> For neo-liberals, the free market policy can solve all problems of civilizations. A central question that needs to be addressed in this context is: in which manner can such policy works?

Krugman and Obstfeld consider "international trade...a force not only for prosperity but also for world peace"<sup>6</sup>. The question is here: How fair and realistic are the EU rules of trade for third countries and/or Mediterranean-partners countries?

From these questions, various criticisms arise from many economic and political scientists, which are also brought up for discussion here. Drawing on various works by many economists, the current economic decisions of the European Union are molded by neo-liberal concepts and routed by Krueger and her colleagues.

According to their concept, the only solution for the implementation of growth and the elimination of poverty has to be sought in the regulations of the World Trade Organization, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and their neo-liberal models.

On the other hand, others criticize this view and even hold it to be one of the reasons for continuing inequality and poverty in the world<sup>7</sup>. Following some other arguments, "not only the internal lack of development, but also the effects of colonialism and integration into the world market are causes for

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<sup>2</sup> Gilpin R., *The political economy of international relations*, Princeton, 1987, p.56

<sup>3</sup> Own translation: „Baris serbest ticaretin bir sonucudur ve serbest ticaret baris getirir.”

<sup>4</sup> C. Montesquieu and Mill in: Akman M. Sait, *Ticarette korumaciligin siyasi ekonomisi: liberal bir yaklasim (A liberal point of view on trade protectionism)*, *Yeni Türkiye Dergisi*, Januar-Februar, 1999, Vol:5, No:25, p.12-14 <sup>5</sup> Peters E. D., *Neoliberalismus und Exportorientierte Industrialisierung (Neoliberalism and export oriented industrialization)*, in: Fischer, K., Maral-Hanak, I., Hödl, G., Parnreiter, C. (Hrsg.), *Entwicklung und*

*Unterentwicklung, eine Einführung in Probleme, Theorien und Strategien (Development and underdevelopment, an introduction to issues, theories and strategies)*, Wien, 2004. p.138

<sup>5</sup> Krugman, P., and Obstfeld, M., *International economics, The theory and policy*, Second edition, New York

<sup>6</sup> , p.5, Fischer, K., Hödl, G., Parnreiter, C., „Entwicklung–eine Karotte, viele Esel? (Development-a carrot, many donkeys?)”, in: Fischer, K., Maral-Hanak, I., Hödl, G., Parnreiter, C. (Hrsg.), (Hrsg.), *Entwicklung und*

*Unterentwicklung, eine Einführung in Probleme, Theorien und Strategien*, Wien, 2004. p.15-16

<sup>7</sup> Boratav, K., "Eleştirisel iktisatçıların gözünden: iktisat ve Türkiye, oturma-1/ Ankara-Yuvarlak masa toplantısı" (according to alternative economists; the EU-Turkey relationships), *Iktisat Dergisi (monthly business magazine from Turkey)*, Vol./No. 461-462/ May, June 2005, Istanbul, p.19

underdevelopment.”<sup>8</sup> Some economists criticize the increasing neo-liberal tendencies in the European Union. On the other hand, they also believe that the integration system of the European Union and its policy towards other countries have some advantages for the democratization of world politics and for the implementation of integration policies and for co-operation with other countries.<sup>9</sup>

### **Political Objectives of EU and International Relations**

The EU also operates political maneuvers to enlarge and strengthen its relations with its neighbors and especially with the Turkey. To reach these goals, the EU began the membership process with Turkey as an economic and political partner.

In fact the stability in neighbor countries of EU for the internal economic and political unity and stability as well as for internal integration of its region crucially important. Economic priorities of the EU play an important part in these relations.

Additionally Turkey has a significant advantage in its efforts to build a global and stable economic and political structure. Joining the EU will bring Turkey closer to achieving this goal. Furthermore the economic and political stability is also dependent on the political situation of EU neighbor states.

For that reason, the EU tries to force Turkey to realize political reform for more democracy and minority rights to solve its political problems. However, in the light of most recent developments in Turkey and Middle East region, controversial problems have been arisen and are still to be resolved in the future.

Rationally, for the EU stability in neighborhood relations and other external policies of the Union have special importance. Economic and political instabilities in neighboring countries are of great concern to the EU. Through adapting Copenhagen and Maastricht criteria, the relation between EU and Turkey has already reached a respectable level.

Preserving internal economic and politic stability of the EU also depends partly on the situation of its neighbor countries. Therefore, the EU tries to regulate immigration into EU through the framework of “Fighting against illegal migration”.

Thus, the EU tries to develop relations with Turkey according to European values and political norms as well as to support and cooperate with other partner countries to prevent irregular migration into the EU and to maintain Border Security of the EU.

Accordingly, the EU tries to achieve all above mentioned aims and to propagate the general goal, “Extension to economic/political areas and creating economic/political potentials”. To reach these motivations, the EU pursues “A member of EU or a Privileged Partner“ process with Turkey and a “Ring of Friends” process with other partner countries.

As a result, in order to maintain internal and external stability in the EU, Union members have to fight against so called illegal migration and try to secure the Union's borders. To reach these targets, the EU tries to build economic and political agreements, which are based on the Union values and policy with these countries.

Finally, the EU has the economic and political potential to reach all these targets and to extend its economic and political area of influence.

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<sup>8</sup> Kolland, F., „Zwischen Fortschrittsoptimismus und kritischer Gesellschaftsanalyse, die klassischen Entwicklungstheorien (Between optimism and critical analysis of society, the classical theories of development)“, in: Fischer, K., Maral-Hanak, I., Hödl, G., Parnreiter, C. (Hrsg.), *Entwicklung und Unterentwicklung, eine Einführung in Probleme, Theorien und Strategien (Development and underdevelopment, an introduction to issues, theories and strategies )*, Wien, 2004.p.95

<sup>9</sup> Altvater, E., “Görüs: Avrupa Islam kültürüne çok sey borclu” (View: Europa to owe many things to the islamic culture), *Iktisat Dergisi* (monthly business magazine from Turkey), Vol./No.454, October 2004,p.39

In this sense, the EU conducts accession negotiations with Turkey to establish a stable and sustainable partnership and obviously it will attempt to reach the ultimate goals. Evidently it will take a long and indeterminate time.

On the other side, the admission process of a country in the EU does not need a certain waiting time, but depends on the fulfillment of the Copenhagen, Maastricht and other economic and political norms and conditions of EU regulations. Turkey is waiting to become a member of EU for long time.

However, this will further depend on how the country overcomes the obstacles of the membership process. These obstacles are seemingly not as easy as they were for other candidate countries. The Turkish geographic position includes many advantages; however, for membership into EU it apparently presents some disadvantages, too, such as problems on the borders of Turkey with Iran, Iraq, Syria, hence immigrations streams from these countries etc. The fact is that the external economic and political problems affect the Turkish economy. Consequently, economic growth and recession often depend on the national and global economic and political developments in the countries around Turkey. Therefore, Turkey wants to be a part of the EU in order to overcome these external challenges.

**Table III:** Waiting Times of Selected the EU Members and Applicants

	Date of Application	Date of Admission	Waiting Time/years
Greece	1959 respectively 1975	1981	22 or 6
United Kingdom	1961	1973	12
Denmark	1961	1973	12
Bulgaria	1995	2007	12
Romania	1995	2007	12
Hungary	1994	2004	10
Poland	1994	2004	10
Portugal	1977	1986	9
Spain	1977	1986	9
Austria	1989	1995	6
Sweden	1991	1995	4
Finland	1992	1995	3
Turkey	1959 respectively 1987	Negotiating	Open

Source: Armagan Emre Cakir (Editor), Fifty Years of EU-Turkey Relations, a Sisyphean Story, New York, 2011, p.2

### **Current conjuncture forces EU to be an active part of Globalization**

The increasing tendency of globalization in the economic and political world of today is yet another motive for the EU to develop its relationship with Turkey and its other neighbor countries. Globalization encourages the EU to act not only inside but also outside the Union's economic and political area. While these countries are neighbors of the EU, cooperation with them differs greatly.

The main objective of the EU is to modernize its neighbor countries in order to develop economic and political relations with them. Especially, the Nord African Mediterranean countries suffer under lack of economic and political structure as well as infrastructural problems. Primarily, they have problems in connection with poverty and immigration.

It should be emphasized that poverty has many dimensions: food, health, water, education and the resources to survive and secure a better life<sup>10</sup>. These countries suffer under all of these problems at the same time. According to modernization theorists, poorer nations are poor because they have deficiencies in capital, technology, and modern social organization and values<sup>11</sup>.

The first goal of the EU is to create stability in these countries. Political and economic stability may encourage economic growth and modernization. Another aim of the EU is to maintain its historical relations with these countries. The end of World War II and the end of colonization ushered in a new era of globalization. The old powers were willing to use international technical and financial assistance to control the new situation<sup>12</sup>.

In the globalization practice, the relation between social and economic change is the main challenge of every country. This challenge takes an important place in EU relationships with its neighbors and other countries. In fact, the EU members have become a de facto board of management for the world economy, protecting their interests and imposing their will on the south<sup>13</sup>. The question is how the tension between globalization and the pressures for socialization of risk can be eased.

Globalization and modernizing, in particular, the integration of low-wage economies into the global economy through direct investment and trade, is leading to downward pressure on wages, social protection, and environmental standards.

This process has many consequences. The challenge is to find more satisfactory ways in which mainstream politicians can respond to the undertow of politics and concern about the loss of social cohesion and identity without undermining the quest for global economic rules and disciplines.

Increasing globalization forces countries to cooperate with each other and expand their economic and political relationships in their own region. The world is becoming a global market. Given this situation, the European Union's Neighborhood Policy takes a place in the foreground, both in its constitution<sup>14</sup> as well as in its external relations. Although the EU Constitution is not yet in force, in principle, the EU Commission makes its decisions in accordance with the EU Constitution.

The following article of the Constitution's draft clearly defines and stresses the EU Neighborhood Policy and its importance in these relationships. These relationships have been annotated in Article I-57<sup>15</sup> along

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<sup>10</sup> Pronk, Jan, Collateral damage or calculated default? The millennium development goals and the politics of globalisation, in: Globalisation, Poverty and Conflict, Edit by, Max Spoor, London, 2004, p.24

<sup>11</sup> Hite Amy Bellone Roberts, J. Timmons, Development and Globalization: Recurring Themes, in: The Globalization and Development, Oxford, 2007, p.8.

<sup>12</sup> Pronk, Jan, Collateral Damage or Calculated Default? The Millennium Development Goals and the Politics of Globalisation, in: Globalisation, Poverty and Conflict, Edit:Max Spoor, London, 2004, p.17

<sup>13</sup> Mc Michael Philip, Globalization: Myths and Realities (1996), in: The Globalization and Development, Oxford, 2007, p. 225

<sup>14</sup> Draft treaty establishing a constitution for Europe, as approved by the Intergovernmental Conference on 18 June 2004. European Communities, 2004, Luxembourg.

<sup>15</sup> Article I-57, "The Union and its neighbours":

- 1) The Union shall develop a special relationship with neighbouring countries, aiming to establish an area of prosperity and good neighbourliness, founded on the values of the Union and characterised by close and peaceful relations based on cooperation.
- 2) For the purposes of paragraph 1, the Union may conclude specific agreements with the countries concerned. These agreements may contain reciprocal rights and obligations as well as the possibility of undertaking activities jointly. Their implementation shall be the subject of periodic consultation.

with the Union's Neighborhood Policy, in Article III the importance and objectives of the EU external relations and in articles-III-321 under the section Humanitarian aid as humanitarian and developments. The ultimate objective of the EU in developing these relations is to be an influential “global player” economically and politically. Otherwise, the EU cannot defend its current advantageous position against global pressure.

### **The Long and Longing Relations between EU and Turkey**

The relations between Turkey and European countries have a long and historical background. However, after the Second World War the relationship between European countries and Turkey entered a new period. This period was based on increasing economic and political cooperation. After the founding of EU, this cooperation aimed at integrating Turkey into the EU. After the establishment of the EEC, Turkey applied to be a close partner of the European economic and political integration area, because the modern republic of Turkey was west-oriented and because of Turkish rivalry with Greece.

Comparing Turkey with other the Mediterranean countries, the year 1995, when Turkey took concrete steps in its relations with the European Union, can be accepted as the turning point. The establishment of the Mediterranean Partnerships through the Barcelona process and the decision for the customs union with Turkey were also turning points in these relations. Turkey had already been geographically, economically and politically an important topic for the European Union for a long time. After 1995, Turkish economic and political views were oriented more strongly towards the European Union. The Mediterranean partnership has become a controversial topic for the economic and political goals of the European Union. Turkey is also a Mediterranean country and has in common with those countries much of their economic, cultural, political and historical background.

Here, both the importance of the European Union for Turkey and that of Turkey for the European Union are remarkable. Furthermore, different indicators of Turkey give us more information on economic and political relations with the European Union. This means they describe the main character of the economic and political views of the focused countries. These are; macroeconomic performances, foreign trade and FDI performance and their political and economic performance in comparison with the EU and with one another. Moreover agreements signed between the EU and Turkey contribute more progress to these relations. For example, the Ankara Agreement is an important turning point in Turkish and EU relations.

### **The Motives behind the Turkish-EU Relationships**

The International as well as interregional relations are based on the mutual economic and political interests of countries. According to Barry Buzan, “only military security is not enough for keeping stability. The political, economic, social and environment security have the same importance for stability in a country.”<sup>16</sup> The membership of Turkey takes up a central place in this case. Therefore the first target of the EU is to keep Turkey as part of the Western alliance<sup>17</sup>. For that reason EU relations with Turkey have progressed until now, although with many problems.

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<sup>16</sup> Buzan Barry, *People, states and fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, London, 1991, p.126

<sup>17</sup> Zucconi Mario, *The United States and Europe's Turkish Connection: Europe's Turn to Manage it*, in: *European Union and Turkey: Reflections on the Prospects for Membership*, Edit. Neuwahl Nanette, Kabaalioglu Haluk, Marmara University Publications, No:730, Istanbul, 2006, p.144

Turkey's geopolitical location is suitable to establish the country as a pivotal land as well a transit passageway for international oil and gas trade, passing through the "Eurasia energy corridor". Turkey's accession would increase economic, political and even cultural diversity within the EU, which might cause its structure and common policies to become more heterogeneous and multicultural.<sup>18</sup> Turkey's role is quite crucial in the promotion of stability, primarily because Turkey is one of the few countries in its region with long-term ties to the West and with a relatively stable system in comparison to the rest of the region<sup>19</sup>.

Turkey's main priority was integration into the European system by adapting to its norms, economic and political competences, values and by taking part in its institutions. Furthermore, EU target is to integrate Turkey into its system in light of "United in diversity"<sup>20</sup>

Turkey's membership in the EU became a matter of the effectiveness of negotiations and progress in the accession process. According to Brewin the Membership of Turkey in the EU is just a question of time<sup>21</sup>.

The following chronology supports Brewin's point of view:

- The Treaty of Rome entitled "any European country" to apply to be a member of the Union.
- The treaty of Ankara in 1963 promises that the question of membership would be considered when Turkey were in a position to fully meet the obligations of treaty of Rom.
- The Copenhagen summit of December 2002 promised that negotiations would be opened "without delay" once Turkey, like other candidates who acceded in May 2004, had sufficiently met the political criteria.
- Membership negotiations were started on 3 October 2005 and some chapters of the negotiation process have already have been completed with success.

Due to the membership process of Turkey into the EU, the Turkish government has made the membership process its first priority. In the course of time, Turkish governments have put EU membership criteria into their governmental programs. The priority always was to reach European standards politically as well as economically.

The following preferences have been part of the policy of the Turkish governments since the beginning of the membership process:<sup>22</sup>

- Speeding the membership of Turkey into EU
- Realizing political and economic reforms to reach EU membership criteria
- Following the liberal economic policy and privatization of public sectors
- Reaching the economic and political standards of the EU
- Building a stable and competitive economic structure.

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<sup>18</sup> Vassalio Francesca, Arikan Harun, Turkey's EU Membership: Implications for the Futur Direction of the Integration Process, in: European Union and Turkey: Reflections on the Prospects for Membership, Edit. Neuwahl Nanette, Kabaalioglu Haluk, Marmara University Publications, No:730, Istanbul, 2006, p.80

<sup>19</sup> Eralp Atila, Turkey in the Enlargement Progress: From Luxembourg to Helsinki, Perception, Vol.5, No:2, 2000, [www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/V-2/eralp.html/10.06.2009](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/V-2/eralp.html/10.06.2009)

<sup>20</sup> Dobson Lynn, United in diversity? Turkey, European Union, and Political Community, in: Nanette Neuwahl and Haluk Kabaalioglu, eds, European Union and Turkey: Reflections on the Prospects for Membership, Istanbul: Turkish European Community Studies Association, 2006, p.198

<sup>21</sup> Brewin Christopher, Turkey's Right to Date, Marmara University Journal of European Studies, Volume: 12, No: 1-2, Istanbul, 2004, p.208

<sup>22</sup> 59. Hükümet Programı, Erdogan Hükümeti, 18 Mart 2002 (The Program of Erdogan's Government, 18 March 2002), <http://www.belgenet.com/hukumet/program/59-1.html/21.06.2007>

Since the signing of the Ankara Agreement in 1963, all Turkish governments regardless of their political party took over the mentioned preferences in their programs. As a consequence of these efforts, Turkey was able to become a candidate and finally actually begin negotiations for the entry into the EU.

### **The Meaning of Hinterlands for the EU**

In international relationships, having geographic borders with a country is not enough for good cooperation. A long-lasting cooperation in economic and political relations can increase the advantages of neighborhood. Thus, the Barcelona process targets relations based on this approach.

Some authors argue that the EU's cooperation with Mediterranean countries was based on purely economic interests. Redak defined this cooperation in line with Fordism: "Fordism was the dominant influence in governments and their demand policy was controlled by capital. International relations were designed in the light of national targets."<sup>23</sup> Bohn goes a step further and defines this collaboration as an attempt to create cross-border economic and geographic areas: "Every country possesses central development centers and is able to create new ones, both on its own territory and outside its borders.

The economic spaces and geographical areas of the center countries depend on the allied countries. Underlining the concept of development is a complex network of producers, suppliers, customers and consumers, around which one or more industrial complexes are grouped."<sup>24</sup> This point of view is also supported by many other experts: "The central capitalism tries to find more capital and participation in the periphery, not only in order to found outlets, but to produce even larger quantities at lower prices."<sup>25</sup>

Not only EU countries, but also Turkey and many other countries support these relationships because they also correspond to their interests. "Turkey supports the Barcelona process because it believes that the establishment of peace and security in the Mediterranean is necessary for the development and progress of the region and also because a durable political stability could be established through economic and financial cooperation."<sup>26</sup>

All emphasize the fact that EU relations with Turkey and the Mediterranean countries are useful and necessary for many different reasons. As a member candidate as well as neighbor of the EU, Turkey is a transit path for migration into the EU. While migration from Africa uses Morocco's borders to land in EU countries, most migration from Asia uses Turkey as a transit path to reach EU territory (See Table 47).

However, in comparison to Turkish geographical and population data the economic assistance by the EU for the accession process of Turkey has not been sufficient enough. Also, if we compare it with the amount of total financial support from the EU to Turkey, which is 6 billion Euros, the EU's pre-accession assistance to Spain was around 110 billion Euro and to Greece 84 billion Euro. If Turkey received the same kind of financial support as Spain and Greece, its integration into the EU would be greatly accelerated.

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<sup>23</sup> Redak Vanessa, Akkumulationsregime des Vermögensbesitzes: People's Capitalism? In: Ulrich Brand/Werner

Raza (Hrsg.), *Fit für den Postfordismus? Theoretisch-Politische Perspektiven des Regulationsansatzes*, Münster, 2003, p.76

<sup>24</sup> Bohn Michaela, *Die Analyse peripherer Gesellschaften; Beiträge und Grenzen der „Grenobler Schule“* In:

Ulrich Brand/Werner Raza (Hrsg.), *Fit für den Postfordismus? Theoretisch-Politische Perspektiven des*

*Regulationsansatzes*, Münster, 2003, p.114-117

<sup>25</sup> Waringo K., *Die Internationalisierung der Produktion in der Französischen Regulationstheorie (The internationalization of production in the France regulation theory)*, Frankfurt, 1998, p.156

<sup>26</sup> Tashan S., *Turkish Stratejik Perspektiv on Mediterranean Security*, Ankara, 2006, p.6

The political crisis between Greece and Turkey due to the Cyprus conflict significantly affected the financial assistance to Turkey. As an EU member, Greece used its veto right to prevent financial aid to Turkey several times.

### **Development Assistance Policy of the EU towards its Neighbor Countries**

The development aid policy of the EU and its financial instruments are the most important components of its foreign policy towards third countries. In comparison with the EU, the

USA's foreign policy, economically and politically, is more influential and active than that of the EU.

In comparison to the USA, the EU provides nearly 50% of all civilian development aid of world. The USA spends only 0.1% of its gross national income (GNI) for foreign aid. On the other hand, the amount of the EU's foreign aid is three times higher than USA aid. The EU also provides 47% of all humanitarian aid, whereas the USA only provides 36%. In 2002, EU humanitarian aid amounted to nearly 1.2 billion Euros.<sup>27</sup>

However, according to the Eurostat calculations, the EU-27 spends on average only 0.4% of their gross national income (GNI) for foreign aid. The UN's level of aid target is 0.7% of donors' GNI.

This target is reached or exceeded only by very few EU members (Sweden, Luxembourg, Denmark and Holland). While Turkish foreign aid is around 0.1% of its GNI. It projected that, this ratio in Morocco is negligibly low. Significantly, Norway is the only non-EU member whose development assistance ratio is around 1% of its GNI.

Assistance from EU-15 shows an increasing trend; however there is continued inequality in income and quantity of financial assistances. The help of the EU-15 is increasing, but at the same time the negative economic differences between the EU and developing countries are also increasing.

### **The EU Population Change and Migration Policy in Comparison**

The growth rate in the population alone is a challenge, and it has many dimensions. While developed countries suffer under meager population growth, developing countries have an economic and social dilemma because of high population growth. More population means more challenges for them. They do not dispose of enough resources for this surplus population. High and low population growths spark a circle of problems and have many social, political and economic dimensions. Furthermore the main components that affect the population structure are births, life expectancy, death and immigration from third countries. The consequences of these challenges affect the economic as well as the political structure of societies and countries, e.g. unemployment and immigration.

Since most members of the European Union suffer under low population growth, they need regular migration from developing countries to adjust or balance their population structure. According to EUROSTAT calculations, the world population in 2050 will have risen from currently a 6,907 billion people to 9,191 billion people. The world population will be about 2,084 billion more than today. In contrast, the EU-27 population will shrink. While the EU-27 population in 2010 was around 498 million people, by 2050 it will fall to 494 million.<sup>28</sup> The EU population decline could be explained as follows: the economic and social prosperity and the freedom of individuals are higher in a country in which birth rates are declining. This factor is a valid reason for attempts in the EU to control its borders more strictly, so that immigration flows in the EU area can be reduced. People, who succeed in coming into the EU despite these obstacles, will enjoy more economic and individual freedom, so that the birth rates of people with immigrant backgrounds could also decline in the future. We could conclude that migration plays a significant role for balancing and achieving positive population changes in the EU.

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<sup>27</sup> Rifkin C., *Der Europäischen Traum, die Vision einer leisen Supermacht (The European Dream)*, Frankfurt, 2004, p.327

<sup>28</sup> Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Eurostat Yearbook 2009, p.132

## Résumé

Our analysis revealed both similarities and differences stray of EU as well as the strategy of Turkey in their long and historical relations. These results show a notable parallel between the economic and political priorities of the EU and Turkey.

Furthermore, our findings strongly support the view that after the Second World War, the world intensified efforts for regional integration and adaptation to the global world very significantly. This regional cooperation and global competition has been strengthened by the EU through its integration projects, with the creation of the internal market and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, the creation of a common currency and a far reaching coordination of foreign and security policies.

In addition to its internal integration, the EU emphasized intercontinental relations. In addressing these objectives, the EU has launched a variety of projects with Turkey and defined its objectives. Another one of the main items of these projects is the MEDA program and its projects.

The EU neighborhood policy towards Turkey and Mediterranean countries is of great importance for the economic and political future of the European Union.

Therefore it's worthwhile to build collaboration through integration and cooperation policy with neighbor countries of the EU.

Some current projects with Turkey and other Mediterranean countries have been realized, but are not complete enough for the future of this intercontinental cooperation. They need to be deepened and expanded. Otherwise many of these projects may have only short-term results and complaints may arise that such projects are only a waste of time.

It can be said that the EU's internal integration progress has been more concrete. Whereas with Turkey and Mediterranean countries, only so-called improvement and rehabilitation programs have been launched. There is no guarantee that these countries will achieve EU levels in the future or improve almost to EU standards.

These countries must develop themselves as a regional entity and study to cooperate with one another in order to be able to familiarize themselves with the EU as strong partners only if these goals can be achieved, we can speak of good cooperation, and both sides can benefit from it economically and politically.

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