

DOI: 10.31376/2411-5177-2019-7-67-74

УДК 94(560) «1963/1987»: 061.1 EC

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**TURKEY–EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY RELATIONS
FROM THE ANKARA AGREEMENT SIGNING
TO THE TURKEY’S APPLICATION FOR EU MEMBERSHIP**

The article talks about the development of relations between Turkey and the European Economic Community during the period from the signing of the Association Agreement in Ankara in 1963 until Turkey submitted an application for joining the European communities in 1987. The authors consider the phased development of economic relations, successes and obstacles in the implementation of Ankara agreement. It is proved that in the relations of Turkey with the EEC during the study period there is a political will to cooperate and constant steps towards each other.

Keywords: Ankara Association Agreement, European Economic Community, Turkey, Common Market, Customs Union, exports, integration.

The EU’s impact is significant in such countries as Turkey which has been an Associate Member of the EEC/EU since 1963, a candidate country since 1999 and an acceding country since 2005. It is through these institutional ties and mechanisms that the EU has become an actor on its own right in Turkish politics impacting its domestic policies as well as foreign policy formulations [1, p. 12].

The origins of movements towards united Europe are historically very old. Turkey was always critical to the Western countries at the first years after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923. Like the experience of the division of the Ottoman Empire basing on religious and ethnic reasons by the West, the criteria set by the European Union for Turkey's accession were met by suspicion by Turkish politicians in recent years [2, p. 51]. However, at the same time, Atatürk – the founder of the Turkish Republic – pointed out the West as the civilizational model for Turkey in the transformation of the country. Within this situation, during the Second World War, Turkish foreign policy was to "play one power off against another" according to William Hale [3, p. 21]. In that respect, the year 1946 is a major turning point in Turkey's modern political and economic development.

In 1946, Turkey decisively entered into the Western camp as part of the strategic alliance against Communism, and also at the same year Turkey started the multiparty system in domestic politics. Also, here it is important to notice that Turkey's inclusion in the Marshall Plan is an important indicator that Turkey is considered as a part of the Western camp. Also, just one week after the declaration by Robert Schuman for a united Europe, Turkey held the first free and fair elections on May 14, 1950. Within the Cold War framework, the formulation of Turkish foreign policy turned out to be emphasizing the strategic importance of Turkey in the region rather than actively participating in the East-West conflict. Also, for Turkey, good relations with the Western Europeans meant good relations with the United States (US), mainly because they were partners of the US, rather than independent political actors as they had been before the Second World War [3, p. 23].

In the late 1950s, the United States lost its dominant position in relations with Turkey. Instead, Western European states support Turkey's interest in European integration. The deteriorating economic situation in the country has pushed for cooperation with the European Economic Community (EEC), while the Community itself has viewed Turkey as a useful link to the Middle East.

On July 31, 1959 the Adnan Menderes’ government in accordance with Article 238 of the 1957 Treaty of Rome filed an official application for "associate membership" with the EEC [4]. This request was considered at a meeting of the EEC Council of Ministers in Brussels on September 11, 1959 [5]. The association agreement within the common market made it possible to increase the Turkish goods’

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export to Europe, thereby giving the inflow of foreign currency to finance the economic development of the country. The EEC was interested in Turkey as a supplier of raw materials and agricultural products as well as labor force.

In September 1959, the European Commission (EC) began the first phase of preparatory negotiations, which began on September 28, 1959 and lasted until December 2. The focus was on the establishment of Turkey's Customs Union with the EEC. The second stage of the negotiations began on May 11, 1960, but it was accompanied by a series of breaks and was compounded by both economic issues and the political crisis in Turkey, which ended with the death of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. So the negotiation process was frozen [4].

On August 24, 1961, the Turkish military government sent to the EEC a memorandum protesting the signing of the Association Agreement with Greece and insisting on a similar agreement, including the Customs Union [6, p. 54]. When Turkey's civilian government came to power in November 1962, it again filed a similar memorandum. The new government, adopting a new economic development strategy, identified the main priority of the country's integration with the Common Market. Negotiations resumed on June 2, 1962, mainly at the insistence of Germany, despite numerous controversies in the EEC regarding the form of cooperation with Turkey. Germany and the Netherlands were in favor of a Customs Union, while France and Italy opted for a limited trade agreement [6, p. 55].

Finally, on 12 September 1963, the Ankara Association Agreement between Turkey and the European Communities was signed on the basis of Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome, which entered into force on 1 December 1964. At the same time, the First Financial Protocol was signed, under which the European Investment Bank (EIB) provided ECU² 175 million at 3% per annum for Turkey's economic development [7].

The purpose of the Ankara Agreement was to promote a permanent and sustainable strengthening of trade and economic relations between Turkey and the Community. The EEC has committed itself to ensuring the rapid development of Turkey's economy and improving the living conditions of the Turkish people [8], including the free movement of labor force. At the same time, the Ankara agreement did not envisage integration of Turkey into the EU in the medium term. According to the Protocol No 1 (Provisional Protocol) the Agreement defined three stages: preparatory, transitional and final. The EEC formulated its position on the prospect of Turkey's accession. Only if Turkey fully fulfills its obligations of this agreement this possibility will be considered [8].

The first phase was set for a period of 5 years, during which time Turkey had to strengthen its economy by bringing it closer to EEC standards. During this time, it envisaged a gradual reduction of tariff quotas and the granting of preferences for a number of agricultural products of Turkish exports, such as raw tobacco, raisins, figs, hazelnuts [7, p. 9].

The transition phase was to bring Turkey closer the EEC's economic and fiscal policy. During this time, Turkey had to accept a single external tariff of the Community [7, p. 9]. At the final stage, it was planned to create a customs union with economic policy coordination and complete liberalization of imports of EEC goods, as well as to adopt the migration rules for Turkish labor and capital [7, p. 10].

The establishment of bilateral association bodies was envisaged to institutionalize relations between Turkey and the EEC. The legislative basis for decision-making within the joint activity of the parties was the Council of Association, which was to guarantee the implementation and development of the association [7, p. 8]. It was an intergovernmental body composed of representatives of the EC, the Council of Ministers of the EEC (CM) and the governments of the Member States of the EEC and members of the Turkish government. The Council made unanimous decisions, but could only make recommendations. An advisory function was performed by a Parliamentary Committee, consisting of 36 members of the European Parliament (EP) and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) (18 each), for democratic control over the development of the association.

Turkey's weak economic development has not hindered the fulfillment of Community customs and commercial obligations. The EEC provided financial assistance to the Turkish economy, but it was

² ECU – European Currency Unit

insufficient. In 1964 and 1967, tariffs on nineteen Turkish export goods were introduced, including some fisheries and textiles. Turkey's share of exports to the EEC has increased by 9.8% in the first 10 years since the signing of the Agreement, but Turkey's foreign trade still has a negative balance. Turkey managed to overcome the negative balance due to foreign currency transfers of workers. However, the financial injections of the EEC into the economy of Turkey provided for in the financial protocol were insufficient for the country's needs. On the whole, the preparatory stage was successful in view of increasing ties in all spheres of trade and economic cooperation, increasing foreign investment, increasing the demand for Turkish labor, which was close to European standards in quality [7, p. 10]

On May 16, 1967, Turkey applied to move to the next stage of relations. This was an auspicious moment, as European economies were growing rapidly and needed a foreign labor force. Turkey sought to increase the flow of European capital, to seize new markets for light industry products, competing with Greece.

From February 6, 1969, to November 19, 1970, negotiations were held on the Additional Protocol to clarify the terms and conditions for the transition. On 23 November 1970, an Additional Protocol was signed in Brussels, which entered into force on 1 January 1973³. The transitional stage was regarded as a period of preparation for the free movement of industrial goods, labor force, services, capital between the EEC and Turkey, approximation of the agricultural and financial policies to the EEC standards for the purpose of creating a Custom union [7, p. 85].

At this stage, it was planned to gradually reduce and abolish restrictions on imports of EEC goods from the EEC for 12 years. For the Turkish industry, the transition period was 22 years. In the field of agricultural imports for Turkey, preferences and tariff reductions of 90% of Turkish exports have been gradually established over 22 years. Free movement of labor force was to be gradually realized from December 1976 to December 1986 [7, p. 90].

Compared to the preparatory phase, the implementation of the transitional phase has encountered a number of political and economic obstacles.

A new government coalition in Turkey led by National Salvation Party member Bülent Ecevit, had a hostile position to the Additional Protocol. Together with the far-right Islamists and the Alparslan Türkeş' Nationalist Movement Party, the coalition blocked the development of relations with the EEC [6, p. 59].

The Turkish intervention in Cyprus on July 3, 1974, brought significant changes in relations with the EEC. Turkish troops seized the northern part of the island under the pretext of protecting Cypriot Turks from Cypriot Greeks over the creation of an alliance between Cyprus and Greece [9]. In 1975, the head of the new Greek government, Konstantinos Karamanlis, applied for Greece's accession to the EEC to curb the security threat from Turkey. Despite the negative conclusions of the European Commission, the European Council decided to open negotiations on Greece's accession to the EEC to strengthen the democratic regime in Greece.

The oil crisis of 1973 caused the instability of the world economy, the collapse of national currencies and inflation. It has become another important factor in the deterioration of the EEC and Turkey. EEC suspended imports of Turkish products and restricted the entry of Turkish workers. Some Community countries have even introduced a visa regime. As a result, Turkey's foreign debt has grown.

The new political elite, which came to power in Turkey, sought to make Turkey self-sufficient in the economic sphere, therefore pursuing a policy of import substitution rather than trade liberalization as a commitment of the Ankara Agreement. They slowed down the pace of integration of the Turkish industry into the EEC, called for amendments to the Additional Protocol and to exclude from it the prospect of joining the Customs Union [6, p. 60]. In September 1975, the European Parliament expressed its disappointment with the practical results of negotiations between representatives of the two tumors in Cyprus. An increase in the balance of payments deficit in Turkey was also noted against the background of the overall development of trade with the EEC. In 1975, the balance of payments deficit amounted to \$ 1.7 billion. The EP welcomed the start of negotiations to discuss the delimitation

³ (Second) Financial Protocol (signed on 23.11.1970; entry into force on 1.1.1973) (OJ L 293, 29.12.1972)

of the continental shelf and the resumption of air services on the Aegean Sea by the Turkish and Greek Governments, and called for the expansion of economic cooperation between Turkey and the Community, which would bring Turkey closer to the EU [6, p. 61].

On December 25, 1976, the Turkish government suspended its trade obligations under the Additional Protocol on Customs Tariff Reduction (influenced by the Nationalist Movement Party and the National Salvation Party). Shortly after, in 1977, tax and tariff reform was halted. In 1978, the EEC introduced quantitative restrictions on Turkish cotton and textiles, which reduced the flow of currency to the country [11].

On January 1, 1978, Turkey almost completely refused to comply with the Additional Protocol, explaining it as an economic crisis. On October 9, 1978, the Turkish government requested a 5-year deferral of trade obligations and requested a loan of \$ 8.1 billion. The EEC refused to provide such funds and froze its commitments for a five years period. This difficult balance of payments situation has led to a deep economic crisis, which Turkey has been trying to overcome by taking short-term loans to the EEC. For the five years 1973 to 1978, Turkey's foreign debt has increased by more than \$ 10 billion [6, p. 62].

In November 1979, the Süleyman Demirel government again came to power in Turkey, the first step of which was to renew the Association. The Turkish authorities were convinced that it was necessary to apply for accession to the EEC during its preparation for the second wave of enlargement. It reasonably understood that the large number of problems related to the integration of Greece, Spain and Portugal would for a long time reject the possibility of new candidates.

During the first half of 1980, the Turkish government implemented a series of measures to stabilize its economy, including abandoning the closed economy principle. The Association Council has made a number of decisions on economic co-operation, as well as on the free movement of labor and social security⁴ [12, p. 169]. However, the military regime, which came to power in Turkey on September 11, 1980 as a result of the military coup d'état headed Kenan Evren, again blocked the integration process. Democracy and human rights in Turkey have now become a major issue for the EEC. On September 18, 1980, the European Parliament adopted a resolution stating that respect for human rights in Turkey was a prerequisite for the further fulfillment of the association conditions [13].

The Association Council called for increased Community involvement in the development of Turkish infrastructure, for meetings between representatives of the Turkish and Community industry, for the development of rural areas and for the improvement of the agriculture structure [12, p. 171]. However, under the influence of the European Socialists and Liberals, the European Parliament held the view of suspending the Association Agreement. As a result, the EP approved a resolution of April 10, 1981 calling on Ankara to restore democratic institutions within two months [14, p. 302]. At that time, all EEC institutions took a firm stance on Turkey, so Turkey found itself in political isolation. After Greece joined the EEC on January 1, 1981, the situation worsened. It set out conditions for renewed relations, in particular, the evacuation of Turkish troops from Cyprus and the rejection of aggressive policies towards neighboring countries.

At the end of 1981, a new crisis in Turkey's relations with the Community began, which continued until the fall of the military regime. The reason was Turkey's failure to fulfill its promised measures to restore democracy. The ban on political parties and the arrest of former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit have caused condemnation by the European Commission and freezing of loans under the Fourth Financial Protocol [15, p. 263].

Turkey's new Constitution, adopted by the military in 1982, excluded a number of liberal-democratic European principles. This became an additional obstacle to Turkey's integration into the EEC. In 1983, stagnation in relations between Turkey and the Community was caused not only by the situation in Turkey itself, but also by strained relations with Greece. On November 15, 1983, the Turkish

⁴ DECISION No 3/80 THE ASSOCIATION COUNCIL of 19 September 1980 on the application of the social security schemes of the Member States of the European Communities to Turkish workers and members of their families

Republic of Northern Cyprus proclaimed independence recognized only by Turkey, while the EEC and the UN emphasized the integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus.

Even after the 1983 parliamentary elections in Turkey, the Community countries did not rush to believe in the beginning of the Turkish society democratization. On October 9, 1985, the EP drawn up a report on human rights abuses in Turkey [16]. After Spain and Portugal entry into the EEC on January 1, 1986, the conditions for Turkish goods exporting became even worse. Competition in agriculture with the second and third enlargements' countries intensified. Turkey's labor market suffered, as Portugal offered powerful flows of its labor force.

After a six-year hiatus, in November 1986, a meeting of the Turkey–EEC Association Council took place, reflecting some warming in relations between the parties. A number of countries have withdrawn allegations of human rights violations against Turkey. But the EEC did not grant the right to free movement of labor from Turkey, which caused dissatisfaction in Turkey [12].

For its part, Turkey did not comply with the timetable for eliminating quantitative restrictions under the Additional Protocol. As of 1985, the Community duty on industrial products was reduced by 20% instead of the complete elimination of duties. It was only in early 1989 that Turkey was able to reduce its duty by another 20%. In 1989, thanks to the promotion of Turkish exports by the EEC, Turkey's foreign trade with the countries of the Community increased by \$ 7.5 billion [12].

The economic reforms of progressive Prime Minister Turgut Özal (after the 1983 parliamentary elections) and the modernization of the Turkish industry required deeper integration into the EEC. Therefore, on April 14, 1987, Turkey submitted formal applications for accession to the three European Communities⁵ [17], which was a surprise to the Community. In accordance with the procedure, the European Council asked the EC to formulate an opinion. Obviously the EEC was not ready for Turkey's application, so the EC has been preparing the report for quite a long time – 2.5 years [18, p. 2].

On December 20, 1989, the EC published its Opinion “in response to Turkey’s application for accession to the European Communities submitted on 14 April 1987, the European Commission delivers a negative opinion on the opening of accession negotiations, citing both economic and political reasons on Turkey's application for accession to the Community” [19]. The main idea of this report was that the application was not made at the right time, because the EEC is making every effort to implement the Single European Act (signed in 1986) on the establishment of the European Union. Starting negotiations with any country in the near term is inappropriate due to the complexities of the transition period.

The EC’s Opinion contained provisions on the economic and political situation in Turkey. It indicated that despite the positive changes resulting from reforms and elections, the country is not yet ready to overcome the difficulties of the accession process. The Commission also noted that Turkey had not reached the level of a European democratic society in the field of human rights protection and respect for national minorities. The contradictions between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus have also been taken into account.

However, the Commission stressed that the Community is interested in deepening its relations with Turkey and is ready to help it complete political and economic modernization. The additional report contained a comparative analysis of the development of the Turkish economy with the economies of Greece, Spain and Portugal. The report highlighted the positive trends in the Turkish economy, rapid GDP growth, increased exports and improved infrastructure. At the same time, the Commission noted such negative phenomena as high levels of protectionism in industry, low levels of social protection, structural differences in agriculture and industry. The European Council endorsed the EC's recommendations and requested that it develop proposals to strengthen relations with Turkey, as well as to create new instruments for Turkey's accession to the EU. As a result, on 7 February 1990, the Commission developed recommendations proposing a list of cooperation measures with Turkey, mainly on the establishment of the Customs Union in 1995 [20]. European Council did not adopt this document due to the Greece’ negative position.

⁵ European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and European Economic Community

Therefore, Turkey's application was not granted but at the same time was not rejected. This situation reflected the fluctuations of the Community's Member States regarding Turkey's participation in it. Turkey was disappointed by the European Community's decision to postpone membership for an indefinite period, although overall relations between Turkey and the EEC at the end of 1980s were greatly revitalized.

So, we can draw the following conclusions:

Turkey's relations with the EEC during the period from the signing of the Ankara Agreement to the end of the 1980s are characterized by a political will to cooperate and constant steps towards each other. Each of the parties had certain political and economic risks. Speaking of the EEC, it feared the Muslim factor as well as the military regimes that were periodically in power in Turkey, which led to violations of human rights and democratic freedoms. With regard to Turkey, we can observe the duality of its movement to the EEC. On the one hand, economic instability pushed it to join the Common Market sooner, but at the same time this instability was a major obstacle. Changing political regimes in Turkey has delayed time for the development of Turkey-EEC relations. Before joining Greece the EEC, Turkey was more likely to join the EEC, but as a result of internal political processes in the country, these chances, in our opinion, were lost. When Turkey applied for accession, it was a period of great geopolitical changes in Europe and the world. The EEC has been given the overriding priority, first of all, of establishing the EU. This raised the issue of Turkey's accession indefinitely.

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У статті йдеться про розвиток відносин Туреччини та Європейської економічної спільноти протягом періоду від підписання Угоди про асоціацію в Анкарі 1963 р. до подачі Туреччиною заявки на вступ до європейських спільнот в 1987 р. Розглянуто поетапний розвиток економічних відносин, успіхи та перешкоди у реалізації Анкарської угоди. Доведено, що у відносинах Туреччини з ЄЕС протягом досліджуваного періоду присутні політична воля з до співпраці та постійні кроки назустріч одне одному. Головним напрямком співпраці було економічне співробітництво, адже Туреччина потребувала розширення ринків збуту сільськогосподарських товарів та робочої сили, а ЄЕС потребував преференційних умов для експорту промислової продукції. Кожна зі сторін мала певні політичні та економічні ризики на інтеграційному шляху. Якщо говорити про ЄЕС – вона побоювалася мусульманського чинника, а також військових режимів, які періодично перебували при владі в Туреччині, що тягло за собою порушення прав людини та демократичних свобод в країні. Щодо Туреччини – можемо спостерігати двоїстість її поступу до ЄЕС. З одного боку, економічна нестабільність штовхала її до швидшого приєднання до спільного ринку ЄЕС, але водночас ця нестабільність була головною перешкодою. Зміна політичних режимів в Туреччині затягувала час у розвитку відносин Туреччини й ЄЕС. До моменту вступу до ЄЕС Греції у Туреччині було більше шансів вступити до ЄЕС, але внаслідок внутрішньополітичних процесів у країні ці шанси, на нашу думку, були втрачені. Коли Туреччина подала заявку на вступ, це був період початку важливих геополітичних змін у Європі та світі. Перед ЄЕС стояли важливі першочергові завдання, насамперед, щодо створення ЄС. Це відсувало питання вступу Туреччини на невизначений термін.

Ключові слова: Анкарська угода про асоціацію, Європейська Економічна Спільнота, Туреччина, Спільний ринок, митний союз, експорт, інтеграція.

В статье говорится о развитии отношений Турции и Европейского экономического сообщества в течение периода от подписания Соглашения об ассоциации в Анкаре 1963 г. до подачи Турцией заявки на вступление в европейские сообщества в 1987 г. Рассмотрено поэтапное развитие экономических отношений, успехи и препятствия в реализации Анкарского соглашения. Доказано, что в отношениях Турции с ЕЭС в течение исследуемого периода присутствуют политическая воля к сотрудничеству и постоянные шаги навстречу друг другу. Главным направлением сотрудничества было экономическое, ведь Турция нуждалась в расширении рынков сбыта сельскохозяйственных товаров и рабочей силы, а ЕЭС нуждался в преференциальных условиях для экспорта промышленной продукции. Каждая из сторон имела определенные политические и экономические риски на интеграционном пути. Если говорить о ЕЭС – оно опасалось мусульманского фактора, а также военных режимов, которые периодически находились у власти в Турции, что влекло за собой нарушение прав человека и демократических свобод в стране. В отношении Турции – можем наблюдать двойственность ее продвижения к ЕЭС. С одной стороны, экономическая нестабильность толкала ее для быстрого присоединения к общему рынку ЕЭС, но в то же время эта нестабильность была главным препятствием на этом пути. Смена политических режимов в Турции затягивала время в развитии отношений Турции и ЕЭС. К моменту вступления в ЕЭС Греции у Турции было больше шансов вступить в ЕЭС, но в результате внутривнутриполитических процессов в стране эти шансы, по нашему мнению, были потеряны. Когда Турция подала заявку на вступление, начался период важных геополитических изменений в Европе и мире. Перед ЕЭС стояли важные

первоочередные задачи, прежде всего, они касались создания ЕС. Это отодвинуло вопрос вступления Турции на неопределенный срок.

Ключевые слова: Анкарское соглашение об ассоциации, Европейское экономическое сообщество, Турция, Общий рынок, таможенный союз, экспорт, интеграция.

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Стаття надійшла до редколегії 14.10.2019 р.