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EUROPE FOR ALL
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 "The quest for peace and prosperity has been the driving force of European integration. In fifty years we have come a long way towards these goals. We live in a Union where citizens and businesses can freely move and settle regardless of national borders. People from all walks of life benefit from the Single Market, Economic and Monetary Union and common policies fostering competitiveness and social inclusion.

The European Union is based on democracy and the rule of law. The Union's citizens are bound together by common values such as freedom, tolerance, equality, solidarity and cultural diversity.

The European Union is a unique venture, with no model in history. Only together, through the Union, can we and our countries meet tomorrow's challenges." 1

The idea of an integrated Europe is not peculiar to the second half of the twentieth century. Throughout history, there have been attempts to unite Europe by using force. Charlemagne, Napoleon and Hitler are the names readily cited in that respect. However, a peaceful road to European integration could only be found in the post-World War II era.

As the above paragraphs of the 'Millennium Declaration' point out, the quest for peace and prosperity was the driving force of European integration. In the fifties, these two vital aims led West European leaders in their decision to join resources to rebuild Europe's economic and political power. In a world which the United States and the Soviet Union were to dominate, Western Europe's supremacy had been shattered. The only way to have an influential Europe in the international arena was to initiate a process of integration. The first step in this process was the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, which aimed at sectoral integration. The European Economic Community followed suit with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

According to the Treaty of Rome:

"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." (Article 2).

Today, there is a single market in which goods, persons, services and capital can move freely. Furthermore, significant progress has been made in the sphere of Economic and Monetary Union. So, the process of economic integration in Europe has gone far beyond the aims of the founding treaty.

A free market economy without national frontiers is the economic dimension of European integration, which is still moving forward with Monetary Union. Such a complex web of

economic relations has been built upon the principles of democracy. "The EU is strongly committed to the promotion of democracy, good governance, the rule of law, human and minority rights."2

In short, the unique experience of integration in Europe started as an economic community but in time it has turned into a political entity as well. This sui generis European model has democracy and the rule of law at its foundations. The European Union, with 15 Member States, comprises about 375 million citizens, who share democratic values like freedom, tolerance, equality, solidarity and cultural diversity. The Union has the duty of increasing its peoples' security and welfare and, to fulfil this responsibility, certain challenges must be met in the new century.

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"On the threshold of a new century and the third millennium, the Union should focus on tasks which are central to its peoples' security and welfare.

Europe faces the realities of the information society and globalisation. There is a need to provide for an ageing population and respond to the expectations of young people. We shall develop our human resources through life-long learning and innovation and we shall promote a dynamic and open knowledge based European economy to secure growth and to bring down unemployment on a permanent basis.

Europe is acutely aware of the need to combat local and world-wide environmental degradation. We shall act together to achieve sustainable development and guarantee a better quality of life for future generations.

People expect to be protected against crime and to be able to exercise their legal rights everywhere in the Union. We shall make the Union a genuine area of freedom, security and justice.

The Union shares a growing global responsibility for promoting wellbeing, preventing conflicts and securing peace. We shall strengthen stability and prosperity in Europe by enlarging the Union and co-operating with partner countries. We shall work for a more open and stable international economy benefiting also people in less favoured parts of the world. We shall create Union military and civil capabilities in order to manage international crises, and to provide humanitarian assistance to those in need."3

If the EU is to become a major actor in international relations, it has to face the reality of the information society and globalisation. Due to the process of globalisation, competition in international markets has been intensified. Effective application of information and new communication technologies is of crucial importance in global competition. Therefore, the EU has to "promote more widespread use of new technologies and develop the information society to support competitiveness, employment and social cohesion."4 While increasing the competitiveness of the European economy, the environmental dimension should also be taken into account. The Union has to adopt policies for economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development.

To achieve sustainable development is one of the basic conditions of creating a better quality of life for future generations. It has to be accompanied by internal and external security. In

order to provide a more secure Union within the external borders, increased co-operation in justice and domestic affairs is necessary. However, security in Europe has a great deal to do with how the Union contributes to global prosperity and peace. There are several aspects of enhancing international peace. One of them is to work for a stable international economy that will benefit people in less developed parts of the world. In this respect, another more encompassing job for the EU is future enlargement.

The new enlargement process was launched in Luxembourg in December 1997. In the past, the Community enlarged in a divided continent. After the end of the Cold War, the EU decided to face "the historic challenge to assume its responsibilities and contribute to the development of a political and economic order for the whole of Europe."5 Thus, enlargement of the Union into Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean will contribute to the unification of the whole continent and turn it into an area of stability and prosperity. Clearly, one of the most important tasks of the EU in the future will be to sustain an efficient and credible enlargement process.

Apart from contributing to a stable international economy and building a prosperous Europe by enlarging the Union, there is also a military dimension of enhancing international peace. The EU is determined to strengthen the common European policy on security and defence by taking the work forward in military and non-military aspects of crisis management. In Helsinki, the European Council underlined "its determination to develop an autonomous capacity to take decisions and, where NATO as a whole is not engaged, to launch and conduct EU-led military operations in response to international crises."6

The Helsinki European Council conclusions on common security and defence policy included two significant points:

• "co-operating voluntarily in EU-led operations, Member States must be able, by 2003, to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least 1 year military forces of up to 50,000-60,000 persons capable of the full range of Petersberg tasks,7

• "new political and military bodies and structures will be established within the Council to enable the Union to ensure the necessary political guidance and strategic direction to such operations, while respecting the single institutional framework."8

A few months after the Helsinki Summit, in March 2000, the temporary structures that will prepare the future Political and Security Committee of ambassadors, European Military Committee of senior officers and European Military Major Staff, started to operate in Brussels. In order to create a force of 50,000 to 60,000 persons, a Force Generation Conference is likely to be held before the end of 2000.9

The critical issue related to the creation of a European military force is whether it will weaken or contribute to NATO's role as Europe's primary security organisation. So far, the EU has been careful to stress that NATO's central position will not be jeopardised. In fact, according to the Helsinki Summit conclusions:

• "modalities will be developed for full consultation, co-operation and transparency between the EU and NATO, taking into account the needs of all EU Member States,

• "appropriate arrangements will be defined that would allow, while respecting the Union's decision-making autonomy, non-EU European NATO members and other interested States to contribute to EU military crisis management."10

It is of crucial importance to include non-EU European NATO members in EU military crisis management. A closed EU decision-making mechanism may create more crises than it can solve. Such unwanted developments would severely handicap European security.

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"Only an open, democratic and efficient Union can fulfil these pledges.

The Union needs the confidence and active involvement of its citizens and civic organisations. The Union also needs the full support of its Member States in promoting the common interest.

We must rejuvenate the idea of a Europe for all – an idea on which each new generation must make its own mark."11

Throughout its history, the EU has been perceived as an economic giant and a political dwarf. Today we see a Union that is trying to become a major political actor in international relations. Significant steps, such as the creation of a European army, are signs that show determination in that respect. A stable and prosperous Europe that has a growing global responsibility to promote welfare and peace can only rest on democratic grounds.

The need to make the EU more democratic has been continuously stressed since Danish voters opposed the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty on European Union in 1992. Critics of the Maastricht Treaty regarded it as a charter for federalism and drew attention to the increasingly interventionist role of the Union. Even the supporters of the Treaty accepted the fact that the desired progress on integration could be beyond the wishes of Europe's citizens.

What became obvious in the light of such discussions was the fact that the active involvement of the Union's citizens and civic organisations had to be strongly encouraged and the institutions of the EU had to become more transparent to turn European integration into a real success story. European integration is an ongoing process with very ambitious aims. Each succeeding generation is to take it forward by turning it into a more open, democratic and efficient Union.

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"The European Council welcomes recent positive developments in Turkey as noted in the Commission's progress report, as well as its intention to continue its reforms towards complying with the Copenhagen criteria. Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate States. Building on the existing European strategy, Turkey, like other candidate States, will benefit from a pre-accession strategy to stimulate and support its reforms..."12

In the conclusions of the Helsinki European Council (10-11 December 1999), Turkey was officially declared a candidate country for accession to the EU. Thus Turkey-EU relations, which have mostly witnessed severe problems, reached a turning point together with the

beginning of the twenty-first century. Turkey's relations with the EU has a long past that is almost as old as the Union itself.

In the post-World War II era, the Turkish Republic anticipated becoming part of the Western world. After becoming a member of the Council of Europe, the OECD and NATO, in 1959, Turkey applied for an Association Agreement with the European Economic Community.

On 12 September 1963, Turkey and the EEC signed the Ankara Agreement, establishing an association between the two parties. The aim of the Agreement, which came into force on 1 December 1964, was to reach a customs union. Later, the Additional Protocol, which was implemented from 1 January 1973, put forward the principles on which the transition to the customs union would be based.

In the 1970s, following the oil crisis, the association witnessed a sharp decline. This was largely due to the incompatibility of the economic policies of the European Community with Turkey's expectations of the EC. Turkey, at that time, was undergoing a severe political and economic depression.

After the 12 September 1980 military intervention, relations between the EC and Turkey came to a halt for many years. However, in the second half of the 1980s, a process of normalisation of relations started. The most significant development regarding this normalisation process was Turkey's application for accession to the Community on 14 April 1987.

The Community thought that the time was not ripe to begin accession negotiations with Turkey. However, a revival of the association directed to the aim of establishing a customs union became active in the first half of the 1990s. Efforts towards achieving the goal of the Ankara Agreement resulted in the 6 March 1995 Association Council Decision and, pertaining to that decision, a Customs Union between the EU and Turkey came into effect as of 1 January 1996.

Although it was a development in the economic realm, the Customs Union between the EU and Turkey had great political significance as well. After a long period of uneasy relations, the two partners were shaking hands with a positive outlook on the future. Indeed, the Turkish side has never regarded the Customs Union as an end in itself, but has always seen it as a step towards accession to the Union. Corresponding to the Turkish perception, the principles of Turkey-EU Customs Union have been designed to go beyond an ordinary customs union. In fact, a successful application of these principles will take Turkey very close to EU economic standards in many respects.

The Customs Union between the EU and Turkey is a unique experience. For the first time in its history, the EU has a customs union with a country that does not have full membership status. Following the establishment of the Customs Union, the Luxembourg European Council conclusions in December 1997 disturbed relations. Turkey was treated separately from the other candidates for full membership to the Union and the Turkish government decided to suspend political dialogue with the EU. The Turks thought that they were being treated unfairly and expected the Union to make up for this discrimination.

Two years later, in Helsinki, the European Council declared Turkey a candidate for full membership to the EU. This change in the EU's attitude was welcome by the Turkish government and it gave a fresh impetus to Turkey-EU relations.

As explained above, the EU is a unique example of successful economic integration and the aspiration to become a major actor in international relations. Being a long-time associate member of the EU, Turkey has always paid close attention to the integration process in Europe. The movement that started with the aim of establishing a common market has turned into a highly developed system of economic and monetary union. Furthermore, recent efforts to create a European army have brought the political dimension to the forefront. Turkey's future lies within the European economic and political integration process.

Accession to the EU has been the major aim of Turkish foreign policy for a long time. At the beginning of a new century, the reforms that are necessary to achieve full membership status are going to positively transform Turkish socio-economic and political life. The EU is becoming a global power and accession to the EU will enhance Turkey's role as a significant regional power.

Turkey's future full membership will also benefit the Union by proving that the EU is built upon the principles of democracy and not on shared religious values. Also, a common European policy on security and defence would certainly be a lot stronger with the participation of Turkey. Enlargement is not an easy task for the Union, but there is no doubt that the engine of the EU, that strives to create a huge area of prosperity and peace, will be the idea of a Europe for all.

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1 'Millennium Declaration', Annex 1 to Helsinki European Council (10-11 December 1999) Presidency Conclusions, http://europa.eu.int/council/off/conclu/dec99/dec99_en.htm.

2 European Dialogue, March-April 1998, Issue 2: Democracy, http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/eur_dial/98i2a0s0.html.

3 'Millennium Declaration', op. cit.

4 Helsinki European Council Presidency Conclusions, op. cit.

5 'Europe and the Challenge of Enlargement', Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 3/92, p.10.

6 Helsinki European Council Presidency Conclusions, op. cit.

7 Petersberg tasks are humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

8 Helsinki European Council Presidency Resolutions, op.cit.

9 Informal Meeting of Ministers of Defence, Press Release, 28 Feb. 2000, http://europa.eu.int/geninfo/whatwasnew/022000.htm.

10 Helsinki European Council Presidency Conclusions, op. cit.

11 'Millennium Declaration', op. cit.

12 Helsinki European Council Presidency Conclusions, op. cit.