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Report

drawn up on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations

on the recommendations adopted by the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee on 28 April 1976 in Nice (doc. 101/76 rev.) and on 9 November 1976 in Ankara (doc. 428/76)

Rapporteur: Mr E. KLEPSCH

PE 47.089/fin.

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By letters of 5 July 1976 and 12 January 1977 the President of the European Parliament referred the recommendations adopted by the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee on 28 April 1976 in Nice and on 9 November 1976 in Ankara together with a note on the results of its official visit to Turkey on 20-24 May 1976 to the Committee on External Economic Relations as the committee responsible and the Political Affairs Committee, the Committee on Social Affairs, Employment and Education and the Committee on Agriculture for their opinions.

On 25 January 1977 the Committee on External Economic Relations appointed Mr Klepsch rapporteur.

It considered the report submitted by Mr Klepsch at its meeting of 25 January 1977 and adopted the motion for a resolution and explanatory statement unanimously.

Present: Mr Scott-Hopkins, acting chairman; Mr Schmidt and Mr Martinelli, vice-chairmen; Mr Klepsch, rapporteur; Mr Amadei, Mr Bayerl, Lord Castle, Mr Creed (deputizing for Mr Bersani), Mr Didier, Mr Galluzzi, Mr de Koning, Mr Laban, Mr Pucci, Mr Radoux, Mr Schwörer, Mr Spicer and Mr Vandewiele.

The Opinion of the Political Affairs Committee, the Opinion of the Committee on Social Affairs, Employment and Education and the Opinion of the Committee on Agriculture are attached.

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The Committee on External Economic Relations hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution, together with explanatory statement:

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the recommendations adopted by the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee on 28 April 1976 in Nice and on 9 November 1976 in Ankara

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the recommendations adopted by the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee at its XXIst meeting in Nice from 25 to 28 April 1976 (Doc. 101/76 rev.) and at its XXIIInd meeting in Ankara from 6 to 9 November 1976 (Doc. 428/76),
 - having regard to the report of the Committee on External Economic Relations and the opinion of the Political Affairs Committee, the Committee on Social Affairs, Employment and Education and the Committee on Agriculture (Doc. 548/76),
1. Approves the recommendations adopted by the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee;

Political aspects

2. Welcomes, in view of the critical state of relations within the Association, the fact that the EEC-Turkey Association Council finally met on 20 December 1976;
3. Expresses its desire, on the basis of the results achieved at this meeting, for the further development of the Association backed up by the necessary political decisions.
4. Urges once again that the political consultations introduced in connection with the meetings of the Association Council should be further developed, so as to enable Community policy to be brought more into line with that of Turkey at international level;
5. Notes that the negotiations on Cyprus have come to a complete standstill and hopes that the governments concerned will work out the necessary solutions as soon as possible by peaceful means;
6. Welcomes the opening of negotiations and the initial progress made in the discussions between the Turkish and Greek governments on the delimitation of the Continental shelf and the reopening of air traffic in the Aegean area, which may be an important contribution to defusing the dangerous tensions that continually occur in this area;

Economic, social and financial aspects

7. Calls for positive consideration to be given to Turkish requests for flexible Community measures in the industrial sector, but recommends that such measures be subject to an appropriate time-limit so that they do not form an obstacle to the implementation of the customs union;
8. Stresses the Community's positive attitude to Turkey's being allowed, in accordance with its own wishes, to conclude preferential agreements with other developing countries without extending or reserving these preferences to the Community, as laid down in the Additional Protocol;
9. Expresses its grave concern at Turkey's trade balance deficit vis-à-vis the Community, which in 1975 rose to 1,700 million dollars, and calls for the immediate publication of the report drawn up by the working party of experts as well as the prompt implementation of the remedial measures outlined therein;
10. Is opposed to Turkish agricultural exports being placed at a disadvantage as a result of the form the Community's Mediterranean policy takes, and welcomes in this connection the additional concessions granted by the Community at the last Association Council meeting;
11. Stresses that it is important both to the Turkish economy and to the Association that Turkish workers be allowed to move freely within the Community;
12. Calls for freedom of movement to be implemented gradually in accordance with the terms of the Agreement, but stresses that this must not lead to an uncontrolled mass migration of workers, but must be controlled by a central body on the basis of supply and demand in the employment sector; Turkish workers must be accorded 'second priority' after workers from Community countries, but before workers from other third countries;
13. Stresses that the medium and long term Turkish labour market problems will be solved not by freedom of movement, but by the systematic expansion of industry and agriculture and the resulting creation of jobs in Turkey;
14. Expresses its desire for the speedy conclusion of the Third EEC-Turkey Financial Protocol and points out that it has not yet been possible to pay out the 47 million u.a. provided for in the Second Financial Protocol, because two countries have not yet ratified the Supplementary Protocol on which it is based;

Activation of relations within the Association

15. Calls on the Association Council, with a view to the much-needed further development of the Association, to work out practical measures to diversify Turkish agricultural production, to improve marketing techniques and to train managerial staff;
16. Calls on the organs of the Association to work out and put into operation development projects along the lines recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee for the economic expansion of the less developed regions of Turkey;
17. Calls for an all-round expansion of economic cooperation between the Community and Turkey, as described in its detailed proposals, so that Turkish industry and agriculture may become more competitive and its trade balance deficit and present imbalances in development may be reduced, thus making it possible to achieve the Association's final objective, namely the accession of Turkey to the European Community as a full member.
18. Instructs its President to forward this resolution and the committee's report to the Council and Commission of the European Communities, to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, to the parliaments of the Community's Member States and to the Turkish Government.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENTI. Introduction

1. In view of the critical state of relations within the Association between the European Communities and Turkey and in order to make it possible to hold a general debate in the European Parliament, the Committee on External Economic Relations has decided to outline the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee's activities over the whole of 1976 in a report.

2. The Joint Parliamentary Committee met twice in 1976.

- on 25/28 April 1976 in Nice and
- on 6/9 November 1976 in Ankara.

As had by then become customary, the meeting of 13/14 January 1976 was an informal meeting of the two delegations to the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee, held during the European Parliament's part-session in Luxembourg. At this meeting the accent was once again on discussions with members of several of the European Parliament's committees and contacts with the political groups.

3. The XXIst meeting of the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee was held on 25/28 April 1976 in Nice. Amongst those taking part were Mr Ergenekon, President-in-Office of the Association Council and Turkish Finance Minister, Mr Mart, President-in-Office of the Council of the European Communities and Minister of Economic Affairs, Transport and Tourism of Luxembourg, and Mr Simonet, Vice-President of the Commission. The work of the meeting focused on the still unsolved problems of Cyprus and the Aegean area, the effects of the Community's Mediterranean policy, which were criticized by Turkey as being unfavourable to it, and Turkey's claim that it was being neglected by European and other Western countries. The possibilities for increasing the Communities' contribution to the development of particular regions of Turkey were also discussed.

4. In this connection the official visit to Turkey by Mr Spénale, President of the European Parliament, from 20 to 24 May 1976 assumed particular political importance.

5. Finally, the XXIIInd meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was held in Ankara from 6 to 9 November 1976. In connection with this meeting a fact-finding visit was arranged to the areas surrounding Adana and Mersin in South-East Turkey. The principal sitting was attended by Mr Brinkhorst, President-in-Office of the Association Council and of the Council of the European Communities and Secretary of State in the Dutch Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, Mr Caglayangil, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr Brunner, member of the Commission of the European Communities. The work of the meeting centred on the difficult negotiations in the Association Council, the problems of the eastern Mediterranean and consideration of the Eleventh Annual Report on the activities of the Association Council. The measures needed to strengthen the Association and adapt it to current needs were also discussed, and particular attention was paid to the central question of freedom of movement for Turkish workers in the European Community.

II. Political questions relating to the EEC-Turkey Association

6. The opening of the political discussions in Nice was marked by a heated reaction on the part of the Turkish delegation to a press communiqué issued on 5 April 1976 by the European Parliament jointly with a Greek delegation. The Turkish delegation insisted that the final communiqué issued in Nice should contain an appropriate counter-statement.

In order to avoid disputes of this kind in future, the President of the European Parliament pointed out to the leaders of the European Parliament's delegations to the EEC-Turkey and EEC-Greece Joint Parliamentary Committees by letter of 28 October 1976 that these bodies could hold political discussions, but that they were not authorized, at least by the European Parliament, to issue political statements on questions not directly connected with the Association concerned.

By the time this letter reached the European delegation, however, it had already reached agreement with the Turkish delegation in Ankara on Recommendation No. 1, which was political in content and was intended for the Autumn meeting in Ankara, and could no longer be revoked.

7. In Nice, and even more so at the meeting in Ankara, the question that loomed large in all discussions was whether the partners in the Association had the political resolve to develop the EEC-Turkey Association further. For some time now the European Community has been increasingly concerned at the growing dissatisfaction of Turkish public opinion with the Association. The original economic reasons for this, which will be explained in the next chapter, are increasingly assuming a fundamental, political dimension. Apart from Turkey's still strained relations with the USA, a major factor in this regard is the Community countries' attitude to the conflict in Cyprus and the Aegean area, which is regarded as pro-Greek. Turkey fears that the marked warmth with which Greece's application for membership of the European Community was received and the negotiations on accession which began in July 1976 will only serve to isolate it even further. This feeling is particularly marked in Turkey, which regards itself, and rightly so, as an upholder of democratic institutions and a loyal ally of Europe and the Western world.

8. Relations between the Community and Turkey took a serious turn for the worse with the postponement twice over of the Association Council meeting, originally fixed for July and then for October 1976, as well as tensions in the Turkish ruling coalition, and there was no indication of any progress towards putting matters right. The Joint Parliamentary Committee was extremely concerned at this situation and, convinced of Turkey's importance for the Western community of peoples, appealed urgently to the governments of the Community Member States and to the Council of the European Communities to take the necessary political decisions, so that acceptable solutions might be worked out to the questions still at issue and the business of the EEC-Turkey Association Council resumed without delay.

9. In the light of its disappointment with the European Community and the Western countries, it is perfectly understandable that Turkey has directed its foreign policy to an ever-increasing degree towards other countries and groups of countries, particularly in the past year. Thus, it has further extended its cooperation with the Soviet Union in the economic sector. The possibilities for closer cooperation with the Balkan countries were discussed not only in the course of numerous exchanges of state visits, but also at the Conference of Balkan Countries in Athens from 26 January to 5 February 1976. Above all, Turkey strengthened its links with the Arab countries by its active participation in the Conference of Islamic States in Istanbul in 1976 and by its readiness to ratify the Joint Charter of these States. In return, the Islamic countries supported Turkey's position on the Cyprus question without reservation.

The meeting of the Heads of State of Turkey, Pakistan and Iran in Izmir on 21/22 April 1976 should be seen in the same light. At this meeting, which was held to discuss 'regional cooperation and development', agreement was reached on further regional cooperation projects.

10. The critical state of the Association and the fundamental problems that exist have meant that discussion of the still unsolved problems of Cyprus and the Aegean area has faded somewhat into the background. Regret has been expressed that negotiations on the Cyprus question have come to a complete standstill, and the desire reiterated that the governments concerned should work out the necessary solutions as soon as possible by peaceful means.

As far as the problems of the Aegean area are concerned, there are some promising developments which seem to give grounds for hope of a solution. Since the beginning of November 1976 negotiations have been under way between the Turkish and Greek governments in Berne on the delimitation of the Continental shelf in the Aegean and in Paris on the re-opening of air traffic over the Aegean Sea.

In Berne the delegations of the two countries signed a protocol on 29 November 1976, which laid down as a kind of first step the procedure to be followed in further negotiations. Progress has also been made in the Paris talks, so that a re-opening of the Aegean Sea to air traffic may be expected in the foreseeable future.

The Committee on External Economic Relations can but welcome this initial progress, since it has stressed on several occasions that the necessary solutions can be achieved only by peaceful means and that dangerous tensions, such as built up in the Summer of 1976 around the Turkish research vessel 'Sismik I', must be avoided at all costs.

III. The critical state of relations within the EEC-Turkey Association

11. Against the background of Turkish domestic policy outlined in the above chapter, the double postponement of the meeting of the Association Council had had a critical effect on relations between the EEC and Turkey. The Community is once again harrassed by internal difficulties and occupied by other negotiations with the outside world. Turkey thus felt neglected and regarded as inadequate the terms it had so far been offered by the Community. In addition, relations within the Association were complicated even further by unnecessary misunderstandings. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the election campaign for the elections that would normally be held in Turkey in October 1977 had already begun unofficially, and the Government party was under pressure to show positive results from the Association, in order to defend the latter convincingly in the face of public opinion and opponents of the EEC.

There are four main economic and social problems at the present time:

- (1) the Community aid needed to reduce Turkey's trade balance deficit;
- (2) the reviews in the agricultural sector provided for in the Agreement;
- (3) freedom of movement for Turkish workers in the Member States of the Community;
- (4) the financial aid to Turkey to be provided by the Community.

The following deals with these points and the problems connected with them, for which the Association Council meeting of 20 December 1976 managed to find solutions reasonably acceptable to Turkey.

(a) Economic and trade problems

12. If we look back at the EEC-Turkey Association during the 12 years

of its existence and analyse the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the annual reports of the Association Council, it is clear that the two central problems that the Association partners are trying to solve in the economic and trade sector (this being equally true of the problems connected with Turkish agricultural exports, which are dealt with in the next chapter) are:

- the problems of Turkish industry, which is still in its infancy, and
- the constant increase in Turkey's trade balance deficit, particularly with the Community.

13. In the industrial sector practically all products exported by Turkey to the Community already enjoy complete exemption from tariffs. (One exception is refined petroleum products, for which there is a tariff quota at zero rate of duty.) Turkey is also granted exemption from customs duties for all industrial products, with the sole exception of two products in the cotton goods sector as well as machine-woven carpets. (In these cases exemption from ~~customs duties is~~ also limited to certain quotas.)

14. Despite the enormous efforts made by Turkey within the framework of the third five-year plan, which expires in 1977, to promote industrial development and to heighten the competitiveness of its newly established industries, it still regards itself as being placed at a disadvantage by the dismantling of its tariffs vis-à-vis the Community over a fixed period, as provided for in the Association Agreement and in the Additional Protocol, and would like to see suitably flexible measures introduced, particularly as regards the division of products between the 12-year and 22-year lists.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee has shown itself amenable to Turkey's wishes, but has at the same time pointed out that such flexible measures could be introduced only for a limited period, if they are not to run counter to the final objective of implementing the customs union and making Turkey a full member of the Community. It has meanwhile been learned that the Community has also promised to give this point of view positive consideration.

15. At the Nice meeting there was a lengthy discussion on another wish expressed by Turkey, namely that it should be allowed to conclude preferential agreements with other developing countries without being obliged to extend the same advantages to other industrialized countries, including the Member States of the Community.

Since the European Parliament's delegation in Nice was not sufficiently informed about the economic implications of this request, it reserved the right to return to it after consulting the Community

institutions. At its meeting of 6 July 1976, in the presence of the Commission of the European Communities, it carried out a thorough analysis of the possible economic effects. The conclusion it reached was that the Community would not be placed at a disadvantage, either in principle or from the economic or customs point of view, if Turkey were authorized to conclude preferential agreements without extending these preferences to or reserving them for the Community, as laid down in the Additional Protocol. Consequently, the European Parliament's delegation adopted the amended final version of point 4 of Recommendation No 2.

16. In 1975 the worldwide recession accentuated the problems faced by Turkish agriculture and industry from the point of view of foreign trade, and this was reflected particularly clearly in a deterioration of Turkey's trade balance. According to the statistics available total exports from Turkey to all the countries of the world fell last year. This trend was, however, much clearer in the case of Turkey's trade with the Community (down by 14.4%) than in its trade with the rest of the world (down by 3.6%). Thus, trade between Turkey and the Community in 1975 already showed a deficit of 1,700 million dollars. This meant that the deficit, which had been an annually recurring feature since the very beginning of the Association, had now taken on alarming proportions. Looking at the balance of payments picture as a whole, the expenditure incurred as a result of the sudden sharp increase in imports of raw materials and capital goods could no longer be offset by the remittances from Turkish workers working in the Community Member States, which did not increase.

17. It is gratifying, therefore, that as long ago as 1975 the Association Council set up a working party of experts, which studied this problem and submitted its report on 6 April 1976. Since the details of this report are not yet known, the Joint Parliamentary Committee has asked the Association Council to publish it straightaway and to take the necessary measures set out in it. In this connection it must by now have become obvious to all concerned that the problems are so extensive that they can no longer be solved simply by customs or financial measures, but only by wide-ranging structural aids and a high degree of cooperation.

According to the figures so far available, the problems mentioned above have become less acute as a result of favourable trends in Turkey's foreign trade in the first half of 1976. In this period Turkish exports to the EEC rose from 40 to 43% as against the previous year. At the same time Turkish imports from the EEC have dropped from 48 to 47%. Particularly notable is the fact that exports of agricultural products

between January and July 1976 doubled, to 878 million US dollars, as against a figure of 402 million US dollars for the corresponding period in the previous year.

b) The unsolved problems in the agricultural sector

18. In 1975 over two-thirds of Turkish exports to the European Community (a total of 615 million dollars) again consisted of agricultural products. Of these the same five products again took the lion's share, i.e. tobacco, dried grapes, dried figs, hazelnuts and cotton. The Joint Parliamentary Committee has drawn attention on several occasions to this state of affairs and called for measures to diversify Turkish agriculture, so that it does not continue to concentrate on a few products which in any case have to contend with strong competition from similar products in other Mediterranean countries.

The second review provided for under Article 35 of the Additional Protocol, though it would be important for this purpose, has not yet been completed, because Turkey regarded the 'concessions for agricultural products' offered by the Community as entirely inadequate. Meanwhile, however, the last Association Council meeting also reached agreement on further Community concessions.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee is aware of the importance of agriculture for the Common Market countries and for Turkey. In the light of the agreements already concluded, however, it fears that the further development of the Community's Mediterranean policy will lead to an erosion of the preferences granted to Turkey and wants the Community to prevent any such erosion. It also asks that agricultural problems arising from the Additional Protocol should be unequivocally clarified, having regard to possible enlargements of the Community, so that the question of concessions in the agricultural sector will no longer give rise to differences of opinion and disputes between the partners.

It should of course be emphasized in this connection that the Community is under no obligation under the Association Agreements to extend indefinitely the preferences negotiated bilaterally with other third countries to Turkey with automatic supplementary margins. Such technical customs provisions are not as important as the matter mentioned above, namely that experts from both the association partners should draw up and carry out practical measures for the diversification of Turkish agriculture and the improvement of marketing techniques and for market research and management training. This basic work is essential for any improvement of the structure of Turkish agricultural exports and for providing easier access for Turkish products to Community markets.

(c) Problems in the social sector

19. The freedom of movement of Turkish workers in Community countries, as laid down in Article 36 of the Additional Protocol, is the most important question in the social sector still to be discussed by the Association Council. It was also the subject of the special reports by the two rapporteurs of the Joint Parliamentary Committee at the XXIIInd meeting in Ankara.

For Turkey these questions and their solutions constitute a crucial element of the reciprocal rights and obligations enshrined in the Association Agreement. This freedom of movement is to be introduced, according to Article 36 of the Additional Protocol, gradually over a period of 10 years as from 1 December 1976. Despite all its economic and social difficulties, the Community must honour its obligations in this respect under the Agreement. In their analysis the rapporteurs of the European and Turkish Delegations accordingly formulated essentially the same conclusions and demands, viz.

- the creation of a 'second priority' for Turkish workers, i.e. that vacant jobs in Community countries not taken by Community citizens must be offered to them in preference to workers from other third countries;
- freedom of movement must not lead to mass migration against the interests of both Association partners. It must therefore be supervised by a central body and regulated according to labour demand and supply;
- the existing bilateral agreements in the social sector must be harmonized and consolidated;
- the abolition of any discrimination against Turkish workers and the provision of rights equal to those of workers from other Community countries;
- liberalization of entry, residence and employment regulations for members of the families of Turkish workers in Community countries;
- implementation of the still outstanding social security measures pursuant to Article 39 of the Additional Protocol.

20. With regard to the various stages of implementation of freedom of movement, the European Parliament delegation asked Turkey for a certain flexibility and understanding on this issue in view of the economic difficulties and high levels of unemployment in Community countries.

The European delegation also pointed out that the migration of Turkish workers into the Community could provide only a partial and temporary solution to the problems of the Turkish economy. More important was the encouragement of joint industrial projects and the qualitative improvement of Turkish agriculture and, linked with this, the creation of jobs and adequate educational and training facilities in the country itself.

According to present information the Community has promised Turkey the so-called 'second priority' and has made further arrangements for the social sector.

(d) Problems concerned with financial aid

21. Under the second Financial Protocol which expired in May 1976, loans were granted to the envisaged amount of 195m u.a. The only outstanding sum is the 47m u.a. laid down in the Supplementary Protocol on the occasion of the enlargement of the Community. It has not yet been possible to distribute this money as one Member State and Turkey have still not ratified the Supplementary Protocol.

After long internal discussions, the Community drew up its proposals for the new Financial Protocol, offering Turkey 310m u.a. Turkey regretted that this offer did not represent any substantial increase. It did however take note of the Community's efforts considering its economic difficulties.

So as to avoid any protracted break in financial cooperation in building up the Turkish economy, the Joint Parliamentary Committee urged that the Third Financial Protocol should be signed and implemented at an early date. In this connection the Association Council agreed at its last meeting, independently of the ratification procedures, to set the expiry date for the new Financial Protocol at 31 October 1981, thereby also shortening its duration.

IV. The need to activate the relations within the Association on the basis of the existing agreements

22. With regard to the still unsolved problems within the Association relationship and the existing contractual obligations and in view of Turkey's particular political importance, the appropriate Community institutions will have to reach agreement with Turkey without further delay on the measures that have been announced time and time again for activating relations within the Association. The Joint Parliamentary Committee and the European Parliament will have an important part to play here as regards consultation on and the initiation of policy.

23. The proposals and measures which are to be respectively drawn up and implemented in these fields would firstly have to serve the purpose of convincing Turkey of the Community's willingness to develop the Association in a balanced way, particularly with regard to Greece. Secondly, efforts should be made, on the basis of Turkey's wishes and counterproposals, and jointly with all the appropriate Community institutions, to counteract anti-Community tendencies in Turkey and to bring about the satisfactory realization and positive shaping of the

association both on the basis of the existing agreements and with a view to Turkey's eventual full membership of the EEC.

The delegation from the European Parliament to the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee drew up a note as long ago as 22 December 1975¹ containing proposals along these lines and submitted it to the political groups. The desired reaction was not, however, forthcoming.

In accordance with these proposals the Joint Parliamentary Committee then urged the Association's bodies in Nice, in the general context of fully activating relations within the Association:

- (1) to strengthen consultation and coordination with Turkey particularly with regard to the shaping of the joint economic trade and social policy;
- (2) to encourage Turkish participation in the technical know-how of Community countries, the exchange of information in the industrial sector and co-operation between enterprises;
- (3) to improve the opportunities for exporting Turkish products to the EEC and third countries by training managerial staff, providing financial aid and evolving more sophisticated marketing techniques;
- (4) to develop the measures necessary to ensure diversification in Turkish agriculture;
- (5) to pursue a general policy of promoting exchange programmes for teachers, journalists, economic experts, union representatives, government officials etc.

This does not of course provide an exhaustive list of possible or necessary measures but deals with a number of main areas of the considerable efforts required in order to pave the way for Turkey towards the ultimate objective of the Association, i.e. full membership.

24. An interesting aspect of the problem of activating relations within the association was also dealt with at the meeting in Nice in the special reports submitted by the two rapporteurs. They contained a study of ways in which to promote the economic development of Turkey by placing greater emphasis on regional priorities and of the possible aid that could be given in this respect by the European Communities, particularly with regard to the development of Eastern Turkey.

¹ PE 43.232