

The Approach of NGOs and Civil Society Organisations to Turkish EU Membership  
with a Reference to the Helsinki Process: Constructive or Critical

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**THE APPROACH OF NGOs and CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS  
TO TURKISH EU MEMBERSHIP  
WITH A REFERENCE TO THE HELSINKI PROCESS:  
CONSTRUCTIVE or CRITICAL**



**PhD THESIS**

**Submitted By HÜSEYİN ASLAN**

**Supervisor: Prof. J.D. Armstrong**

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## **Dedication**

*This thesis is dedicated to my wife Elif  
who offered me unconditional love  
and  
support throughout the course of  
this thesis*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADD	Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği The Association for Ataturkist Thought
AGIK	Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Konferansı European Conference on Security and Cooperation
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi, The Motherland Party
APRODEV	Regrouping Protestant NGOs
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BDI	The head of the German Industrialist Association
BİANET	The Independent Communication Network
CEEC	Central and Eastern European Countries
CEEC	Central and Eastren European Contries
ÇEKÜL	Çevre ve Kültür Değerlerini Koruma ve Tanıtma Vakfı, Foundations to Protect Enviromental and Cultural Wealth
CEPB	Center for European Politics Studies
CERIS	Center of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement
CGIL	Italian General Confederation of Labor
CGS	Chief of General Staff
CGT	Confederation Generale du Travail
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Republican People's Party
CIDSE	Regrouping Catholic NGOs
CISL	Confederation of Trade Unions Italy
CNN	Cable News Network
COR	Council of Representatives



COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSDC	Civil Society Development Center
CSDP	Civil Society Development Program
ÇYDD	Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği, The Association to Support Contemporary Life
DEIK	Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu, Foreign Economic Relations Board
DEP	Demokrasi Emek Partisi, Democratic and Labor Party
DEV-GENÇ	Revolutionist Youths Association
DİSK	Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey
DP	Demokrat Parti, Democratic Party
DPT	Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, State Planning Authority –Department
DYP	Doğru Yol Partisi, Right Path Party
EC	European Community
ECAS	European Citizen Action Service
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EGV	Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı, Foundations for Voluntaries for Education
EIDHR	European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights

EPU	European Payment Union
ETUC	European Trade Unions Confederation
EU	European Union
EUROCHAMBERS	The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FEANTSA	European Federation of National Organizations
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreements of Traiffs and Trade
HABİTAT	The United Nations Human Settlements Program
HAK-İŞ	Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, HAK-İŞ Trade Union Confederation
HELIOS II	EU funds
ICFTU	International Confedetariton of Free Trade Unions
ICNL	International Center for Not-for-Profit
İHA	Human Rights Association
İHD	İnsan Hakları Derneği, Human Rights Association
İKV	İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, Economic Development Foundation
ILO	Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü, International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Found
INGO	International Non-governmental Organizations
IRIS II	EU funds
ISO	İstanbul Sanayi Odası, Istanbul Chamber of Indurstry
ITC	İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Union and Progress Association
ITO	İstanbul, Ticaret Odası, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce
JCC	Joint Consultative Committee

KESK	Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, Public Servants Trade Union Confederation
MAZLUMDER	İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar İçin Dayanışma Derneği, The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People
MC	Nationalist Front, Milliyetçi Cephe
MDP	National Democracy Party
MGK	Milli Güvenlik Kurulu, National Security Council
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Nationalist Movement Party
MNP	Milli Nizam Partisi, National Order Party
MNP	National Salvation Party
MÜSİAD	Müstakil Sanayici ve İş Adamları Derneği, Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association
NATO	Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü, North Atlantic Treaty
NCS	National Security Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSC	National Security Council
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation Organization
PASOK	Greek Socialist Party
PKK	Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan, Kurdistan Workers' Party
RP	Refah Partisi, Welfare Party
SAP	Stabilisation and Association Process
SHP	Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti

TESEV	Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etütler Vakfı, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TESK	Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu, The Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen Unions
THİV	Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey
THKO	Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu, Turkish Folk Liberation Army
THKP	Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi, Turkish Folk Liberation Party
TIKKO	Türkiye İşçi Köylü Kurtuluş Ordusu, Turkish Workers and Villagers Liberation Army
TİP	Türkiye İşçi Partisi, Turkish Workers Party
TİSK	Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, The Confederation of Turkish Employers Unions
TKP-ML	Türkiye Kominist Partisi / Markist Leninist Turkish Communist Party Marxist/Leninist
TOBB	Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği, Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
TOHAV	Toplum ve Hukuk Araştırmaları Vakfı, Foundation for Society and Legal Studies
TUC	The Trade Union Congress
TÜRK-İŞ	Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions
TUSEV	Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı, Third Sector Foundation of Turkey
TÜSİAD	Türk Sanayicileri ve İş Adamları Derneği, Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association

UDI	Unione Donne Italiane
UEM	The United European Movement
ULB	Universite Libde de Bruxelles
ULI	Italian Workers Union
UN	Birleşmiş Milletler, United Nations
UNESCO	Birleşmiş Milletler Eğitim, Bilim ve Kültür Kurumu United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICE	Union of Industrial and Unions' Confederation of Europe
USA	United States of America, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
WW II	İkinci Dünya Savaşı, World War II

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## ABSTRACT

The title of this thesis is “The Approach of NGOs and Civil Society Organizations to Turkish Membership to EU with a Reference to the Helsinki Process: Constructive or Critical”. The main question of this study is to place the role of NGOs in Turkish society and understanding their contribution to Turkey’s democratization process in the EU accession period, especially after the Helsinki Summit. For this end, the study attempts to answer questions like how Turkey can manage to be European, whether it has a sufficiently strong civil society, how a country that has suffered from a lack of civil actors participating in the democratic process could be accepted into the EU, and whether, and how, the country has changed since its application decades ago.

In analyzing the role of Turkish civil society, this thesis establishes a general historical framework of Turkey’s relations with the European Union. This goes as far back as the European effect on the democratization efforts of the Ottoman Empire and continues through the early days of the Republic of Turkey.

The study examines the role of Turkish NGOs in the country’s accession process into the EU, with reference to the Helsinki process of dialogue. The NGOs selected are TÜSİAD, MÜSİAD and İKV as three employer organizations; and TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ and DİSK as three worker confederations, which have been actively involved in Turkey’s membership to the EU. Choosing three organizations from each group aims at creating a fair balance between the employers and employees.

With the start of negotiations and the intensifying relations with the EU, civil society and pressure groups, such as İKV, TÜSİAD, MÜSİAD, TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ and DİSK increased public support throughout organizations relating to EU accession.

**Words for Library Search:** Turkey, European Union, Civil Society