

บทคัดย่อ
การก่อการร้ายขัดขวางธุรกิจจากการเข้าร่วมสหภาพยุโรป
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การบูรณาการยุโรปนั้นเริ่มมาตั้งแต่หลังสงครามโลกครั้งที่สอง และพัฒนามาเป็นสหภาพยุโรปตั้งแต่สนธิสัญญามาดริด ค.ศ. 1993 เป็นต้นมา โดยมีสาระสำคัญคือการบูรณาการทางเศรษฐกิจและการเงิน ซึ่งจะเป็นก้าวสำคัญในการสร้างสหภาพระหว่างประเทศที่สมบูรณ์ต่อไป

แต่กระนั้นสหภาพยุโรปก็ยังต้องเผชิญปัญหาปัจจุบันหลายเรื่อง ที่สำคัญคือปัญหาการก่อการร้ายในอังกฤษ และปัญหาผู้อพยพชาวเติร์กในประเทศฝรั่งเศสที่กำลังต่อสู้เรียกร้องขอสิทธิทางการเมืองที่เท่าเทียมกับชาวฝรั่งเศส ในขณะที่ตุรกีก็พยายามที่จะสมัครเข้าเป็นสมาชิกใหม่ของสหภาพยุโรป แต่ถูกออสเตรเลียและฝรั่งเศสคัดค้าน ยิ่งไปกว่านั้น มติมหาชนของสหภาพยุโรปก็ยังไม่ต้องการรับตุรกีเข้าเป็นสมาชิกของสหภาพ เพราะวิตกกังวลต่อการที่ตุรกีมีประชากรส่วนใหญ่เป็นชาวมุสลิม หากตุรกีเข้าเป็นสมาชิกของสหภาพยุโรป ก็จะทำให้สัดส่วนของชาวมุสลิมในสหภาพยุโรปเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างมาก ในขณะที่สหภาพยุโรปกำลังหวาดระแวงภัยจากการก่อการร้ายแบบพลีชีพของชาวมุสลิม

แต่กระนั้นพระคัมภีร์ก็อ่านนั้นได้ให้ความหมายของการพลีชีพไว้ว่า การพลีชีพนั้นมาจากคำว่าจิตฮาด ซึ่งหมายถึงการปฏิบัติภารกิจของพระเจ้าอย่างเต็มความสามารถ ด้วยความศรัทธาอันแท้จริง การพลีชีพจึงมิได้หมายถึงการก่อสงคราม ดังนั้นสหภาพยุโรปก็ไม่ควรที่จะวิตกกังวลต่อเรื่องนี้ และไม่ควรถ่วงเลที่จะรับตุรกีเข้าเป็นสมาชิกใหม่

Terrorism Constraint Turkey from Joining the European Union

Hamid Widodo

Preface

1. a. Identifying Terrorism

Terrorism is an English word coming from the word terror. The Second College Edition of Webster's New World Dictionary, published by Prentice Hall Press, New York, 1986, describe terrorism as *"the act of terrorizing, use of force or threats to demoralize, intimidate and subjugate especially such use as a political weapons or policy way."*¹

Terrorism is an act of terror, use of force to impose fear, in order to achieve a goal (particularly a political goal). Terror is a ruthless act (by governments and the like) and terrorist is an individual using violence for imposing fear, usually for some political goals. From the above description based on the dictionary, there are at least three indicators for terrorism: (1) the existence of violence, (2) some other individuals or groups of individuals are in fear due to the violence, and (3) the violence is done for achieving certain goals.

The concept of terrorism in the eighteenth century was intended more to ensure obedience of people to their rulers. The states as the rulers controlled the thoughts and the feelings of the people. In its

¹ Webster's New World Dictionary/-Second College Edition, 1986, Prentice Hall Press, New York.

development, the paradigm of terrorism changes to become revenges by individuals and groups of individuals to the rulers (the states). There are two types of terrors: (1) physical involvements in the forms of visible violence and (2) attacks using means of information, psyche, economy and trades. Initially, terrorism was categorized as crimes against the state and then develops to become crime against humanity. Various bombing acts have caused suffers on the innocent civilian victims and these types of terrors may be categorized as crimes against humanity.

Thus, terrorism is a violence act or a threat of violence act, calculated in such a way, in order to create a situation of fear and dangers for drawing both National and International attention on the act or the demands of the act. Another line of definition states that: (1) Terrorism is not a part of a war act that it should be considered as crimes, (2) civilians constitute the main targets of terrorism that an attack on military targets cannot be categorized as terrorism, and (3) although political dimension of terrorism may be valued, the act of terrorism might claim some political demands.

Based on literature and terminological-journalistic references, the characteristics for terrorism involves²: good organization, high discipline and highly militant, (2) political and ideological goals but crimes are done in order to achieve the goals, (3) does not care for the prevailing universal norms such as religious, law and Human Basic Rights, (4) choosing special targets that create psychological effects in order to impose fear and to get wide publication, (5) using such means

² See Suharto, 2005, Terrorism Berbasis Agama dan Peran Ormas Keagamaan, Seminar di Universitas Wachid Hasyim, Semarang.

as bombing, kidnapping, taking hostages, hijacking and others, capable of drawing wide public attention.

Motivations, both in National and International scales, for terrorism acts include: (1) terrors against governments, (2) non-political, anarchic, ultra-nationalist and revolutionary terrors, (3) terrors as parts of struggles for national independences, (4) terrors by states over their own people or over some other states in order to eliminate political and religious enemies.

Viewed from the ways for conducting terrorism acts, there are at least two types of terrorism²: (1) good organization, high discipline and highly militant, (2) possessing political and ideological goals, but using crimes acts for achieving the goals, (3) physical terrors for imposing fears and anxieties, by using physical targets in the forms of murders, rapes, taking hostages, physical tortures and the likes that there are really visible consequences due to the terrors, and (4) psychological errors using various means capable of creating fears and anxieties, without having to do physical tortures on the victims, that at some point might cause extremely deep psychological effects.

Viewed from the scales of the targets, there are several types of errors: (1) National terrors, intended to certain groups of individuals or the forces of the government within the same region, in the forms of armed rebellions and interfering the national stability and security, and 2) International terrors, intended to some other nations or states in other regions other than the residencies of the terrorists, in the forms of: (a) occupations, invasions, aggressions and open wars by the stronger over

the weaker, and (b) hijacking, interfering international securities, sabotages, scrupulous and life-sacrificing acts and suicidal forces by the weaker over the stronger.

Terrorism has two main goals: (1) short-term goals and (2) long-term goals.

Short-term goals are: (a) to receive recognitions, from local, national, regional and international societies, for the struggles, (b) to disturb, weaken and embarrass governments, military units and some other governmental apparatuses, (c) to show inabilities of the target governments in protecting their people, (d) to get money or some other instruments, (e) to prevent foreign investments or aids, and (f) to take revenges.

Long-term goals are: (a) to effect some dramatic changes, on the governments, by using revolutions, civil wars or inter-state wars, (b) to substitute own ideology for the ideology of the state, (c) to create, during a guerilla war, advantageous conditions for the terrorists, (d) to affect the decision makers for the local, national, regional or international policies (Sudarto, Dephan RI/*Indonesian National Defense Department* 2003).

b. Root for Terrorism

Recognized or not, either explicitly or implicitly, certain facts show that there is some association between terrorism and religions. Religions are frequently involved in terror acts and terrorists often use the symbols and spirits of religions (Rumadi, 2003). Historically,

religions, within pluralistic societies, indicate two functions. A number of experts and religious leaders agree that religions play quite major roles in supporting peace, harmony and civilization. Some other experts, however, argue that religions constitute sources for conflicts and violence (Mulyadi. S. 2003). There are several argumentations highlighting the association between religions and terrorism. Firstly, in the doctrinal level, religions have potential to create fundamentalist groups. The fact shows that extremist movements inherently exist in all religions. Secondly, responses to the Western hegemony and secularism with their capitalism ideology strongly suppressing and causing economic suffers on Islamic societies and their independencies on Western societies.

It is obvious that terrorism is not a single phenomenon arising all of a sudden. Terrorism might arise from various issues such as religious, political, economic and cultural ones as well as from global inequalities in legal scope.

2. The Formation of European Union

Europe is a continent consisting of various countries that during the World War II experienced setbacks and even considerable destructions due to the War. It, however, after everyone talking about the glooms and the pessimism of Europe (*European Gloom* and *Euro-pessimism*), managed to recover its self-confidence not in too long time. Many individuals were prepared to erase Europe from the dictionary, but miraculously the ideas and realities of Europe began to play and the European societies began showing up.

In trying to recover the economic damaged due to the World War II, European countries began by forming a framework for regional cooperation. By using this facility, the economy of each of the countries interact between one and the others resulting in a European economic much stronger than before. As we have known, in 1980s Europe showed an accelerated pace toward the unification of European economy & monetary. Striking facts characterizing the global politics after the World War II were widespread and extremely broad changes in nearly all aspects. The rise of US as superpowers and the existence of competitions in economic and technological fields as faced by Europe against its major competitors including US, Japan and other new economies in Asia-Pacific, had revitalized European determination to rebuild a united Europe in order not to be inferior in the competitions and not to be lagged behind from other countries. All of these had become the beginning for the formation of European Union.

One important foundation for making true the European Union, within the Maastricht Treaty, is Economic & Monetary Union designed to be a means for fulfilling the format of the Treaty that will be in the form of a comprehensive economic integration toward European Union. Believing that European Union cannot be made true in one single night, a framework toward the unification had to be constructed.

For this purpose, the process commenced in 1950s by means of economic cooperation of MEF and Euratom of ECSC could not any longer meet the demands of developments. Therefore, supporting monetary cooperation and solid and integrated economic cooperation were needed. In the beginning of 1970s, three important proposals

(Barre Plan I of February 1969, Barre Plan II of March 1970 and Werner & Venice Report of May 1970) had managed to lay the foundations for developing the conception and model for European integration toward EMU. In 1989, Dolors Report, surfaced as a historical document covering the conception and model for EMU cooperation, was taken as the base for developing further the EMU projects in Western Europe. In the Roman meeting in 1990, a comprehensive conception for EMU was agreed upon by all members, resulting in a common agreement for several aspects such as the acceptance of one single European currency, called European Currency Unit (ECU), that in the end is known as Euro.³

EMU is intended to make the final stage of integrated European economy toward United European Politic into realization in the twentieth century. This integration, however, need economic cooperation among all member countries in order to be able to arrive a convergence that finally might result in a full integration. EMU is regulated in the Maastricht Treaty. Within the EMU framework, common monetary policies base their activities on a common principle: *open market economy with free competition*. This principle is also supported by some other principles such as close coordination, stable prices and sustainable balance of payment.

Preparing for the EMU project need not only strong political goodwill on the part of the European governments, but also supports from every party from the business world and societies. These supports

³ Agus R. Rahman dkk, *Perjanjian Maastricht: Uni Ekonomi & Moneter Eropa* PPW LIPI, Jakarta, 1996, hal 1-2

are hoped to bring about a synergy needed for achieving 5 (five) criteria for convergence as required by the Maastricht Treaty. These 5 (five) criteria are: (1) the budget deficit of each member country is not allowed to rise over than 3% of the GDP, (2) foreign debt should not be more than 60% of the GDP, (3) inflation should be low, not more than 1,5% higher than three best member countries, (4) 2 (two) year before EMU is begun on the maximum, exchange rate stability should remain within a narrow margin of ERM without devaluation and any pressure, and (5) long-term interest rate is not allowed to be more than 2% of the best member country.⁴

The Maastricht Treaty, on European Union, effective in December 1993, also provides further description on Basic Human Rights. The countries of European Union establish and implement common foreign political and security policies, whose objectives are to develop and implement democracy and legal regulation and recognition on Basic Human Rights and to ensure fundamental freedom. In addition, there are also increased interdependencies among the member countries and trends to introduce foreign politics into domestic arena.

European political cooperation in various fields, such as foreign aids, common reaction to violations on Basic Human Rights, the sending of agents for monitoring and formal-recognizing tasks, is also experiencing improvements and accelerated paces. United Laws for European Union enhances the idea to reach common political goals. This United Laws, however, is still not able to change the basic systems

⁴ Pasal 104 Perjanjian Maastricht dan Loukas Toukalis, *The New European Economy: The Public and Economics of Integration*, (New York: Oxford University Press, second edition, 1993) hal 218-219

that the role of the political cooperation in European Union becomes more important for global cooperation and the world life.⁵

European Parliament also manages to draft and then legitimate a draft for a European Union agreement called Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union.⁶ The text, constructed by the Committee for International Affairs and legitimated in 1984, consists of a statement on how an efficient Institution might be achieved. Therefore, European Union has improved and plays very important role for the world life. Presently it consists of 25 member countries. The intention of Turk to join is being discussed and becoming a controversy, for Europeans worry about the effects of the social and cultural traditions of Islamic Turk on Europe.

3. Economic Strength of Europe

Seen as a pure economic entity, Europe is like eggs in many different baskets. Nearly all industries in Europe have important roles. In consumer electronics, for example, Phillips stages a strong competition against Japan. In civilian flights, Airbus consortium constitutes the only competitor for Boeing and McDonnell Douglas in the area of skeletal frameworks for airplanes, while Rolls Royce machines share the same markets with Pratt & Whitney and General Motor. The three biggest chemical firms in the world, Hoechst, BASF and Bayer, are in Germany and the fourth biggest, ICI, is in England. Two of biggest oil companies, Shell and BP, are British. Dutch and British. France and England are the

⁵ Hamish McRae, "Dunia di Tahun 2020 Kekuasaan, Budaya dan Kemakmuran Wawasan Tentang Masa Depan, Penerbit Binarupa Aksara, Jakarta, 1995, hal 52-55

⁶ Ibid, hal 55

main exporters of conventional weaponry after US and Russia. Fashions and designs for world-class apparel are from Italy and France, and best wines and champagnes are from Scotland. It can be said that nearly all of the best trademarks for luxurious goods are from Europe. Wealthy individuals all over the world are willing to spend their money for purchasing goods provided by Europe!.

Therefore, the economic and financial potentials of Europe can be imagined more when its countries integrated to become one whole prestigious organization. Some countries, such as Croatia with strong support from Austria, Bulgaria and Romania and even Turk, not included in European Union are struggling hard in order to be members of the "white countries."

4. The Membership Backgrounds

Austria, admitted into the European Union on January 1, 1995 together with Sweden and Finland, was formerly a member of EFTA (European Free Trade Area). In the past, Austria and several other EFTA member countries considered that it was not necessary to join the European Union. It was only in the late of 1980s and particularly after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, that the idea of integration, initially did not get the support from EFTA countries, eventually got serious attention. This increased attention was caused more by the fact that, with the ending of the Cold War, the political climates in Europe experienced quite a change. The collapse of the Soviet Union provided more room for the countries in their foreign political activities.

In the late of 1991, the desires of these countries to remain within the EFTA, as a means for maintaining their broad autonomies for making economic decisions, as supported by a kind of objection toward the supra-nationality and the principle of neutrality concerning with foreign political activities, could not be defended any longer. Faced with quite bad economic conditions, membership in the Union was viewed as a way out. UE-EFTA cooperation within the context of EEA, providing opportunities only in economic participations, was seen as insufficient, for these countries also wanted to participate in political activities that might allow them to be equal with other members.

The economic conditions of Austria, Finland and Sweden were categorized as minor, but very open, with quite high dependence on the European Union markets. The European Union markets become more important as these three countries lost their traditional trading partners, the Soviet Union markets. The admission of these three countries into European Union had two meanings. Firstly, willingness to accept the whole laws of European Union (*acquis communautaire*) consisting of: (1) the provisions for the free flows of goods, capitals, services and individuals, (2) provisions and common standards for harmonization, fair competitions, indirect monopoly on taxes and the provisions for animals and human being, (3) European Society common policies within the Common Agricultural Policy, Customs Union, Developmental Policy, particularly the Requitat Policy, etc. and (4) European Economic & Monetary Union, as a continuation of European Monetary System. Secondly, the willingness to apply new Maastricht foundations covering common foreign policies, defenses and cooperation in judicial issues and domestic issues.

5. Current Problems of the European Union

England, currently holds the rotated leadership for European Union, is being faced to many problems calling for attention both from within and outside the Union. As a prestigious organization, European Union is faced with various problems such as terrorism (the bombing act in London), immigrants, in France, who demand equal rights and therefore causing chaos for weeks in several French Cities, the polemic on the Turk plan to join the European Union and the plans of some other countries to join the Union.

The British foreign minister, Jackstraw, said that it would be a new history when there is a decision to admit Turkey into the Union. The European Union currently consists of 25 secularly member countries each of which mostly composed of Christians. In a meeting, held in December 1999, a decision was made that Turkey was established as a candidate for the Union member. The decision gave high opportunity that Turkey would be admitted into the Union. But at the same time, there are also worries, among the European countries, that the admission of Turkey into the Union will lessen the credibility of Europe. That is why the meeting discussing the membership of the Turks in European Union has not been a guarantee that Turkey will soon be admitted as a new member. When Turkey is really admitted, then it will be the first time in history that the European Union has a member country whose citizens are mostly Moslems.⁷ Then it is not an exaggeration when the Prime Minister Trecep Tayyip Endogan refers European Union as a Christian

⁷ Turki, Ujian bagi Uni Eropa, *TEMPO*, 16 Oktober 2005 hal 25

Club that European leaders should determine whether European Union will be a global force or not if they remain a Christian Club.

The admission of Turkey into the European Union is still constrained because of the objection by Austria, supported by France, the country being flooded heavily by Turk immigrants since a long time ago. The membership of Turk into the European Union had been discussed in Luxemburg on October 23, 2005. Headed by the British Prime Minister Jackstraw, the meeting was held for a night. The meeting was filled by long debates and the persistent objection of Austria, France and Germany concerning the admission of Turk.

Turkey has been dreaming to join the European Union for 4 (four) decades and 18 years ago it made a formal proposal to join. With sorrow and frustration, however, many Turks witness ex communist countries such as Bulgaria and Romania, as poor as Turkey, bypassed it in joining the European Union. Even Croatia, with a history of war crimes, gets a better place, than Turkey, in the European Union. Austria is a member of European Union and it keeps trying to prevent Turkey from being admitted by suggesting that the European Union should only give limited partnership to the Islamic country once ever occupying Venice while ushered in Croatia.

The reluctance of Austria to admit Turkey is caused more by xenophobia and Islamophobia, as indicated the displays of bad stories when Sultan Sulaiman I sent 100,000 Ottoman troops to occupy Venice in 1532. While France feels that its position in the European Union is

threatened when Turkey, possessing larger population than France, enters into the Union.

British, by means of Prime Minister Tony Blair, give a fair support for Turkey. Turkey tries hard to fulfill all requirements forwarded by some other European Union leaders. Ankara, for example, has to recognize Cyprus that has bypassed Turkey entering into the membership of the European Union. Although the recognition is more of a formality, the Commission of Europe hopes that a negotiation will be held.

Due to its great desire to be admitted into the Union, Turkey willingly fulfill the heavier requirements than requirements imposed on other countries. It has abolished the punishment for adultery and the death penalty, implemented military reformation, improved the Basic Human Rights and given broader rights to Kurds.⁸ However, Turkey remains unable to get rid of the worries it feels, for in a pooling held recently, 52% of Europeans do not want Turkey enter into the Union.

For a nation with as quite strong political and economic potentials as Turkey, actually it should not beg European Union to be one of its members. In addition, Turkey is not located in European area that it is not quite a foundation for the formation of European Economic Union. Turkey is separated from Europe only by Gibraltar Strait, but Turkey's economic condition cannot be highly valued by highly advanced Europe.

⁸ Ibid

Four factors constraining Turkey from entering Europe are: (1) the quite large size of its population; it would be the biggest when it manages to join the Union, (2) poverty; per capita income of average Turk is just 29% of that of European Union members, (3) race; not all Turks have European blood, (4) religion; Islam.

6. Islam and Terrorism

Trying to study Islam should be done comprehensively otherwise there would be misinterpretation. Islam is frequently associated with terrorism and terrorists are frequently use symbols and the spirit of religions, for there are groups of Moslems interpreting martyrdom as a form of war or violence against others considered as enemies. The inclination toward radical and extremist attitudes is caused by the environment rather than by the wisdom of Mohammed's Friends and tabins.

Western leaders generally assume negative interpretations on martyrdom, being consistent with HAR Gibbs and JH Kramers who pointed out: "Martyrdom is a holy war. The spread of Islam by arms is a religious duty upon Moslems in general".⁹

Due to perceptions and interpretations based on HAR Gibbs and JH Krmaers, then European Union societies are frequently very skeptical toward Turkey, whose population are mostly Moslems (99%).

⁹ Gibbs HAR & J.H. Kramers, Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam

7. Martyrdom within Islam

Actually, European Union should not be skeptical about martyrdom in Islam. Martyrdom comes from an Arabic word of *jahada* or *Yujahidu* that means "doing a work or a religious duty earnestly by exerting the maximum energies (thoughts, wealth, time and high spirit) being possessed, in order to achieve a goal or goals."

In the Koran, Al-Hajj Letter article 78, Allah states: "Work hard earnestly with martyrdom on the way of Allah" In the Al Hujarat Letter article 10, it is mentioned: "Actually, everyone having a faith to Allah and **His** Prophet and is not hesitant in working hard with the whole spirit and wealth, in the way of Allah, are the real Mukmins."

As pointed out by the Prophet Mohammed SAW that grand conducts are faith to Allah and **His** Prophet, doing martyrdom in the way of Allah and going Pilgrimage to Mecca. Doing martyrdom has many levels ranging from light or low levels to high levels, depending on the situations, conditions and problems being faced by the represented societies.

Thus, martyrdom in Islam does not necessarily mean war! Most of martyrdom conducts may be done peacefully. According to Ibnu Quyyim Al Jauziah in his book entitled *Zaadul ma'ad*, martyrdom as an conduct for overcoming bad inner urges, should be done first before other martyrdoms. When someone cannot overcome his/her own bad inner urges, then he/she would ignore what instructed by Allah and would do the things forbidden by Allah.

8. Conclusion

Economic & Monetary Union (EMU) is designed as a means for fulfilling the format of cooperation, in the form of comprehensive economic integration, toward European Union. The process has been going on since 1950s.

The Maastricht Treaty for European Union was effective in December 1993, providing broader scopes for the Basic Human Rights. European Union member countries have established and implemented policies for common foreign politics and security, whose intention are to develop and implement democracy and laws, to recognize Basic Human Rights and basic freedom and to increase interdependencies among the member countries.

Presently, European Union, with 25 member countries, keeps improving and developing and has important roles for world life. The admission of Turkey into the Union is still constrained by several factors such as the quite large size of its population, poverty, race and Islam. Most of Western leaders interpret Islam, particularly martyrdom, negatively, being consistent with the opinions of HAR Gibbs and JH Kramers. Spreading Islam through wars constitutes an obligation for Moslems in general.

Such an interpretation about Islam is not correct, for martyrdom in Islam does not necessarily mean wars. Martyrdom may be conducted

peacefully. In fact, the main meaning for martyrdom is to overcome bad inner urges.

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