

International Journal of Academic Value Studies

ISSN: 2149 - 8598 www.javstudies.com

(Yayınlanma Tarihi: 25/11/2016) International Journal of Academic Value Studies, 2016 / 2 (7): 52-62.



Turkey-EU Relations and Overview of Ruling Parties in Turkey to EU: The Period of 1990-2000

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Yaşar AKÇAY

Hakkari University, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations, ey_akcay@hotmail.com

Abstract

Western-style foreign policy is one of the most important elements of Turkish Foreign Policy since 1923. To be membership to the European Union has become a key policy for Turkish foreign policy like NATO membership under this subject. Since 1959, Turkey has been making great efforts to become a full member of the EU. Within the Ankara Agreement which was signed in 1963, has created a legal basis of relations. After this process, Turkey-EU relations have been turbulent. In this process, attitude the ruling party in Turkey towards EU has affected the membership process. Our study covers the years between 1990-2000. Between these years it will be discussed how the exchange of EU-Turkey relations based on internationl conjuncture, ruling parties in Turkey between 1990-2000 and developments in EU and EU member states. Thus it will be revealed how Turkey perceived to be membership to EU. This evaluation will be done by looking at the ruling party's programmes and government programmes.

Key Words: EU, Turkey, Fullmembership, Political Party, Governments.

IEL Kodları: Z00, Z19

Türkiye-AB İlişkileri ve Türkiye'deki İktidar Partilerinin AB'ye Bakışı: 1990-2000 Dönemi

Öz

Batı tarzı dış politika Türk Dış Politikasının 1923'ten beri en önemli unsurlarından biridir. Bu bağlamda AB'ye üye olmak NATO üyeliği gibi Türk Dış Politikası için önemli bir politika olmuştur. Türkiye 1959'dan beri AB'ye üye olmak için büyük çaba sarf etmektedir. 1963'te imzalanan Ankara Anlaşması ile ilişkiler hukuki bir boyut kazanmıştır. Bu süreçten sonra Türkiye-AB ilişkileri çalkantılı olmuştur. Bu süreçte Türkiye'deki iktidar partilerinin AB'ye yönelik tavırları üyelik sürecini etkilemiştir. Çalışmamız 1990-2000 dönemini kapsamaktadır. Bu yıllar arasında Türkiye-AB ilişkilerinin uluslararası konjonktür, 1990-2000 arasındaki iktidar partilerinin AB'ye bakışları ve AB ve AB üyesi devletlerdeki gelişmeler temelinde nasıl değiştiği tartışılacaktır. Böylece Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyeliğinin nasıl algılandığı ortaya çıkacaktır. Bu değerlendirme iktidar partilerinin programlarına ve hükümet programlarına bakılarak yapılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: AB, Türkiye, Tam Üyelik, Siyasi Parti, Hükümetler.

JEL Classification: Z00, Z19

1. INTRODUCTION

The European Commission has been prepared a report after Turkey's EU membership application in 1989. In this report it stated that neither Turkey's full membership of the EU and full membership are not ready, the technical, financial, and industrial cooperation in the customs area have been proposed instead of fullmembership. Matutes Package by Abel

Matutes was prepared for this. The period in question began expire of the Cold War and to dissolution of the Eastern Bloc. This has increased the importance of Turkey's geopolitical terms. Turkey was seen as a model in the context of a democratic and liberal economy for states that fleeing communism and democratic state looking for a new order. Moreover, in August the stance of Turkey, during the 1990 Gulf Crisis and the US intervention has become an indispensable ally for the United States at least. Even the US has said that given the necessary support for Turkey's entry into the Union (Grigoriadis, 2003).

But the Union, many have also exhibit a positive attitude toward developing relationships apart from the development of the Customs Union. Moreover, Union is not the economic aid to Turkey. Ozal has entered into a major partnership deal to revive despite all this. For example, at the meeting the Western European Union in Paris (WEU) it was touched upon the role of Turkey in the Gulf Crisis and the Union has also said that it needs Turkey (Ugur, 2007). Besides, although there has been things Turkey need to fold it is considered that Union has said should show understanding to Turkey. Because Turkey is the case of a member of all European organizations which is established since 1945. So it should be stopped over a full member to Union.

But Turkey's foreign policy has been shaped by the ruling parties' policies. Some of these parties have been supported to Turkey's EU membership whereas the others haven't supported. Parties that haven't supported to Turkey's EU full membership, as economic, political and cultural argued that Turkey has damaged. Supporters stated that Turkey developed in areas such as economic, political, human rights, democracy the rule of law. In this sense, our study will be evaluated how to develop EU-Turkey relations in the years 1990-2000 in the context of Turkey's domestic politics. For this evaluation will be done by looking at the ruling party's program for government.

2. DEVELOPMENTS AFTER THE COLD WAR

Motherland Party lost the election after the Gulf crisis of power and Suleyman Demirel True Path Party held in Turkey has been in power again. In the Government Programme it emphasized the role of Turkey in the Caucasus and Central Asia, stated that they will continue in the relationship with the Union (TBMM, 2015). The new government, were aimed at achieving full membership by developing existing relations with the Union as soon as possible because he knows can not be a full member. At the same time, the new government has requested from Union to assist in the matter not to leave uncertainty in Turkey. Britain, France and Germany have reacted positively to this situation. Because it has been seen that Turkey is an important state for Europe, and has been recognized for his efforts to make the new European role in international relations. Turkey has now become a model country for the Middle East situation states. In this sense, it was more wisely that improve relations rather than freezing with EU to eliminate the missing issues such as democracy, human rights (Ozcan, 2010). But these states have seen that Turkey take place to Union and to protect the interests of uncooperative in the development of relations with Turkey. On September 30, 1991 The association council was meeting. It has been decided that the establishment of subcommittees for the resolution of outstanding issues between the parties at the meeting on the agenda. On 21 January 1992 the European Commission presented a work program for Turkey. In this report, it has addressed the steps to be taken regarding cooperation in communication and social, industry and technology policies with the realization of the Customs Union. So with this program preference is given issues to be inserted into Greece's veto (Baykal and Arat, 2006).

Meanwhile, after the Maastricht Summit on December 9-10, 1991, Maastricht Treaty was signed and it expanded the area of its own activity. Union passed monetary union between member states, a political structure that contains the common foreign and security policy and

justice and home affairs in the area. At the same time Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome changed with this treaty and now the European Parliament's approval of the application for membership began to be sought (Baykal and Arat, 2006).

In 1992, Turkey came up in the Lisbon Summit, and soon made the decision to establish the highest level of political relations with Turkey at the summit's final declaration. It was decided to perform the Customs Union and for the highest level of political relations but due to Greece's veto was removed from the agenda of financial assistance. In addition, in the summit it was asked to prepare a report on the state of the Union-Turkey relations from the UK government. Prepared the report, was asked to be discussed by the foreign ministers of the EU member states but not yet reached the desired results due to the veto Greece (Calis, 2006). on 18th March 1993 Customs Union Steering Committee was established. the conduct of negotiations on the issues of the Customs Union and the Customs Union studies are discussed here. At the same summit it was made a decision that begin negotiations with European Free Trade Association (EFTA) members after the Maastricht Treaty. In the Edinburgh Summit in December 11 to 12, 1992 whereas Austria, Finland and Sweden began to accession negotiations, Switzerland and Norway have withdrawn their application for membership. On 21-22 June 1993 at the Copenhagen Summit, the financial assistance has come to the fore again and decided that the formula has been put forward at the Lisbon Summit. So Turkey is not come up under the deepening and expansion mainly discussed under the headings of external relations and the situation about full membership is no mention.

Within this summit, it has opened an expansion that has included to Central and Eastern European Also known as the Copenhagen Criteria including the integration of the economic, political criteria and accepts the obligations and intent of the EU and stated that they want what will be a member of the Union, are accepted (European Council, 2015). For Turkey, although this summit has been negative for its full membership, a positive step became for the Customs Union. While Union was in dealing with the Central and Eastern European countries the other hand and by including Turkey in the Customs Union both also aimed to exclude the holding of decision-making structures. In this way, Union has also tried to prevent to structural problems because of Turkey. Therefore, the spread of the development of the Customs Union rather than full membership and partnership relations have been required. Thereupon the Association Council on November 8, 1993, has decided to provide the Customs Union up to the end of 1995 (DPT, 2001).

But the period of some of the problems experienced in Turkey has become the subject of damaging relations with the Union. One of these issues was the Kurdish problem. Turkey is seen as a regional-based separatist terrorism and acts of violence have thought, whereas Union defined the subject as a minority issue. Although Union believes that this problem be solved through democratic means, Turkey, seeing the subject as an internal security problem and a national threat, tried to solve the problem by military means. All of these issues are considered as a means of saying no to Turkey (Calis, 2004).

Besides the Kurdish factor Cyprus problem has also hurt relations. Turgut Ozal has made, the efforts for the solution of the problems continued and the relationship. For example, he launched the Davos process that was discontinued inter-communal talks about Cyprus and led to beginning of the negotiations. In addition to all of these Greek-controlled Republic of Cyprus were applied for full membership to Union on behalf of all the people of the island (Bolukbasi, 1998). Turkey and the North Cyprus Turkish Republic (NCTR) reacted and found it against the Treaty of London and Zurich. However relations with Union damaged because of experienced strained in bilateral relations with Greece For example, in 1994, Athens have been declared off limits to 12 miles from 6 miles in the Aegean Sea waters and Turkey has said it would consider an act of war by showing a strong response to this situation (International Crisis Group, 2011).

Greece has continued to veto the Customs Union due to these reasons. However some states such as Germany and Britain which have found important to develop the relations with Turkey, began to exert pressure on Greece The Economist, 1992). For example, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl explained that will not allow Greece to use the Union's institutions against Turkey (Arikan, 2003). Athens that was under pressure has said it might be removed while remaining veto if certain conditions are met.

These conditions:

- ✓ The EU guarantees that it will begin full membership negotiations with Cyprus
- ✓ Excluded from the package of financial assistance to Turkey planned for
- ✓ Financial assistance to improve the textile industry to Greece (Grigoriadis, 2003).

These conditions are not met at all pleasant by Germany. However, it was agreed terms for a moment before resolving the question about Turkey. Because countries like Germany, France and Britain, were completely shut the door of Turkey to the Union considers contrary to national interests. Moreover, snapping a legal framework in dealing with problems such as terrorism, human rights in Turkey have seen the way for the Union to find a solution (Calis, 2006). Then it was decided that the establishment of the Customs Union with the adoption of Decision No 1/95 in the meeting, after the Association Council in Brussels March 6th, 1995.

3. DEVELOPMENTS AFTER CUSTOMS UNION

The Customs Union (Carikci, 1995) met with great enthusiasm in the Turkish public and has drawn positive outlook for Turkey's future. For example this decision has become an indicator decisive steps towards unification and modernization with Union (TBMM, 2015).

Customs Union to was seen important to revive relations with the Union for Turkey. Because there was no substantial progress in relations with the Union in 1989, after the Commission's report, there has been a revival of the Customs Union (Calis, 2006). Turkey has been thought Customs Union as a formula to speed up the full membership. On the other hand, someone have also been negative to the Customs Union in Turkey. In particular, the opposition saw as a mortgage the decision against Turkey's independence. For example, the Labor Party leader Dogu Perincek said that Turkey should not join any capitalist structure, including the Union for its independence and freedom (Perincek, 1995). However anyone in the Union has not seen Customs Union as a tool. For example, the President of the European Parliament Klaus Hansch is seen the Customs Union neither the final stop of the Customs Union nor the relationship as a step towards full membership (Perincek, 1995).

On 29 January 1997. Turkey has requested full membership, at the meeting held between Spain, France Germany, Italy, England. The EU member states stated that it would be difficult for the current expansion for the Union. In the report of "Communication on the Further Development of Relations with Turkey" that was published on 15 July 1997, it was said that Turkey was eligible for full membership, but said it was the same standards as countries in other applications, if the Customs Union should continue it will increased political and economic development (Commission of the European Communities, 2016). On 16 July 1997, a new report, known as Agenda 2000 was published.

According to the report, Agenda 2000 Turkey has been left out of this group was pushed aside because of the political situation. Although Turkey provided a great success about acquis concerning, the resumption problems still persist in economic and political fields should be out of the expansion of it (European Parliament, 2016). This report is discussed at the Luxembourg Summit of 10-12 December 1997 and has been said that needs to be monitored Turkey was eligible for full membership, but a different way to prepare for full membership. Accordingly, the title of "European Strategy for Turkey" was opened (Maresceau, 2006).

The exclusion of Turkey at the Luxembourg Summit has been the impact of Imia Crisis with Greece happened in 1996. Within the Imia crisis Greece said follow expansionist policy on Turkey's Aegean Sea and has brought this issue to the organs of the Union After this incident Greece have used to veto power against Turkey in order to ensure the progress of the Union-Turkey relations. Besides the continuation of political and economic reforms within the framework of rapprochement strategy with Turkey, it was demanded on human rights and the achievement of the Union standards on minorities, to establish good relations with Greece, to contribute to the solution of the Cyprus problem. On 14 December 1997, Turkey said that found the attitude of the Union biased and discriminatory, has announced that Turkey's goal that any issues not on the agenda of the Union in the process than full membership stated that he had and matters relating to relations with the Union does not fulfill the Union obligation relationships. At the same time on 12 March 1998 Turkey said it would not participate in the European Conference which will be held in London. (Disisleri Bakanligi, 2015).

4. LUXEMBOURG SUMMIT AND HELSINKI SUMMIT: TOWARDS TO CANDIDATE STATUS

Union-Turkey relations have entered into a recession after the Luxembourg Summit and anyone has to deal with Union except Ministy of Foreign Affairs. Also in Union, it has not done anything except the decisions taken at the Luxembourg Summit. During this period, significant improvement was the "European Strategy for Turkey" that was prepared on March 4, 1998 and aims to develop relations with EU (Baykal and Arat, 2006). Besides Turkey wanted rearrangement to Forth Financial Protocol which blocked because of the veto Greece in the 1980s and to participate in the Union's various programs but failed to achieve any success (European Commission, 2015).

Cardiff summit which held on 15-16 June 1998 after the Luxembourg Summit, it has exhibited a softer approach to Turkey with regard joining the Union's expansion. So much so that it has been used concept of "eligible for membership," instead of the concept of "candidates" for membership (European Commission, 2016). In the meantime it was published the Progress Report on Turkey by Commission and has voiced criticism of the shortcomings in the political criteria for mentioning human rights (European Union, 2015). After the Cardiff summit in Vienna and in Cologne it has held another summit, but also is not approved the nomination of Turkey in here.

Upon this Turkey continued protection the attitude that adopted by the after the Luxembourg Summit. However, in the general conclusion of the summit, the Commission has considered everything related to Turkey and the EU Council of Ministers has also been advised to candidate Turkey. Turkey has been a candidate country at the Helsinki summit on 10-11 December 1999 (European Union, 2016).

There has been raised many reasons for that Turkey accepted to EU as a candidate state because of changing government in Germany, the earthquake on December 17, 1999 in Turkey, Abdullah Ocalan's arrest in Kenya Embassy of Greece, be aware of the importance of Turkey in the conflict in the Balkans and the United States (Kubicek, 2001). However, this claim is completely untrue. Turkey's adoption of the Union in 1999 as a candidate state is hidden in the correspondence between German Former Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and Bulent Ecevit. In this correspondence, May 26, 1999 starting for the first time Ecevit said that realized to conditions of Turkey's full membership, he promised that will be made in a democratic and social reforms, to fix relations with Greece. Besides the fulfillment of these conditions, Ecevit has said if the EU takes some important steps for Turkey, it could be possible to normalization of relations between the Union and Turkey. In contrast, Schroeder has promised to do everything what need to overcome if Turkey ensures necessary conditions to be membership to EU (Birand, 2016). In line with this commitment at the summit in Helsinki Turkey has gained candidate status.

Although Turkey got the candidate status in Helsinki summit, it became restive from the final declaration of the summit because of Cyprus problem and bilateral problem with Greece (Bac, 2000). Up on Finnish Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen prepared a letter known as Lipponen Letter. According to this letter,

- ✓ Turkey is no different from other candidates.
- ✓ Making reference to text of the fourth and ninth article is related to the political dialogue in article 12.
- ✓ Specified for the solution of the problems with Greece 2004 it is not a firm date.
- ✓ However, the EU Council of Ministers after this date will discuss this issue (DSP, 2004).

Although there have been occasional problems of Turkey's candidacy was approved at the summit. After the Helsinki Summit "Millennium Declaration" published and it has raised issues such as new steps in expansion in this Declaration, effective and reformed new Union institutions, strong CFSP and competitive economy. Besides, it was stated that all candidates are equal and disputes will be made by peaceful means in accordance with the UN Treaty. Article 12 of the Declaration has been related on Turkey. Accordingly, the EU Council of Ministers, has said that the Commission's Progress Report on Turkey made positive because of reforms and mentioned that it was satisfied with the good faith attitude of Turkey and Turkey is a candidate to join the Union as the other candidates. On the other hand Turkey will participate in Community programs and meetings, at the same time will also prepare itself to comply with the obligations related to the other necessary economic and acquis (European Parliament, 2016).

According to Bulent Ecevit Winning Turkey's candidate status has led unconditional to accession of Turkey to EU. So much so that after the nomination in Turkey has now begun to grumble that the Europeans words (Guzey, 2007). However, some countries and leaders in the Union said that it would be beneficial for both sides with Turkey, the alternative relationship instead of full membership. For example Former President of France Valery Giscard d'Estaing who has stated Turkey is an important country has proposed a privileged relationship rather than full membership with Turkey (Dedeoglu and Gursel, 2015). On 8 March 2000 after the nomination, Union prepared to "Accession Partnership Document" and this document at the summit in Nice in December 2000 approved by the EU Council of Ministers (Archick, 2004).

5. TURKEY-EU RELATIONS WITH THE EYES OF RULING PARTIES IN TURKEY

5.1. Government of Mesut Yilmaz 23.06.1991-20.11.1991-Motherland Party

Motherland Party, has expressed its full membership in the government program. It has tried to make economic expansions in relations with EU. Motherland Party after the Cold War, said that aimed to bring the most advanced members of the Union as soon as the application for full membership levels, and has said this approach will further accelerate. With this approach in relations. Government of Mesut Yilmaz which was established after Ozal, has continued to pro-EU attitude. However, during the Yilmaz, it emphasized that EU should do something instead of Turkey (ANAP, 1991).

After 1990 Soviet Bloc collapsed, the European Community has discussed economic relations in the framework of mutual rights and interests of the country. Our first goal in relations with the EU, is to launch a new rapprochement and cooperation process will lead to full membership to Turkey, and to multiply the elements of integration between Turkey and EU. European partners are required to take essential measures to re-building of a strong and dynamic without delay. Turkey will also try to fulfill the necessary reforms as soon as possible (TBMM, 2016).

5.2. Government of Suleyman Demirel 21.11.1991-25.06.1993 - True Path Party and Social Democratic Populist Party

TPP has stood on the full membership to the Union can be realized by making the necessary industrial development. Because the steps to be taken for the industry, it is necessary for Turkey to take part increasingly in world trade. TPP has shown that pro-EU stance for EU membership. TPP believes that reaches to Community standards so many areas such as production, training, service, level of prosperity in many areas such as infrastructure development. (DYP, 1987; DYP, 1986).

To be membership to EU for Turkey and government of Suleyman Demirel it is main aim. There is no doubt that reach their natural size every area in Europe without Turkey's share and contribution and to organize the institutionalization of the new European organization. For this Our government is determined to take a walk this historic road about the Turkish community in Europe that combines historical societies, political, economic, cultural and morale by enhancing and strengthening the common parts (TBMM, 2016).

5.3. The First Government of Tansu Ciller- 25.06.1993-05.10.1995 - True Path Party and Social Democratic Populist Party

After the death of President Turgut Ozal, Suleyman Demirel and Tansu Ciller has been chairman of the TPP and Prime Minister of Turkey. During the era of Tansu Ciller, to be membership to EU became main goal. In era of Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, on 6 March 1995 it was entered into the Customs Union with Turkey and was an important step in the accession process with the EU. According to Motherland Party ensuring peace and security in Europe depends on EU integration. The European Union's future can only be achieved in the natural dimensions including Turkey. For this Our government, our relations with the European Community, will take part as a full member in the direction of maximum effort in the context of European security and defense identity to develop in line with Turkey's full membership perspective (TBMM, 2016).

5.4. Second Government of Tansu Ciller- 05.10.1995-30.10.1995 - True Path Party

In this era Turkey made so many reform to adopt the EU values such as protection of competitive, Protection of consumer rights, reforms to join the international market. All this, Customs Union is one of the most important actions of this government initiative is an important step in the accession process. It is an important step in the accession process to EU. This is the most important success obtained since 32 years (TBMM, 2016).

5.5. The Third Government of Tansu Ciller- 30.10.1995-06.03.1996 - True Path Pary/Republician People's Party

During this period, the government has focused on the importance of the Customs Union issues need to be resolved firstly. According to government, Turkey is a very important point towards integration with the European Union. Turkey will make everything to be membership to EU as soon as possible. Turkey is covered by the Customs Union. However Turkey has continued to make so many reforms to adopt EU values which will ensure to be membership to EU (TBMM, 2016).

5.6. Second Government of Mesut Yilmaz- 06.03.1996-28.06.1996- Motherland Party/True Path Party

Customs Union starting with January 1, 1996, is to open a new page in the development process of Turkey. The next objective of Turkey's full membership to the European Union. Disappearing differences gradually between industrial standards which the products between the European Union and Turkey will allow the production to the same standards for European Union countries. Thus, it will be possible to reach a more rational dimension of Turkey's

industrial enterprises Within the Customs Union Turkey will be put into practice to competitive policy. Thus it will be prevented to monopolization, ensured to protection of competition in Turkey's economy.

- ✓ To develop the Turkey's economy will be made these subjects.
- ✓ Necessary conditions for the formation of prices in the competitive environment will be created.
- ✓ The necessary framework for the provision of financial support from the European Union will be made.
- ✓ Work necessary to ensure the free movement of services and agricultural products to complete economic integration with the European Union will be made (TBMM, 2016).

5.7. Government of Necmettin Erbakan- 28.06.1996-30.06.1997 - Welfare Party/Motherland Party

Welfare Party, was one of the party opposed to full membership to the EU. According to Welfare Party, The EU is a Christian club and if Turkey becomes an EU member, it will be great market for EU. Despite all, this was also mentioned that will improve the relations with EU in the government programme. For example in its government programme, it stated that will struggle about the implementation of the provisions on the free movement and will be taken measure about the improvement of legal status of Turkish workers and their families who work in the member states of the European Union. However Government of Erbakan mentioned that will adopt the Customs Union's implementations and Turkey will also improve its own relations with EU as an economic and financial (TBMM, 2016).

5.8. Third Government of Mesut Yilmaz- 30.06.1997-11.01.1999 - Motherland Party, Democratic Left Party/Democratic Society Party

The government has said it would continue our initiative towards integration with the European institutions while establishing significant transformations in the world on the brink of the 2000s and the European Restructuring. In this context, it will be accelerated our government's struggles to be membership to EU as soon as possible. All the gains which we make in our relations with the European Union was spared, will be developed. To be full membership of Turkey to the European Union is not only a goal, but also a right arising from the agreement. Our government will announce the provision of mutual benefit balance in its relations with the EU. Harmonization work carried out in the framework of the customs union between the European Union and Turkey in early 1996, will be accelerated.

To adapt to the new competitive environment brought about by the industry to reduce the gap between the customs union it will be put into financial cooperation between the EU and Turkey. Within the Customs Union which held in 1996 relations between Turkey and the European Union entered to last Period.

In this era;

- ✓ Turkey's actual and legal gains will be consolidated and developed including the Customs Union.
- ✓ The EU will persistent in fulfilling their obligations towards Turkey.
- ✓ The EU will develop cooperation with Turkey in order to establish a proper balanced dynamic spirit of the Customs Union.
- ✓ Thus, Turkey will take its rightful place again being drawn in the European region (TBMM, 2016).

5.9. The Forth Government of Bulent Ecevit- 11.01.1999-28.05.1999-Democratic Left Party

Ecevit and DLP also has looked favorably on EU membership. According to Ecevit EU is essential for development of fundamental values such as democracy, human rights in Turkey.

But the accession process must be on equal terms. If not Turkey will be EU's market. While the new transformation on the verge of the 2000s the world stage, particularly Europe restructuring. Turkey will sooner or later, the location is right in the integration processes in Europe, without any compromise on national rights (TBMM, 2016).

5.10. The Fifth Government of Bulent Ecevit- 28.05.1999-18.11.2002-Democratic Left Party/Nationalist Movement Party/Motherland Party

According to this government, Turkey's full membership to the European Union is right arising from history, geography and the agreement. It will work to the realization of the full membership target in the equal right and status as the other members. Turkey, which will take place in the European integration process will continue national rights and interests to observe carefully all the time. In this context, opportunities and developments that can accelerate to relations between Turkey and the European Union and will be carefully monitored (TBMM, 2016).

6. CONCLUSION

The period between 1990 to 2000 has been important for Turkish Foreign Policy. During this period many regions such as The Middle East, Central Asia were of great importance for Turkey. However this period has been the period of important developments in Turkey-EU relations. After the application for full membership in 1987, studies were conducted for the realization of the Customs Union reference to the report prepared by the Commission. Because Turkey seen to Customs Union as a step to full membership.

On the other hand after Agenda 2000 Report and Luxembourg Summit, even if relations between two sides interruption, Turkey was accepted as a candidate country in 1999 Helsinki Summit. After this date relations began to develop rapidly. Turkey made many reforms to ensure compliance with the EU Acquis.

During this period 10 governments were established in Turkey. In all government programs, the party programs and election returns is given to relations with the EU. Although Erbakan government ideologically opposed to relations with the EU, it has supported Turkey-EU relations during this period. The other parties have immediately supported to Turkey-EU Relations. All governments have frequently expressed the goal of full membership. Full membership to EU is required due to both economic and politic causes. Thus it is believed that would ensure to stability in Turkey.

REFERENCES

ANAP. (1991). Secim Beyannamesi, Ankara.

Archick, K. (2004). "European Union Enlargement, CRS Report for Congress", https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS22517.pdf, (14.03.2016).

Arikan, H. (2003). "Avrupa Birligi Turkiye Iliskilerinde Yunanistan Faktoru", Istanbul Universitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakultesi Dergisi, 28: 116-140.

Bac, M. M. (2000). "Turkey's Role in the EU's Security and Foreign Policies", Security Dialogue, 31 (4): 489-502.

Baykal, S. and Arat, T. (2006). "AT İle Iliskiler". Baskın Oran (ed.), Türk Dis Politikası: Kurtulus Savası'ndan Bugune Olgular, Belgeler Yorumlar, Iletisim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Birand, M. A. (2015). "Tarihi Mektuplar", http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/index/ArsivNews. aspx?id=-83722, (03.04.2015).

Bolukbasi, S. (1998). "Turkiye'nin Yakınındaki Avrupa Ile Iliskiler", Avrasya Dosyası, 4, (1-2): 22-40.

Calis, S. (2004). Hayalet Bilimi ve Hayali Kimlikler, Cizgi Kitabevi, Konya.

Calis, S. (2006). Turkiye-Avrupa Birligi Iliskileri: Kimlik Degisimi Politik Aktorler, Nobel Yayınclık, Ankara.

Carikci, E. (1995). Turkiye-AB Gumruk Birligi Antlasması ve Beklentiler", Yeni Turkiye, 3: 16-26.

Commission of the European Communities. (2016). "Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on the further development of relations with Turkey", http://aei.pitt.edu/3516/1/3516.pdf, (02.03.2016).

Dedeoglu, B. and Gursel, S. (2015). "EU and Turkey: The Analysis of Privileged Partnership or Membership", http://betam.bahcesehir.edu.tr/en/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/EU-and-Turkey-The-Analysis-of-Privileged-Partnership-or-Membership_final.pdf, (21.10.2015).

Dısisleri Bakanligi. (2015). "Turkiye Cumhuriyeti Disisleri Bakanligi'nin AB Luxemburg Kararı İle İlgili Aciklamasi 14 Aralık 1997", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-cumhuriyeti-_disisleri-bakanliginin_-ab-luksemburg-karari-ile-ilgili-aciklamasi_-14-aralik-1997.tr.mfa, (21.10.2015).

DPT. (2001). "Decision S. 1/93 of The EEC-Turkey Association Council of 8 November 1993", Turkey-European Union Association Council Decisions (1964-2000), DPT, Ankara.

DSP. (2004). Ecevit, Kıbrıs ve Helsinki Gercegi, Pozitif Matbaacılık, Ankara.

DYP. (1986). "Cumhuriyet Medeniyetinin Uc Temeli Hurriyet, Guven ve Refah Dun Ucu Beraberdi Yine Beraber Olacak", DYP Secim Beyannamesi 1986, Ankara.

DYP. (1987). "Buyuk Türkiye Programı: Hurriyet, Guvenlik ve Refah İçin El Ele", DYP Secim Beyannamesi 1987, Ankara.

Economist. (1992). "The Sick Man of Europe", The Economist.

European Commission. (2015). "European strategy for Turkey: the Commission's Initial Operational Proposals, Communication from the Commission to the Council. COM (98) 124 final, 4 Mart 1998", http://aei.pitt.edu/4356/, (21.10.2015).

European Commission. (2016). "Cardiff European Council Presidency Conclusion 15-16 Haziran 1998", http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/presdata/en/ec/54315.pdf, (21.01.2016).

European Council. (2015). "European Council in Copenhagen Conclusions of the Presidency", 21-22 June 1993. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/presData/en/ec/72921.pdf, (25.09.2015).

European Parliament. (2016). "Helsinki European Summit Presidency Conclusion, 10-11 December 1999", http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/hel1_eS.htm, (21.03.2016).

European Parliament. (2016). "Agenda 2000", http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lux1 eS.htm#agenda2000, (20.10.2015).

European Union. (2015). "Regular Report from Commission on the Turkey's Progress Towards Accession", http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/turkey_eS.pdf, (21.10.2015).

European Union. (2016). "Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe", http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1999koln/pact.htm, (21.03.2016).

Grigoriadis, I. S. (2003). "The Changing Role of the EU Factor in Greek-Turkish Relations", London School of Economics and Political Science Hellenic Observatory 1 st PhD Symposium on Modern Greece: Current Social Science Research on Greece, , 1-11, London.

Guzey, A. F. (2007). "Turkiye AB'ye Mi, Yoksa Avrupa Turkiye'ye Mi Giriyor?", Kastamonu Egitim Dergisi, 15 (1): 323-338.

International Crisis Group. (2011). "Turkey and Greece: Time to Settle the Aegean Dispute", International Crisis Group Policy Brief, 1: 1-20.

Kubicek, P. (2001). "The Earthquake Europe and Prospects for Political Change in Turkey", MERIA, 5 (2): 34-47.

Maresceau, M. (2016). Bilateral Agreements Concluded by the European Community, Martinus Nuhoff Publishers, Boston.

Ozcan, M. (2010). "Avrupa Birliği Turkiye Iliskileri'nde Temel Belirleyici Unsur Olarak Insan Hakları", Polis Bilimleri Dergisi, 2 (5-6): 87-97.

Perincek, D. (1995). "Guneyli Dis Politikası", Yeni Turkiye, 1(3): 127-145.

TBMM. (2015). "II. Ciller Hukumeti Programı", http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP51.htm, (08.10.2015).

TBMM. (2015). "VII. Demirel Hukumeti Programı", http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP49.htm, (25.09.2015).

TBMM. (2016). "I. Yilmaz Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP48.htm. (31.03.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "VII. Demirel Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP49.htm. (01.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "I. Ciller Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP50.htm. (02.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "II. Ciller Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP51.htm. (02.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "III. Ciller Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP52.htm. (01.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "II. Yilmaz Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP53.htm. (03.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "Erbakan Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP54.htm. (04.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016)."III. Yilmaz Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP55.htm. (04.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016)."IV. Ecevit Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP56.htm. (05.04.2016).

TBMM. (2016). "V. Ecevit Hukumeti Programı", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP57.htm. (05.04.2016).