



THE PROGRESS OF EU AND TURKEY RELATIONSHIP

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ABSTRACT

Relations between Turkey and the EU, which express a difficult process, are important in every period of history. Relations that started with the Ankara Agreement passed through different phases over time, resulting in changes in mutual expectations of the parties. Turkey has not been able to give up on entering the EU. Similarly, the EU was able to see Turkey completely out of the union. Turkey has not been among the candidates for full membership with the 1997 Luxembourg Summit, and Turkey has tried to follow the policy of cutting the relations by reacting to the EU. After this unfortunate situation, the EU announced that it would prepare an accession partnership document by accepting the candidacy of Turkey with the 1999 Helsinki Summit. This has led to a shift in relational obligation and expectations.

Keywords: European Community (EC), European Union (EU), Ankara Agreement, Additional Protocol

Jel Codes: F50, F55, F59

AB VE TÜRKİYE İLİŞKİLERİNİN GELİŞİM SÜRECİ

ÖZET

Zorlu bir süreci ifade eden Türkiye ve AB arasındaki ilişkiler, tarihin her döneminde önem arz etmektedir. Ankara Anlaşması ile başlayan ilişkiler, zamanla farklı evrelerden geçerek tarafların karşılıklı beklentilerinde değişiklikler ortaya çıkmıştır. Türkiye, AB'ye girmekten vazgeçmeyi göze alamamıştır. Benzer şekilde de AB, Türkiye'yi tamamen birlik dışında bırakmayı göze alabilmiştir. 1997 Lüksemburg Zirvesi ile tam üyelik adayları arasında yer alamayan Türkiye, AB'ye karşı tepki göstererek ilişkileri kesme politikası izlemeye çalışmıştır. İlişkilerde yaşanan bu kötü durumdan sonra AB 1999 Helsinki Zirvesi ile Türkiye'nin adaylığını kabul ederek katılım ortaklığı belgesi hazırlanacağını duyurmuştur. Böylelikle ilişkilerde yeniden yükümlülük ve beklentilerin görüşüldüğü bir döneme girilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Topluluğu (AT), Avrupa Birliği (AB), Ankara Anlaşması, Katma Protokol

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1.INTRODUCTION

France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries that have signed after the entry into force of the Treaty of Rome in 1958, Greece on 15 July 1959 and 31 July 1959 Turkey applied to join the European Community.

Turkey is the only Muslim country in the world that has headed to the West since the Tanzimat. Moreover, Turkey is a country that has adopted secular and democratic principles, is a neighboring country of Europe, and among the Muslim countries, it is among the most economically and socially most developed countries and has chosen Europe as its lifestyle. Turkey itself to the great önder Atatürk "to enter the Civilization Which nation is not directed to the West that wants? " have accepted in principle the promise is a contemporary country (Karluk, 1982: 23).

Following the great leader Atatürk, the new administration applied for membership of the Council of Communities 36 years after the establishment of the Republic. Turkey is the second country after Greece to apply for membership to the EEC. According to Karluk (2007), the view that Greece should not be left alone was an important factor in this application. Besides, the authorities used the following statement when explaining the reason for their application:

"Turkey does not want to stay out of a political coalition that can be established in Western Europe in the long term, but on the other hand, Turkey is not deprived of trade concessions to Greece in the customs union" (DTM, 1999: 315).

The first official contact with the EEC was held on 28 September 1959. Thus, Turkey-Community relations have begun. The applications of Greece and Turkey to the EEC have earned respect for the EEC, which has not yet had a certain success. At the time, the European Economic Community in response to the full membership application reported that the level of development of Turkey was not sufficient to fulfill the requirements of full membership and proposed the signing of a partnership agreement which would be valid until the full membership conditions were fulfilled (ABGS, 2009). After 4 years of negotiations, Turkey and EEC signed an Association Agreement (Ankara Agreement) based on customs cooperation in 1963.

2.BASIC CERTIFICATES OF PARTNERSHIP

Ankara Agreement, Additional Protocol and Harmonization Agreements are among the basic documents of the partnership. Giving information about the details of these basic documents will be helpful in shedding light on the history of Turkey - EU relations.

1. Ankara Agreement:

The Association Agreement, which made Turkey a member of the European Economic Community, based on a customs union between the parties and envisaging full membership in the future, was discussed in Brussels on 25.06.1963 and signed on 12.09.1963 in Ankara. For this reason, it is also known as the Ankara Agreement. The agreement which fully establishes a partnership between the name Turkey and EEC has been approved by Law No. 397 dated 10.02.1964 (Akman, 1995).

The agreement foresees the establishment of a gradually developing customs union between the Community and Turkey. The aim of the Ankara Agreement is to speed up the development of the Turkish economy, increase the level of employment of the Turkish people and increase the living conditions steadily (DTM, 1999). In short, it intends to strengthen trade and economic relations between the parties in a continuous and balanced manner.

The Ankara Agreement basically consists of 5 documents. These:

1. Main Agreement (Article 33): The aims, principles, principles of the customs union, agriculture, goods, free circulation of capital and services of persons, harmonization of transport, competition, legislation and economic policies, organs of partnership, Turkey's full membership possibilities, dispute resolution methods are governed.

2. Provisional Protocol (Article 11): Prepared for the application of commercial provisions in case of late entry into force due to the approval of the Agreement.

3. Financial Protocol (Article 9): It specifies the principles for the implementation of the 175 million ECU credit, which was decided to be given to Turkey by the Council on 09.05.1963.

4. Final Act: The Final Act shall contain the joint declarations made by the Contracting Parties in respect of the Additional Protocol, the notification of commentary, and the declaration of the German nationality of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the notification of the Agreement concerning the articles entered into the ECSC jurisdiction. The Additional Protocol has been signed with him as attached.

5. Letters exchanged between the parties on the labor force.

In addition to these agreements, one Declaration of Intent, two Declaration of Conformity and two Declarations of the German Government were added (IKV, 2009).

The Ankara Agreement is a Framework Agreement based on Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome and defining the basic principles of Turkey-Community partnership. The details of the agreement were later determined by the Additional Protocol. These are inseparable parts of the Agreement (Article 30). The Ankara Agreement is an "international law document" for signing further with the member states of the Community. The parties have not been granted a right of termination and the duration of the termination has not been prescribed. Therefore, the objectives of the Agreement must remain in effect until the time of its implementation (Karluk, 2007b).

Turkey has become a member of the European Union and the Ankara Agreement. However, participation in the Community bodies is necessary for joint membership. As a participant or observer, Turkey wanted to take part in decision-making and political consultation, but these requests were rejected by the Community. They also said that participation would not be possible without full membership as a reason for rejection. Considering these facts, the Agreement has brought a gradual pre-partnership (Karluk, 2007a).

The Ankara Agreement is an agreement that both sides and parties are equally involved. The parties are equally represented in the decisions taken. There is a vote on both sides of the decision-making process. The Ankara Agreement foresees an economic union between Turkey and the Community countries, free movement of labor and strengthening of social ties between the parties, and is of economic and political character, with Turkey aiming at full membership to the community in the future. In terms of economy, it is also foreseen in the agreement to provide assistance in order to close

the gap. The determination to maintain peace and freedom constitutes the political direction of the deal. It is also evident that the political unification has gone through economic integration. The Ankara Agreement foresees that the support provided by the Community will facilitate Turkey's participation in the Community at a later date (İKV, 2009).

II. Additional Protocol:

In the first article of the Provisional Protocol, the Fourth Year after the entry into force of the Ankara Agreement, the Joint Council foresees the provisions of the Additional Protocol relating to the conditions, procedures and preferences of the transitional period, taking into account Turkey's economic situation. In 1967, the Turkish government announced its intention for the transition period before the deadline. The text of the Additional Protocol, which shaped the transition period, was adopted at the 19.11.1970 meeting of the Association Council. Provisional Protocol, Financial Protocol, Articles of Agreement and Final Act concerning the Articles of Entitlement to the ECSC were signed in Brussels on 23.11.1970 (Karluk, 1997: 28-32).

A transitional agreement was signed in 1971 due to the understanding that the ratification process of the Additional Protocol would be delayed. Thus the transition period has officially begun. The Additional Protocol was adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) on June 5, 1971, with 149 negative votes against 69 positive votes, and it was enacted on 1 September 1971. The Additional Protocol, also adopted in the Parliaments of the EC competent bodies and Member States, entered into force on 01.01.1973 (<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr>).

The Additional Protocol is, in fact, an implementation agreement. Because it aims to ensure that the provisions of the Ankara Agreement are put into force in accordance with the economic situation of Turkey. This Protocol is very important for the future of the Turkish economy in key issues such as customs union in industrial products, free trade of agriculture, free movement of labor, foreign capital, settlement freedom and service policy, coordination of economic policies, competition and state aids, export subsidies and financial assistance. implementation provisions. The Additional Protocol sets out the principles of the Transitional Period, which will last 12 years. According to the protocol, the customs union for industrial goods in principle is 12 years. As an exception, it is foreseen that Turkey will abolish customs duties on industrial goods in 22 years. The realization of the customs union in agricultural products was left to the end of 22 years. Unlike this Protocol, the European Commission and the Turkish authorities signed the ECSC Free Trade Agreement for the removal of customs barriers in Brussels on 25.07.1996 (ABGS, 2009).

The Additional Protocol is a pre-accession agreement. The next period in practice is full membership. The Additional Protocol, the Financial Protocol, the EC Treaty on the Entry into the Jurisdiction and the Final Act are integral parts of the Ankara Agreement.

III. Harmonization Agreements:

Countries newly joining the Community must adopt the Community *acquis*. In 1973, the number of the member countries of the group rose to nine with the participation of England, Ireland and Denmark. In Ankara on 30.06.1973, a complementary protocol between Turkey and the European Economic Community was signed (<http://www.dtm.gov.tr>) to ensure the harmonization of the partnership agreement with these countries and to organize the partnership relations.

With the signing of this Protocol, newly entering countries have become parties to the Ankara Agreement. In addition, with this Supplementary Protocol, additional measures have been introduced to protect the competitiveness of the industry branches newly established in our country. In 1986, with the participation of Spain and Portugal in the Community, a harmonization agreement was signed in 1987 to provide alignment with these countries.

Greece, which entered the Community before Spain and Portugal, was not willing to cooperate with Turkey. As a justification, after 1980, Turkey-European Union relations have been frozen. On March 3, 1988, the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Greece came together in Brussels and agreed to make a harmonization agreement. As a result, the Partnership Agreement Greece was also covered and the harmonization agreement was signed on 20.02.1988.

3. PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT (ANKARA AGREEMENT) PERIOD AND CUSTOMS UNION PROCESS

3.1. Preparation Period

Until the Ankara Agreement entered into force (01.12.1964) and the signing of the Additional Protocol, Turkey was compelled to improve its economic situation in this period. Despite the fact that this period lasted for 5 years at first, the preparation period was extended to 9 years. The most important feature of the preparation period is unilateral recognition of quota advantages (tobacco, raisins, dried figs, hazelnuts) to Turkey.

In this period, the import rate of Turkey increased rapidly according to the export rate and the share of EEC in the total import rate increased. In 1963 the rate was 29% while in 1972 it was 42%. This is an indication that Turkey is a good market for the Community. No progress has been made in the preparatory period on the free movement of workers, the right of establishment and freedom of service. It was inspired by some articles of the Treaty of Rome in the Ankara Agreement (Article 48 and 50) in order for the free movement of workers to be carried out gradually. For the free movement of the capital, mutual consultations of the parties are foreseen. The loan amounting to 175 million ECU mentioned in the previous title was given in this period together with the First Financial Protocol (Karluk, 1974).

3.2. Transition Period: Customs Union Process

The transition period is also called the Customs Union Process in some sources. In this respect, we can explain the transition periods of the Customs Union in three main themes. These:

i) Removal of taxes and duties in the same direction with customs duties: In return for the contributions made during the preparation period, Turkey was also required to undertake certain duties within a certain calendar to implement the Customs Union. Turkey has committed itself to fulfill the obligations of the Customs Union in this period. It is accepted that the aim of the customs union is to cover the industrial products and the common policy in agricultural products.

The Additional Protocol stipulates that the parties avoid or avoid abandoning the customs duties imposed on foreign trade and the duties and taxes with the same effect. The Community was reset on September 1, 1971, when all four customs duties on industrial goods originating in Turkey entered into force except for four exceptions.

Turkey was in compliance with its obligations between 1973 and 1976. However, as a result of a decision taken on 25.12.1976, according to the protection under the Additional Protocol (Article 60), Turkey has not postponed all its obligations.

Having followed the policy of outsourcing after the decisions of January 24, 1980, Turkey began to implement customs reductions after the full membership application in 1987. At the Ad Hoc Committee meetings it participated in in 1988, Turkey announced that it would apply the obligations of the customs union in its industrial products until 1995 and declared that the funds taken from imported skateboards would be removed within 5 years from 1993. In line with these decisions, at the beginning of 1996, customs duties and other taxes and duties with the same effect were reset and harmonized with the Common Customs Tariff of the European Union (www.dtm.gov.tr).

ii) Adherence to the OGT: The Community member countries on 1 July 1968 have accorded to the customs union among themselves and the OGT has entered into force. According to the Additional Protocol, Turkey will adapt to OGT at the end of 12 and 22 years. However, the policy of postponing the obligations of the customs union, which was started in 1976 and continued for 12 years in the harmonization process, was abolished with the decision of Council of Ministers No: 87/12421 of 17.12.1987. Customs Tariff Schedule to facilitate compliance with OGT was enacted as of 01.01.1989 (www.tcmb.gov.tr). In addition, in 1989, Turkey participated in the International Convention on the Harmonized Goods Promotion and Coding System. Turkey adhered to the recommendations set out at the Ad Hoc Committee meetings in a timely manner.

iii) Removal of Quotas: In order to ensure full customs union, it is also necessary to remove quotas (quantity restrictions) at the same time as not removing the taxes. Quotas provide a more precise protection compared to the tax rates if the application costs are not taken into account. Therefore, liberal politics must be monitored by removing quotas. As promised in the Additional Protocol, the Community removed all quotas it had applied to Turkish industrial products on September 1, 1971 except for silkworms, raw silk and petroleum products. On the other hand, Turkey has the right to put quota in the Protective Protocol. Since 1984 he removed the quotas with the Turkish Import Regime and fulfilled the commitments in this regard.

Although Turkey did not fulfill its obligations in the Additional Protocol, England did not comply with the Protocol in 1975 and prevented Turkey's export of cotton yarn by a unilateral decision. As a result, a quota war has started between Turkey and the Community in terms of the textile sector. Contrary to the Community Protocol, to negotiate a voluntary export restriction agreement with Turkey. This request has not been accepted by Turkey. A restraint agreement was signed with the sector representatives in 1982. Textile Administrative Cooperation Agreement was signed in May 1992 for the same aim. It is clear that all these practices are contrary to the Protocol (Karluk, 2007b).

3.3. Last Period

In the second article of the Ankara Agreement, it is stated that the partnership to be formed between Turkey and EEC will come from three periods. We have explained the first two periods until now and in the last period the parties will adapt to each other in economic policies. The final turnover does not occur automatically.

In Article 28 of the Ankara Agreement, this situation is clarified as follows: if Turkey shows that the obligations arising from the Treaty of Rome have come to a situation where it can assume the entirety, the full membership of the contracting parties presupposes that they can meet. However, in

the past, following the path of Greece, in the year 1987, apart from the partnership status, Turkey applied to become a full member of the Community.

4. TURKEY'S FULL MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Turkey did not anticipate the completion of the periods stipulated by the Ankara Agreement, but on the date of 14.04.1987, independent of this agreement, the applicant was found to have full membership in accordance with the relevant articles of the Agreements establishing the ECSC, EEC and EURATOM. As long as it was in the application, Turkey would benefit from the provision of the Rome Treaty, "every European State may wish to join the Communities".

With the application for full membership, Turkey has removed the views that it is not economically adequate yet. The Council, convened at the level of Foreign Ministers, unanimously decided to send Turkey's application to the Commission for examination. The Commission explained the "Opinion Report" 2.5 years later on 18.12.1989 (www.tbmm.gov.tr, 2011).

It is stated in the Opinion Report that Turkey can not become a full member before reaching the Single Act targets. If this negative Commission opinion was adopted by the Council in 1990, the assessment of Turkey's full membership application remains unclear.

The Commission Report stated that the population in Turkey has increased rapidly, that the development is at a low level, that it has an economy based on agriculture, that there is a high level of protection in the industry, that inflation and unemployment rates are very high and income distribution is bad. As a result of this report, the Commission noted that Turkey is a state eligible to enter the EC but that the economic conditions are not yet sufficient and that more co-operation is needed to achieve these conditions. On top of that, Turkey proposed "Cooperation Package" in 1990. In 1992, Technical Cooperation Program was signed between the parties. It is also referred to as the İnönü-Bangeman Agreement in some sources. The aim of the program is to speed up the integration of Turkey into the EC. However, it did not succeed as seen (Karluk, 2007a: 440).

After Turkey's full membership application, Morocco, Austria, Greek Cypriot Administration, Malta, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Switzerland applied for membership to the Community. In 1994, memberships of Finland, Norway, Switzerland and Austria were approved. However, Norway later abandoned joining the EU as a result of popular vote in these countries. As a result, the number of member states of the EU increased to 15 in 1995. The fifth enlargement in the EU was signed with 10 candidate countries in 2004 in Athens, and the number of EU members increased to 25 by this date. Later, in January 2007, a total of 27 EU member states became members of the EU with the participation of Bulgaria and Romania.

5. OFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION PARTNERSHIP

Turkey is expected to participate in the European Union's "partnership status" in the Ankara Agreement. With the partnership status, it is not possible for Turkey to participate in the main bodies of the European Union. Some basic bodies have been established in the Ankara Agreement to ensure the application and progression of the partnership regime between the parties. The main features of these organs are that they must be of equal and dual nature. In short, the weights of the sides are equal in the organs. I will mention these basic organs:

5.1. Association Council:

It is foreseen to be established in accordance with Article 6 of the Ankara Agreement. The Association Council is the most authoritative executive body of the Turkish and European Union partnership. The governments of the Turkish Government and the Member States of the Community consist of Council and Commission representatives. In the Association Council there is a vote of the parties and decisions are taken unanimously. Therefore, governments have the right to veto. Ministers and Ambassadors.

The main task of the Council is to implement the Ankara Agreement. To this end, the Council is equipped with three types of powers. This decision may be used in accordance with the provisions of the Ankara Agreement. The Parties are obliged to comply with the decisions of the Council. Secondly, the Council may take decisions on the development of the member and the measures required by those decisions. It can also be found in the recommendations for the implementation of these issues (Recommendation Authority). Finally, the Council examines the results of the partnership regime on certain occasions, based on the Review Authority.

Decisions made on the fact that the Association Council is not a supranational authority as it is in the European Union Council do not directly connect the contracting parties.

5.2. Association Committee:

The Association Committee is an auxiliary organ. It was established to help the duties of the Association Council. The mission is to prepare the agenda of the Association Council and to examine technical issues related to the partnership relationship in accordance with the decisions of the Council. Reports that he has made are presented in the form of reports to the Association Council. The Committee of Applicants, which is composed of technicians, has a similar structure to the Council. It meets at the Ambassadors level in Brussels and serves as a permanent management body of the partnership.

5.3. The Joint Parliamentary Commission (CPC):

The Turkey-EU Joint Parliamentary Commission was established on 17.09.1965 under the Ankara Agreement. The Joint Parliamentary Commission is the democratic oversight body of the partnership. It is the task of the Joint Parliamentary Commission to examine the annual activity reports submitted to it by the Association Council and to make recommendations on the partnership. It is authorized to discuss the problems of the parties. The commission consists of 25 members elected from the TGNA and the European Parliament.

5.4. Customs Cooperation Committee (GCC):

The Customs Cooperation Committee was established with the decision of the Association Council. It consists of the member countries of the Community and Turkey's customs experts and officials responsible for customs matters. The mission is to ensure administrative cooperation between the Contracting Parties for the proper implementation of the customs provisions of the Association Agreement and to carry out any other duties that the Association Committee may give to itself in the customs area.

5.5. Joint Committee on Customs Union:

The Common Council and the Customs Union, such as the Common Trade Policy and the Customs Legislation, should be in harmony with the legislation of Turkey and the Member States of the Community in the areas relevant to the functioning of the Customs Union. The Customs Union Joint Committee was established to ensure harmonization between the legislation. The committee is interested in technical issues. The Joint Committee of the Customs Union guides the exchange of information and opinions, finds recommendations for the Association Council and gives its opinion in order to ensure the proper functioning of the customs union. The aim of the Committee is to prevent differences in legislation and practices from creating economic problems in free movement, trade and similar matters.

6. EUROPEAN UNION EXTENSION PROCESS AND TURKEY

COPENHAG CRITERIA:

The Copenhagen Summit took place on 22 June 1993. The Council of Europe has accepted that this summit will cover the enlargement of the European Union to Central Eastern European Countries. In addition, the criteria to be met by the candidate countries before the full membership application is accepted are stated at this summit. These criteria have been grouped into three groups, namely the adoption of political, economic and community legislation:

Political Criteria: The existence of institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights and minority rights.

Economic Criteria: The existence of a functioning free market economy that can withstand competitive pressure and other free market forces within the Union at the same time.

Adoption of Community Legislation: Having the capacity to fulfill the obligations for membership, subject to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union.

Candidate countries:

- Democracy,
- The rule of law,
- Human Rights,
- Respect and protect minorities,
- The existence of a functioning market economy,
- The stability of institutions that guarantee the capacity to cope with market forces and competitive pressures within the Union should have provided.

It is also envisaged that the candidate country has the ability to assume the membership obligation, including participation in the objectives of political, economic and monetary union (<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr>, 2011a).

AGENDA 2000:

With the Copenhagen Summit of the European Union, it has launched an enlargement process to include Central and Eastern European countries (Warsaw Pact countries). The "Agenda 2000" report, which contains the European Union Commission's principles on enlargement, was published on 16 July 1997. It is envisaged that the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus together with the Central and Eastern European Countries will become full members of the EU in the 2000s. In the

first instance countries considered to have provided the Copenhagen Criteria (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Estonia) were considered for EU accession. In the second stage, the Slovak Republic, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Romania are the countries considered for EU accession. While GKRY was previously included in the enlargement process with a decision, Turkey remained out of this enlargement process.

The Agenda 2000 report does not allow the customs union to function satisfactorily and develops relations between the EU and our country but does not allow the political situation to continue as it was agreed on 6 March 1995 with the financial dialogue and financial co-operation. The implementation of the Customs Union our country has shown that it can successfully acquire the EU acquis in a number of areas, whereas our economy is not able to afford macroeconomic instability. On the political issues, the views on human rights and the South East issue have been repeated and it has been stated that it is necessary to find a political solution rather than a military (ABGS, 2009).

Following the announcement of the Agenda 2000 report, the EU Commission and the EU member countries have recently passed the theme. Turkey has revealed negative views on keeping the raporda out of the enlargement process. In other words, this attitude would adversely affect Turkey-EU relations and that such behavior does not coincide with the internal consistency of the EU. After Turkey has conveyed its views to the member states and the Commission, it has revealed its expectation at the Luxembourg Summit as follows:

- ✓ Officially declared that Turkey is included in the EU enlargement process,
- ✓ Turkey's pre-accession support with an appropriate strategy,
- ✓ Equal status of Turkey to participate in the European Permanent Conference with other candidates.

LUXEMBOURG SUMMIT

The European Union Summit held in Luxembourg was held on 12-13 December 1997. In the Final Declaration of the Summit, the recommendations made by the Commission in the Agenda 2000 report are adopted. Immediately after the Luxembourg Summit was held, the following elements from Turkey stand out:

- Turkey's full membership is confirmed.
- In order to prepare Turkey for its full membership to the EU, the European Union has decided to establish a strategy. It is envisaged that this strategy will be taken under consideration within the framework of the Ankara Agreement.
- It is emphasized that the political and economic reforms in Turkey should continue in order for Turkey-EU relations to go well, the relations with Greece should be good, and the support of the negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to resolving the Cyprus problem (ABGS, 2009).

The Turkish government condemned the EU for its biased and discriminatory attitude towards Turkey in the statement made on December 14, 1997 immediately after the Luxembourg Summit, and stated that the objective of full membership is still going on but that the relations with the EU will depend on the EU fulfilling its obligations. as long as his current mind remains unchanged. Following this explanation, it is stated that the EU and the political dialogue in the statement made by the term government will not cover issues such as Turkish-Greek relations, Cyprus problem and human rights.

In addition, the first session of the European Conference on 12 March 1998 in London will be held in London, where our country will not attend, the customs union will be maintained as stipulated in our Association Agreements, the EU undertakes to make a concluding declaration at the Luxembourg Summit, the proposal for the deepening of the customs union and the use of the opportunities provided by the Ankara Agreement . In short, Turkey has informed the Union that the relations with the EU are related to the political holdings of the EU (Akman, 1995).

After the Luxembourg Summit, on 4 March 1998 the EU Commission announced a strategy report aiming at the development of relations with Turkey. In the introduction part of the report it is stated that Turkey will take the EU enlargement process within the scope of this strategy. In the same section, it was emphasized that unfinished financial assistance, which was criticized by Turkey, should be made immediately available to the Council.

CARDIFF AND VIENNA SUMMITS

In the enlargement section of the Final Report of the Cardiff Summit held on June 15-16, 1998, it was observed that the Union was in a better style than the previous statements of the Community related to its position in the EU's full membership process. Belgede Turkey has been identified as a candidate for membership from a competent country description for membership. Turkey has also been included in the review reports considered by the EU Commission for each candidate. In addition,

Belgede was also asked by the Commission to find a solution to the crisis in order to provide the necessary financial support, by emphasizing that the "European Strategy" was prepared by the Commission to prepare Turkey for full membership and that this strategy could be enriched by Turkey's proposals.

At the Cardiff Summit, the relatively good elements involved in closing the prejudiced attitude at the Luxembourg Summit were welcomed by the Turkish Government. However, the government expressed that it would not accept additional political conditions for candidacy with the Ministry statement made on 17 December 1998.

On 4 November 1998, the EU Commission has forwarded to Turkey the progress report it prepared for Turkey along with other candidate countries in line with Cardiff's decisions. The report, with some prejudicial statements and determinations, can be considered as a demonstration by the Commission that Turkey is considered as a candidate country (Karluk, 2007a). However, no significant progress has been made in the Vienna Summit, which was held on 11-12 December 1998 on the candidacy.

KÖLN SUMMIT

In October 1998, the Social-Democratic and Green Coalition, which took over the government in Germany, saw a more moderate and positive view of Turkey-EU relations. Therefore, close relations between Turkey and Germany were established during the European Union's Presidency of the German Presidency. Written correspondence was made between the late Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and Germany's Prime Minister Schroeder on the candidacy of Turkey at the Cologne Summit. In these correspondences we have been presented in detail in the EU.

However, draft text prepared by Germany at the EU Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Cologne on 3-4 June 1999, which received support from Britain and France, and which contains positive qualities for Turkey, was not drafted when it was vetoed by Greece and some other Member States .

On 4 June 1999 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed that the efforts of the German Presidency were welcomed by these developments. However, it is stated in the statement that the EU continues to have a discriminatory attitude and therefore the approach stated by the Government on 14 December 1997 in the relations of Turkey with the EU will not change.

HELSINKI SUMMIT

Turkey was unanimously accepted and declared a candidate country for the European Union in the EU Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Helsinki on 10-11 December 1999. Turkey has a clear and definite dictum that it will be equal to the other candidate countries. According to the decisions taken at the Helsinki Summit, Turkey is said to benefit from a Pre-accession Strategy like the other candidate countries.

In this way, Turkey will have the opportunity to participate in the meetings held between the candidate countries and the Community on the accession process. In addition, the Summit Declaration provides for the preparation of a participation partnership. It is stated that this partnership will focus on preparations for participation with the National Program. The EU Commission has called for a single framework for harmonization of Turkish legislation with the Community *acquis* and coordination of financial resources prior to accession.

BRUSSELS SUMMIT

At the Brussels Summit held on December 16-17, 2004, EU Heads of State and Government decided to start full membership negotiations with Turkey on 3 October 2005. However, this date was based on the request of the Greek Cypriot Administration, which was supported by Greece, France and Austria, to be signed "the additional protocol of the Ankara Agreement envisaging the expansion of the Customs Union to 10 new members including the Greek Cypriot Administration". Turkey refused to "parade the protocol before the end of the summit".

On top of this, the summit was locked and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan started negotiations with the rest of the summit. At the end of the talks, Turkey declared that it would sign the protocol in Brussels before signing the negotiations on 3 October 2005. It is reported that the EU Council is pleased with this decision. Jan Peter Balkenende, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, said, "The signing of Ankara's protocol is not legally recognized as legal. But it is a step towards this step and will give confidence for the future. I want to underline that signature will be thrown before the negotiations begin. The conclusion report is very clear. We were pleased to hear Turkey's commitment. Ankara took an important and bold step "(Radikal Newspaper: 18.12.2004).

In addition, Turkey wanted to change the "open-ended negotiations" statement, but failed. However, the "permanent restraint" decision was changed to "restricting if necessary", and the decision to bind Turkey tightly to the Community was left to Ankara if the negotiations were terminated. After the conclusion of the conclusion, President Balkenende said, "Today we wrote history, we made a historic decision for Europe of the 21st century, we signed the future of Europe. Turkey has held the hand of the EU. Starting negotiations on October 3, 2005, the decision will be sustainable and will target full membership, but the outcome can not be guaranteed in advance. Full

participation, a long process. This decision is a success. I am unhappily very happy," he said. EU Commission President Barroso "The EU has opened its doors to Turkey. Today the people of Turkey will embrace their European future. My message to the Turkish people is that we have not come to the end of the Covenant yet. Today, Turkey has confirmed its commitment to the core values on which the EU is built. Today, Europe and Turkey are written as an important day of their history," he said. EU High Representative Solana said "The Turkish people should be happy. The road is too long, but we aim to finish well "(Radikal Newspaper: 18.12.2004).

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan also organized in Turkey at a press conference "We did not receive a hundred percent of what we expected, but we were successful. This historical step to my country and my friends in the EU are good," he said. Erdogan stated that the signing of Turkey's customs union accord protocol certainly will not mean recognition of the Greek Cypriot Administration as a result of the reconciliation (Akdoğan, 2010).

After the Brussels Summit, the Financial Times reported that Cyprus could block Turkey's EU membership by commenting that negotiations between the EU and Turkey could "last forever" if the Cyprus problem is not resolved.

TURKEY PARTICIPATION PARTNERSHIP DOCUMENT

At its meeting in Luxembourg in December 1997, the Council of Europe (Council of European Heads of State and Government) decided that the Accession Partnership would be a key element of the strengthened pre-accession strategy, so that any assistance to the candidate country would act within a single framework. In this context, the Community aims to address specific needs of each candidate country in order to assist in overcoming certain problems, taking into account the target of participation (ABGS, 2009).

The first Accession Partnership for Turkey was adopted by the Council in March 2001. In the Strategy Document of the Commission on enlargement of the Commission in October 2002, it was stated that the Commission would provide an opt-in Accession Partnership for Turkey. A participatory Accession Partnership was presented by the Commission on March 2003 and was adopted by the Council in May the same year. The Commission recommended in its October 2004 recommendation that the EU should closely monitor political reforms, with a view to ensuring the continuity of the political reform process and ensuring that it is irreversible.

In particular, the Commission has recommended that an opt-in Accession Partnership be adopted in 2005 and was adopted by the Council in January 2006. The partnership certificate will be updated every year by following the expected progress in the implementation of the short-term priorities included in the partnership document. As a result, the Commission recommends the renewal of the Accession Partnership Document. Turkey needs to develop a plan that includes a timetable and specific measures to address the priorities of the Accession Partnership (www.tcmb.gov.tr).

Observed Accession Partnership is prepared to assist in preparing for membership in Turkey. Observed Accession Partnership will serve as a benchmark for measuring future progress, particularly as a basis for future political reforms (ABGS, 2009).

TURKISH NATIONAL PROGRAM

The most important project for Turkey to achieve its goals is the full membership of the European Union. Turkey's integration with the European Union is a social transformation project that has a direct impact on the present and future of every citizen. It is a major reform movement that will bring the country to universal standards and practices, requiring drastic changes in all aspects of daily life, from consumption to production, from education to health, from agriculture to industrialization, from energy to environment, from justice to security. Every political, legal, economic or social reform that takes place on the way to membership increases the international standard of life of the individual and increases the international economic power, democratic dignity and security of our country (ABGS, 2009).

Our membership to the European Union is a national goal supported by our people. This goal, which is an inseparable part of Turkey's strategic vision, coincides with the integration philosophy of our Republic and its integration with contemporary civilization, which Ataturk has determined for our nation.

Turkey is in a dynamic process of legal, political and economic reforms on the path to membership of the European Union. The aim in this process is to ensure that the democratic system works with all institutions and rules. Participatory democracy, rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms are not only universal values of humanity, but they are the most reliable endorsement of economic and political stability and development. By adopting the Copenhagen criteria, which is a condition for membership of the European Union, Turkey has proved its willingness to achieve more liberal, more participatory and more modern democracy through its reform and harmonization efforts to date (www.tcmb.gov.tr).

Turkey's position as a negotiating country with the EU and its closer approach to full membership strengthens our country's position in political, strategic and security contexts. Turkey is determined to successfully complete the accession process.

The steps that Turkey takes towards becoming a member of the European Union are the breakthroughs to accelerate our citizens' lives in a more developed democracy and legal values and to have better economic and social conditions. It is for this reason that Turkey is determined and determined to quickly fulfill its obligations under the accession process to the European Union with an understanding that will preserve the basic principles of our Republic and the heritage of Ataturk. The issues raised with the National Program reflect this approach adopted by the Turkish people (www.tcmb.gov.tr).

2010 PROGRESS REPORT

After the Luxembourg Summit, the Commission regularly reports to the Council and the Parliament. This report on Turkey's progress towards EU membership is largely followed by the same structure as in previous years. This report:

- Briefly describe the relationship between the Community and Turkey;
- Examines the situation in Turkey in terms of political criteria for membership;
- Examines Turkey's situation on the basis of economic criteria for membership;
- It monitors Turkey's membership obligations, in other words, its capacity to undertake acquisitions as defined in the Treaties, secondary legislation and Union policies (www.tcmb.gov.tr).

This report covers the first days of October 2009 and the period between October 2010. Progress was assessed on the basis of decisions taken, adopted legislation and measures implemented. As a rule, the legislation or measures contained in the preparatory or Parliamentary approval stages have not been taken into consideration. This understanding allows equal treatment of all reports and an objective assessment. The report is based on information collected and reviewed by the Commission. In addition, a number of sources have been used, including contributions of the Turkish Government and EU Member States, reports from the European Parliament, and information from various international organizations and non-governmental organizations. On the basis of the technical examination contained in this report, the Commission reaches detailed conclusions on Turkey on the enlargement strategy paper.

TURKEY'S MAASTRICHT CRITERIA

In the European Union Agreement (Maastricht Treaty - 01.11.1993), the Maastricht Criteria have been defined in order to eliminate the differences between Member States' economies in terms of monetary union. Criteria include:

- The difference between the annual inflation rates of the three countries with the lowest inflation (the best performing countries) in the Community and the member country inflation rate should not exceed 1.5 points.
- The ratio of member state debt to GDP must not exceed 60%.
- The ratio of member state budget deficit to GDP should not exceed 3%.
- Long-term interest rates applied in any member country will not exceed the interest rate of the 3 best performing countries in the price stability area by more than 2 points over the 12-month period.
- As of the last 2 years, the member country must not have been devalued against another member.

The five criteria are related to the inflation as seen in the province. In the Treaty establishing the European Community, the provision "Inflation is measured through a comparable consumer price index, taking into account differences in national definitions". Eurostat has established a harmonized Consumer Price Index (HICP) in cooperation with member state statistical institutions and has started to be used since 1997. HICP provides a comparable standard for the rates of TÜFE in Member States (Karluk, 2007b).

Also in the European Union, in the related article of the Treaty establishing the European Union, the tenets of the state budget are used in the European Community for the evaluation of the criteria for the interest rate related to interest rates under the provision "Interest rates are measured on the basis of government bonds and similar securities taking into account differences in national definitions" . A 12-month average of the interest rates of these estates is taken.

Public deficit refers to the general government's requirement for net borrowing. Central government, local governments and social security funds are understood except for the general government term and business activities. Provisions relating to the extreme public-opening process aim to ensure that the countries participating in the Economic and Monetary Union avoid debt borrowing which could lead to inflationary pressures in the Eurozone.

TURKEY IN BERLIN REPORT

The European Commission has announced the 2008 Political Strategy Document on 21.02.2007. According to this document, it is foreseen that Turkey will be able to join the Union after the budget period which ended at the earliest in 2013. Due to its population, geographical location,

economy and cultural differences, Turkey's EU membership will be different from previous enlargements. It is stated that Turkey's membership objective as a possible benefit for Turkey's membership as a positive example for the Muslim countries in the region and Turkey's contribution to the regional and international stability with the features it possesses will play an important role in energy supply security throughout the EU , 2007a).

In addition, the Berlin Declaration stipulates that cooperation in the fight against terrorism, organized crime, trafficking and drug trafficking is needed as well as the development of immigration and asylum policy. If Belgede Turkey is a member, it is emphasized that the difference of development between regions will increase and that Turkey will migrate towards the European Union. With the membership of the Berlin Declaration, it is stated that Turkey will have a predominant role in the decision-making mechanisms of the Union and will affect the distribution of the EU budget. The European Commission has announced that it will be able to cooperate with Turkey and Russia to increase regional stability, as well as strengthen its relations within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy. In the Strategy Document, there were expressions for evaluating the relations within the scope of the European Neighborhood Policy by ignoring the membership of Turkey (ABGS, 2009).

As Karluk stated, in the 50th anniversary of the EU held in Berlin, German Prime Minister Merkel presented a beer cup to French President Jacques Chirac with a figure showing Napoleon defeating the Ottoman Empire, It is important in terms of revealing the point of view. "If there is a vision for the future, it should take care of the future. It is not well suited to the vision of the European Union to deal with the past. "

The Economist Magazine wrote in an article about the EU that celebrates its 50th anniversary, "It is disastrous that the relations between the EU and Turkey will be broken." Turkey stressed that Turkey was one of the earliest applicant countries for membership and that although it was accepted in 1963, it still can not become a member of the Union. In addition, the magazine highlighted the fact that taking Eastern European countries before the EU in Turkey was upsetting Turkey (The Economist, 2007).

7. TURKEY - EU COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

7.1. Commercial and Economic Relations Before the Customs Union:

With the Additional Protocol entered into force in 1973, since the beginning of 1972, Turkish industrial products have started to enter the European Union (EU) duty-free. During the 22-year period, customs duties on the industrial products of the EC countries were gradually reduced by Turkey and the transition to Customs Union (GB) implementation was targeted. Undoubtedly the introduction of the Turkish industrial products for 23 years (1972-1995) by the EU without a doubt has certainly had a positive impact on the industrialization of Turkey. Before the GB of Turkey, the most important foreign trade partner is the EU. Turkey's trade with the EU has followed a course parallel to general foreign trade since 1980.

Turkey's foreign trade deficit, which was 46% in 1980, declined to 25% before the Customs Union. In the same period, the trade deficit with the EU decreased from 29% to 20%. Turkey's exports grew by an average of 15% per annum from 1980 to GB, while exports from the EU increased by 16%; imports increased by 12% while imports from the EU increased by 15% (www.dpt.gov.tr).

7.2. Commercial and Economic Relations After the Customs Union:

The Customs Union (GB), completed on January 1, 1996, includes free circulation of industrial goods and processed agricultural products between the parties. Furthermore, in the context of Turkey's EU harmonization with the Common Trade Policy, the EU's application of the Common Customs Tariff (OGT) on imports of industrial products from third countries, harmonization of its legislation with EU policies on customs, trade and competition policies and IPRs It has undertaken. As of 1996, when the Customs Union was completed, Turkey reduced the protection rate from 5,3% in 1995 to 2,62% against third countries due to OGT. The protection rate of 5.47% against the EU and EFTA countries in 1995 decreased to 1.34% in 1996. In addition, Turkey has fully undertaken the EU's Generalized Preferences System (GTS) in the context of harmonization with the Common Trade Policy of Turkey. Turkey has Free Trade Agreements with EFTA, Israel, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Romania.

On 1 May 2004, STAs existing with the EU member states of Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia and Poland were mutually terminated as of April 30, 2004. From this date on, trade relations are being carried out on the basis of the Customs Union. In addition, negotiations with Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia and Syria were completed and free trade agreements were signed. The EU, which is one of the most important trading partners of Turkey, has continued to carry the same importance after the GB. The Customs Union is an increasing influence of Turkey's total trade volume. In 1993-1995, the EU's share in the total foreign trade volume increased from 45% in average to 51% in 1996-2000 period. In the period of 2001-2004, this rate decreased to 48% on average.

On the basis of this decline, the economic crisis of 2001 has a negative impact on imports. In the period between 2004 and 2010, trade and economic relations with the European Union have increased steadily. Turkey's imports coverage ratio in general declined to 65.4% in 2008, while the share of EU export to imports was 84.7% (between 1996-1999 it was 50-60%). The ratio of Turkey's exports to the imports of the EU is rising. After the GB agreement, Turkey's imports to the EU increased faster than imports. This situation shows that Turkey's competitiveness against the EU countries also increases.

Turkey's foreign trade statistics show a balanced foreign trade relationship with the EU countries. For example, while the export / import ratio is 63.1% in 2007, when the EU countries are taken into consideration, export / import ratio was 88.1% in the same year. This means that Turkey is not an important influence of foreign trade with the EU countries in the increasing foreign trade deficits. Unbalanced foreign trade from Russia, China and oil exporting countries is the main reason for Turkey's relatively low export / import ratio. The share of our foreign trade deficit in the total foreign trade is declining in recent years. This rate has decreased by about 20% in 2006 (Utkulu, 2009, 11-12).

8. CONCLUSION

Some conditions are required by the EU in the Accession Partnership to enable people to live peacefully and happily in their countries. Even if Turkey is not a member of the European Union, fulfilling these conditions is of great importance for the future of our country. Entering the European Union in today's conditions is an inevitable reality. Ensuring compliance with the Copenhagen Criteria of our country is necessary for the country to have a problem of harmonization when it becomes a full member of the European Union.

The Community may request certain restrictions from the Member States which it is a member of. However, it is also clear that the European Union wants Turkey to do more than these restrictions. For example, marginal policies in Germany are being restricted, and parties with tendencies in this direction are not allowed to form a government. This, however, is in contradiction to the European Union's human rights and freedom of thought policy. Closing a political party that is clearly breaking the regime if we will give an example from our country can mean the obstruction of human rights and freedom of thought. As can be seen from these examples, the European Union looks at events in a very schematic way. The situation in the country is not taken into consideration much and comments are made. Moreover, the fact that the National Security Council has an important place in Turkey is considered as an element that negatively affects the EU process. However, it is understood that the NSC's reputation within the country and the trust of the nation are not taken into consideration. It can be said that this institution is necessary for the stabilization of the country when it is thought that it serves as an advisory body to direct government policies. In addition, the number of civilian members in the NSC has increased from 5 to 9 in order to be compatible with the EU in this respect as a positive feature.

The education of public personnel on the issue of human rights is a requirement that must be fulfilled in the European Union entry process. The fact that our country's people, institutions, judges and policemen are trained in human rights and that this is accepted by the government indicates that this issue has not been given sufficient attention in Turkey before.

One of the most important steps that Turkey needs to take in the process of membership of the European Union is in the field of agriculture policy. The infrastructure work that needs to be done before moving on to the Common Agricultural Policy should be continued rapidly. In addition, there is a great deal of subsidies given to the agricultural sector in the common agricultural policy. The direct income policy is also part of it. However, it is foreseen in the present conditions that the subsidies given to the agricultural sector should be cut off under the agreements made with the IMF. In this case, instead of giving support to every production that needs to be done, quality production is to give support. Thus, quality is achieved both in European Union norms and the producers are supported. It is necessary to establish an independent organization for the supervision and regulation of applications not only in agriculture but in all other sectors. It is thought that this established independent organization will provide the activity in the sectors.

The fact that the manufacturing industry in Turkey is largely composed of SMEs makes it difficult to adapt to the European Union acquis in the economic direction. Moreover, the fact that the free market economy is not fully established limits the power to compete with the European Union in the future. Therefore, development of the manufacturing industry, full realization of privatization and bringing the market to a level where it can compete with the European Union is necessary for Turkey.

It is also important for TURKAK (Turkish Accreditation Authority) to be established to comply with European Union standards of manufactured products.

Turkey announced support for the European Security and Defense Policy after the 2001 progress report. The main objective of Turkey is not to join the European Union army, but to destroy the possibility of this army coming to Turkey in the future to support Greece or Southern Cyprus in a clash that will take place in the Aegean or Cyprus. In addition, the Cyprus Problem is an important question that is an obstacle to my entry into the European Union. The full membership of the Greek Cypriot administration of the Southern Cyprus as the whole of the European Union deeply upset Turkey. The fact that the Greek Cypriot Participation as a full member of the European Union means the occupation of Turkey's land of the European Union and the fact that the European Union can not take the countries with the disputed region as a member is necessary for the solution of this problem.

Generally speaking, the membership of Turkey to the European Union seems far away for the next few years. It is said by the Community that the full membership of the European Union depends on the speed with which our country achieves harmonization with the European Union. But since all these changes that have taken place due to the harmonization process can be realized as a result of stable policies, Turkey should not be rushed through the political and economic crises which will affect the course in the negative direction during this harmonization process. There are many facts that our country needs to think and implement in order to raise the standard of living of its citizens and to live in peace. But in the European Union the position of Turkey should not be ignored, it should take into account the conditions it is in and should not approach only the technical events. In addition, fulfilling obligations to Turkey should be undertaken with mutual responsibilities in the European Union.

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