

Foreign Policy Pledges During the Turkish General Election of 1987 and Post-Election Foreign Policy Laws Passed by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey

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Abstract

The main objective of this study is to analyze the pledges concerning foreign policy expressed by the participating political parties either as part of their election programs or election manifestos during the general election of 1987, and to study the laws related to foreign policy that were made by the Grand National Assembly during its 18th term, while at the same time offering a comparison and an evaluation of these pledges and the subsequent laws that were made regarding foreign policy. Within the scope of the study, it was identified that the pledges made by the political parties which participated in the general election of 1987 were related to foreign policy issues. The foreign policy issues of the said period have been identified as Turkey's accession bid to the EU, the issue of Northern Cyprus, the issue of the Aegean islands and Turks living abroad. It can be seen that, in addition to pledges regarding these issues, political parties also made pledges to develop Turkey's relationship with its neighbors, Muslim countries, the West and the USA. It was therefore established that the Grand National Assembly made numerous laws on foreign policy during its 18th term. It was established that these laws dealt with the issue of participation in diplomatic, legal, social, economic and international agreements. It was observed that some of the foreign policy issues were not dealt with successfully.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Political Party, General Election, Law, Agreement.

Introduction

Foreign policy refers to the policies that involve the diplomatic, political, economic and legal relations a country maintains with other countries and international bodies in an effort to reach the goals shaped by its national interests (<http://bilgiyelpazesi.com/>). In this context, foreign policy observes issues in international policy from the point of view of a country's goals, targets and behavior, and analyzes the approaches of a country toward the international system or other countries (Ari, 2009:63). Put briefly, the main objective and strategic method in foreign policy is to turn the policies that countries maintain with one another as a part of their international relations in one's own favor. Indeed, it is possible to state that the political line which stands at the base of international politics and international relations is a 'foreign policy' tool (Daban, 2017:79). Election manifestos, which are prepared and presented to the public before elections, are documents that express the perspectives and future goals of a political party. Meanwhile, party programs, also prepared by political parties, distinguish one political party from another by detailing their particular political characteristics.

It can be observed in the political milieu prior to the general election that Turkish politics had been reshaped before 1987. The four main political structures of the period before the Turkish coup d'état of September 12, 1980 appeared once again in the political arena. While the True Path Party (TPP), which had participated in the local elections in 1984, was led by Süleyman Demirel, and the Welfare Party (WP) was fronted by Necmettin Erbakan, the Nationalist Task Party (NTP), which had recently been founded after the lifting of political bans following the referendum of 1987, was led by Alparslan Türkeş, and Bülent Ecevit fronted the Democratic Left Party (DLP), which had been founded by his wife Rahşan Ecevit. Two parties that had been founded during the military regime following the 1980 coup were also disbanded during this same period. In the summer of 1986, the Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP) and the Populist Party (PP) merged with the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), led by Erdal İnönü, to form the Social Democratic Populist Party (SPP) (Özkan, 2002:79).

It can be observed that Turkey had to face certain issues in foreign policy while it was on the path towards a general election in 1987. The Cold War that had divided the world along two main poles was continuing. Among the main issues were the cultural pressures placed on the Turks of Bulgaria, the massacre of the Turks by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), and the issue of the continental shelf with Greece. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was part of the political agenda as an issue that had yet to be resolved. The first Motherland Party (the MP) government had started the bid for accession to the European Economic Community (EEC, later the EU). The relevant work was still in progress. Additionally, there were ongoing debates about whether or not to remain within NATO. The problems faced by the Turkish diaspora were also part of the agenda. Under these circumstances, it can be observed that the political parties identified foreign policy pledges within their electoral campaigns.

This study analyzes the foreign policy pledges expressed in the party programs or election manifestos of the MP, SPP, TPP, DLP, WP and NTP, which all participated in the general election of 1987. It also explores the laws on foreign policy that was made by the Grand National Assembly during its 18th term.

Methods and Materials

The objective of the study is to identify and evaluate the foreign policy pledges expressed in the party programs or election manifestos of the Motherland Party, Social Democratic Populist Party, Welfare Party and Nationalist Task Party, which participated in the general election of 1987. It also aims to analyze the foreign policy laws passed by the MP's who were members of the Grand National Assembly during its 18th term.

The sources used in this study were obtained from the National Library of Turkey and from the Library of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. These sources included the party programs or election manifestos of the political parties studied in this paper. Official reports, law records and parliament bulletins from the Library of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey were also studied in order to identify the laws made by the Grand National Assembly during its 18th term.

This study comprises three chapters. The first chapter evaluates the pledges expressed by the political parties that participated in the general election. The evaluation process included an analysis of the party programs or election manifestos of the said political parties in order to identify the foreign policy pledges they made. The identified pledges were then categorized and analyzed under such headings as the political parties' general views, their relations with the West, their views on accession to the EU, participation in international bodies, NATO- and UN-related issues, their relations with neighboring countries, relations with the Middle East and Muslim countries, and their views on economic relations with other countries and problems encountered by the Turkish diaspora. In the second chapter, an evaluation of the laws made by the Grand National Assembly during its 18th term is offered. The laws were categorized and analyzed under such headings as; laws on the diplomatic, political and friendship agreements made in accordance with the general views of the parties; laws adopted as part of the accession process, which are aimed at harmonizing

Turkish law with the European Union legislation; laws on participation in international conventions; laws enforcing the application of economic agreements; and laws regarding Turks who live abroad. The conclusion and discussion sections which constitute the third chapter offer an evaluation of the foreign policy pledges made by political parties and of the laws made by the Grand National Assembly regarding foreign policy. The study has been limited to an analysis of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey's legal records and parliamentary bulletins, which include the foreign policy pledges expressed in the party programs or election manifestos of the studied parties, as well as the laws made by the Grand National Assembly regarding foreign policy. The fact that there has been no previous study on this topic is among the limitations of this study.

Findings

Foreign Policy Pledges Made during the General Election of 1987

The General Views of the Political Parties on Foreign Policy during the General Election of 1987

Emphasizing in its manifesto that the continuity of the state was at the heart of its foreign policy, the MP pledged to establish peace both in the region and in the world. The party expressed the conviction that foreign policy needed to be dealt with sensitively while engaging in political struggles in the domestic arena. The MP placed an emphasis on the importance of having a powerful defense force, primarily for the security of the country, and identified industrial strength as the first step to achieving this. The party also placed an emphasis on its conviction that "it is necessary to see it as one's duty to remain loyal in alliances and to always be a trustworthy party in foreign policy" (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987: 91).

While keeping national interests in mind, the SPP stated that its policies would also contribute to the wellbeing of all humanity and, to this end, pledged to keep Atatürk's principle of maintaining "peace at home, peace in the world" while having a sound program for national security. Describing Turkey as being situated in one of the most sensitive regions of the world in terms of foreign policy, the SPP emphasized its conviction that Turkey could not base its national security on the decisions or the indecisiveness of other countries (The SPP Program, 1985: 59-61).

The TPP declared that it would ensure that there would be safety in the country, that society would live in peace at all times, that contributions would be made to world peace while managing foreign relations, and also that it would ensure the equality of rights and balance of benefits in bilateral relations (The TPP Program, 1983: 107). The TPP also emphasized that national interests were the most significant element of foreign policy (Cumhuriyet, November 12, 1987:6).

The DLP stated that Turkey's domestic policy and foreign policy were inseparable and that, because of its geopolitical position, Turkey should pursue a policy of "multidimensional" balance in its international relations. The party also declared Western Europe to be a significant element in this balance (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:133).

The WP stated that it would pursue a foreign policy that would be "in line with the nation's history, dignity and characteristics". The party emphasized its determination to establish good relations with all countries, particularly with neighboring ones, if it rose to power (The WP Program, 1986: 31-32).

The NTP placed "efforts to maintain peace and seek collaboration with all nations" at the heart of its foreign policy, as long as these efforts complied with the United Nations (UN) Charter and the principles of world peace, justice, equality, freedom, nationality and national sovereignty (The NTP Program, 1986, p. 25).

All the parties analyzed in this paper included in their programs or manifestos their general views on foreign policy. While the MP pledged to maintain peace in the region and in the world, the SPP stated that it would pursue a foreign policy that would benefit all humanity. The TPP emphasized ensuring national security while maintaining international relations, as well as ensuring balance in bilateral relations, and the DLP declared that Turkey would need to pursue a multidirectional foreign policy. While the WP pledged to pursue a foreign policy that would be in line with the nation's history and characteristics, and the NTP stated that its foreign policy would ensure world peace, justice and equality, the TPP and the NTP both emphasized that their foreign policies would comply with the UN Charter.

Pledges Concerning Relations with Western Countries

Claiming that they had started more proactive policies in "Turkey's relations with the West, of which it is a part in terms of political, military and economic collaboration" in order to accelerate Turkey's economic growth and development, in addition to its defense needs, and to balance different interests during their four years in power, the MP stated that they would continue to pursue such policies if they rose to power again (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987, p. 91).

Pointing out their conviction that political and economic isolation from Europe would not benefit Turkey, the SPP emphasized the importance of relations with the West.

The DLP accused the first MP government of having pursued a unidirectional policy that was dependent on the USA, and claimed that, since pursuing such a policy would mean dependency on the USA and therefore might do serious damage to Turkey, Turkey would have to develop and pursue multidirectional policies. While acknowledging the significance of Turkey's relations with the West, the DLP also stated that it was necessary to develop good relations with neighboring countries and other countries in the region, and that these relations should be developed constantly based on a healthy balance (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987: 133-139).

The NTP stated that its aim was to create the most extensive possible collaboration with "the nations that, like Turkey, have a system of free democracy" in order to further develop democracy around the world. For this reason, the party expressed its conviction that the defensive pacts to which the Republic of Turkey was a part had a significant role in maintaining world peace, and stated that its condition for participation in any international body would be the formation of a basis of mutual respect for rights and equality. (The NTP Program, 1986:25).

The MP, SPP, NTP all made pledges that placed an emphasis on developing existing relations with the West. While regarding such a development as beneficial, the DLP also stated that pursuing a foreign policy which would be dependent on the USA would not do Turkey any good. The NTP referred to the West as comprising free democratic regimes.

Pledges Concerning Participation in International Bodies

Pointing out the fact that it had applied for full membership to the EU during its time in power, the MP claimed that, if it was in power again, it would continue relations with the union based on a prioritization of balancing mutual interests (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987: 91).

Accepting that political and economic isolation from Europe would not benefit Turkey, the SPP stated it would support Turkey's EU accession bid (SPP Program, 1985, p. 59-61).

The TPP stated that, instead of making serious efforts to join the European Union, the MP was only putting on a show and, criticizing its approach to this issue, emphasized that joining the EU would require serious efforts (The TPP Election Manifesto, 1987: 31).

In its manifesto, the DLP stated that as soon as it rose to power it would take the necessary steps for a transition to true and complete democracy, and claimed that Turkey could not be expected to join the EU unless convincing steps were taken to this end (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987: 133-139).

The NTP stated that it would improve relations with the European Union and keep Turkey's desire to join this organization alive (The NTP Program, 1986: 26). While the WP did not make any pledges concerning the European Union, the TPP criticized the MP governments for not making enough effort in this regard. Stating that they saw joining the European Union as a necessity, other parties pledged to take the necessary steps to join the union.

While the SPP and DLP made pledges concerning NATO, the TPP and NTP made pledges concerning the UN. The SPP saw NATO as necessary for Turkey, however, the DLP warned that the joint security facilities located in Turkey should not be used without consulting Turkey. The TPP and NTP pledged to manage foreign relations in compliance with the UN Charter.

Considering Turkey's own unique traits, the SPP stated that it considered it a necessity to ensure the joint security organization NATO remained an active element in increasing Turkey's security. The SPP stated that "international disagreements, balances and relations no longer allow a single country to solve social, economic, political and cultural problems on its own". For this reason, the SPP supported close cooperation with other countries in the areas of the economy, culture, law and military, as long as this cooperation was based on free will and a sense of equality (The SPP Program, 1985:59-61).

The DLP warned against the possibility that the joint security facilities located in Turkey might be used without consulting Turkey, and placed an emphasis on the necessity of consultation before NATO took any action on Turkish soil (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:133-139).

The TPP pledged to improve foreign relations and to create equality of rights and treatment, as well as a balance of interests in compliance with the principles laid out in the UN Charter (The TPP Program 1983:107).

The NTP placed "efforts to maintain peace and seek collaboration with all nations" at the heart of its foreign policy, as long as these efforts complied with the UN Charter and the principles of world peace, justice, equality, freedom, nationality and national sovereignty (The NTP Program, 1986:25).

The NTP also made pledges related to demilitarize. "In order to reduce tensions that threaten world peace and to avoid the disasters of nuclear warfare" the NTP called for "a ban on nuclear experiments and reduction of the number of nuclear and conventional weapons to systematically reach the target of demilitarization over time" and expressed its willingness to collaborate with nations of good faith while also supporting other efforts to this end. Additionally, voicing its "conviction that the UN needs to be supported honestly if the organization is to act more proactively and effectively in regions where peace is under threat" the NTP stated that it "considers it a worthwhile effort to support and participate in the organization's activities which serve to establish social and economic cooperation and solidarity between underdeveloped countries and the developed, wealthy countries of the West" (The NTP Program, 1986:25).

While the SPP and DLP made pledges concerning NATO, the TPP and NTP made pledges concerning the UN. While the SPP saw NATO as necessary for Turkey, the DLP warned that the joint security facilities located in Turkey should not be used without consulting Turkey. The TPP and NTP pledged to manage foreign relations in compliance with the UN Charter. It can be observed that there were developments aimed at carrying out pledges concerning participation in international conventions. The MHP also referred to the issue of demilitarization.

Pledges Concerning Relations with Neighboring Countries

According to their manifesto, the policies pursued by the MP in their relations with neighboring countries would “consider common interests, be based on a principle of mutual respect and contribute in the long term to maintaining peace in the region.” Placing emphasis on the “necessity of collaboration in the areas of science, art and technology, which are the common possession of all humanity, in order to develop and support joint projects that will reinforce peace in the region,” the party stated that it “considers it a worthwhile effort to improve social and cultural relations with the countries with which Turkey shares material and moral goals and which have free democratic regimes” (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987:92-93).

The SPP stated that it adopted a dynamic foreign policy that would be based on the principles of friendship, mutual respect and non-intervention with all countries, and primarily with neighboring countries (The SPP Program, 1985:59-61).

The TPP pledged to improve economic and social relations, primarily with neighboring countries (The TPP Program, 1983:107). While the WP pledged to abide by its historical and cultural values while improving foreign relations, the NTP placed an emphasis on the fact that the Republic of Turkey “is connected to its neighbors through historical bonds” (The NTP Program, 1986:25).

Not including the issue of Northern Cyprus under the headings of relations with neighboring or Muslim countries, the MP, DLP and NTP made separate pledges concerning this region. Expressing its determination to respectfully accept and support all the decisions made by Northern Cyprus, the MP stated that it would always support Northern Cyprus “against the unfair, unjust and inhumane activities of the regime in Southern Cyprus” (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987:92-93).

The DLP underlined its determination to preserve and improve the achievements of the 1974 Peace Operation, and stated that it would take the necessary steps for the international recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The party stated that “it will do its part to relieve the TRNC of the damages inflicted by the Greek embargo and help improve the TRNC’s economy without interfering in its domestic affairs”, and also that “the Republic of Turkey and the TRNC have an obligation to take political measures in light of the fact that, in collaboration with Greece, Southern Cyprus is turning the island into a military depot just across the shores of Turkey” (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:133-139).

Underlining its conviction that the island of Cyprus is an inseparable offshoot of the Anatolian peninsula, when referring to the island’s importance within the region, the NTP stated that “the island is as significant for Turkey’s security as it is for that of Turkish Cypriots” and that “in terms of its location, it is also very important for security and peace in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, as well as for world peace” (The NTP Program, 1986:25).

While the MP mentioned the Armenian issue in its election manifesto, the DLP mentioned the issues of the continental shelf and airspace in the Aegean. The MP voiced its “belief in the necessity of finally putting an end to the atrocities inflicted on innocent Turkish citizens by Armenian death squads”. The party stated that “we have already started throwing light on the shameless falsification of historical facts and we will continue to share these facts with the general public around the world” (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987:92-93). The DLP stated that it would start international political initiatives to secure Turkey’s rights in the Aegean, and that it would restart the negotiation process which had started in 1978 between Greece and Turkey to come to a fair settlement on the issues of the continental shelf and airspace in the Aegean (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987: 139-140).

The TPP confined itself to criticizing the first MP government for having failed in dealing with the obvious issues in relations with neighboring countries on the grounds that the Turks in Bulgaria were still being

oppressed and the Greeks and Armenians were still using every opportunity to plan and take action against Turkey (The TPP Election Manifesto 1987:31).

The DLP mentioned the need for an institution that would be able to collectively deal with the multifaceted problems of immigrants who had settled in Turkey, which lacked such an institution. The party referred especially to the problems of settlement, integration and employment faced by the recent immigrants at the time. The DLP also stated that the minority rights given to Turks living abroad should be monitored more closely within the framework of the relevant international legislation and agreements. In addition to the inhumane treatment of Turks in Bulgaria at the time, the DLP also referred to the oppression of Turks in Greece (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:131). In addition to these two cases, the DLP referred to the oppression of Turks by the government of Iraq, which, despite the good relations between the two countries, sometimes went as far as conducting executions without trial. Another issue mentioned by the DLP was the issue of the possessions immigrants to Turkey had left behind in their home countries, which, according to the DLP, created more problems for immigrants. The DLP stated that it would find rapid and appropriate solutions to these problems by establishing the “Ministry of Migration and Turkish Diaspora” if they came to power and that they would meet, through this ministry, the cultural and linguistic needs of the Turkish diaspora within a framework of friendship and understanding with the countries in which they resided (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:131-132).

The other parties also included the issue of neighboring countries in their programs. The DLP underlined the need for a multidirectional foreign policy that would improve relations with all countries. Not including the issue of Northern Cyprus under the headings of relations with neighboring or Muslim countries, the MP, DLP and NTP made separate pledges concerning this region. While the MP mentioned the Armenian issue in its election manifesto, the DLP mentioned the issues of the continental shelf and airspace in the Aegean.

Pledges Concerning Middle Eastern and Muslim Countries

In the widest sense, the Middle East can be defined as the region which extends from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt in the west, and includes, as it stretches to the Gulf of Oman in the east, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, Oman, and in the north Turkey, Caucasasia, the Turkic-speaking republics of Central Asia, as well as Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and encompasses the Arabian peninsula in the south from Saudi Arabia to Yemen, while including in its center Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and Palestine (Arı 2007:25).

The MP stated that “due to its geographic location and historical ties, it is natural for Turkey to improve its relations with Middle Eastern and Muslim countries”. Underlining the fact that Turkey could act as a bridge between the West and the Middle East, as it belonged to both sides, the MP expressed its conviction that “Turkey will make important contributions to maintaining peace in the region and in the world by primarily contributing to the development of economic relations” (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987: 92-93).

The DLP claimed that the Islamic countries of the Middle East generally felt intimidated by Turkey’s democratization and secularism. It stated “the authorities in charge of Islamic countries fear that, if Turkey succeeds as a secular democracy, their own people may have similar aspirations and topple their outdated regimes”. The party claimed that, as this possibility would inspire fear in them, those authorities would “try to use Turkey’s movement away from democracy and towards the West to their advantage by making Turkey dependent on them, and try to interfere with Turkey’s domestic affairs to hinder the development of democracy and secularism”. Declaring a developed democracy to be a prerequisite for closer relations with the West, the DLP stated that, for this reason, it deemed “democracy an indispensable element of Turkey’s foreign relations”. The DLP pledged that, if it gained power, it would take all the necessary steps for a transition to a true and absolute democracy (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:133-139).

The WP claimed that “it is possible to further develop Turkey’s relations with those countries to which it is attached by historical and cultural bonds”, and expressed its conviction that such a development would bring about mutual material and moral benefits in every way possible (The WP Program, 1986:31-32).

The NTP expressed its conviction that establishing close relations between Middle Eastern countries and the independent countries of Asia and Africa would be “a step that will help Turkey take its honorable place within the league of nations, as well as help maintain freedom and peace in the world” (The NTP Program, 1986:25).

The MP , DLP, WP and NTP all made pledges concerning Middle Eastern and Islamic countries. However, while the MP, WP and NTP pledged to develop positive relations with Middle Eastern countries, the DLP portrayed them as constituting a threat to Turkey’s democratic and secular regime and maintained that democracy needed to be further developed to ward off such a threat. Without making references to Middle Eastern or Muslim countries, the WP emphasized cultural and historical values, thereby stating its pledges concerning Muslim countries. No pledge regarding this topic could be found from the SPP .

Pledges Concerning Turkey’s Economic Relations with Other Countries

The MP declared national defense and enforcing economic developments to be the main objectives of its foreign policy. Claiming that they had started more proactive policies in “Turkey’s relations with the West, of which it is a part in terms of political, military and economic collaboration” to accelerate Turkey’s economic growth and development, in addition to defense needs, and to balance different interests during their four years in power, the MP stated that they would continue to pursue such policies if they rose to power again (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987:91).

The SPP underlined that it not only saw foreign relations in a political light, but that it considered the economic dimension of these relations as just as important. The SPP stated that, if it gained power, it would evaluate its economic relations with foreign countries in terms of their impact on those countries’ independence and economic development (The SPP Program, 1985:59-61).

The DLP stated that it would consider foreign economic relations an indispensable element of international relations, and that it would take the necessary steps to make sure that one of the main duties of Turkey’s foreign missions would be to contribute to the development of foreign economic relations. Criticizing the inactive position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the first MP government, the party underlined its determination to give the ministry a more active position in international relations (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:133-139).

The NTP pledged “to maintain and further develop Turkey’s economic and commercial relations with Middle Eastern and Islamic countries, which have cultural, historical and moral bonds with Turkey”. The party pledged to establish permanent “Turkish Trade Centers” in the important cities of Islamic countries, and pointed out the need to give Northern Cyprus a bigger share in the economic relations established with Islamic countries (The NTP Program, 1986:26).

The MP , SPP , DLP and NTP all underlined the fact that developing economic relations was as important for foreign policy as the development of policies in the political sphere. In this regard, while the MP emphasized its determination to develop relations with European countries, the NTP pledged to develop economic relations with Middle Eastern and Islamic countries.

Pledges Concerning the Problems Faced by Turks Working Abroad

The MP expressed its conviction that “solving the economic and social problems faced by workers working abroad, ensuring that their rights are defended, and making sure that Turkish children growing up abroad

retain their Turkish identity and their ties with Turkey constitutes an important mission for the party” (The MP Election Manifesto, 1987:72).

The SPP pointed out that Turkey had become, especially between 1970-1990, a country that sent a significant amount of its workforce abroad, and that therefore Turkey’s foreign relations should pay special attention to advocating the economic rights of these workers, as well as to making sure that they could retain their cultural identity (The SPP Program, 1985: 61).

It can be observed that the DLP made the most detailed pledges concerning Turkish workers abroad. The DLP pointed out that these workers “gain a significant amount of knowledge and experience by means of living abroad, especially in developed democratic countries, receiving education there, participating in social and political organizations and sometimes even being elected to local governments” and that this accumulation of knowledge and experience was significant for the further development and democratization of Turkey. The party claimed that, at the time, no use was being made of this accumulation of knowledge and experience, but rather the foreign currencies sent in by the workers attracted interest even though the workers themselves were not given a say in Turkey. The DLP pledged that it would tackle this problem by giving the senders of the foreign currencies a say in deciding what type of investment their money should be channeled into, thereby making them the real decision makers regarding the use of their money. For this purpose, the party stated that it would create incentives for these workers to use their collective investments for the purpose of further developing the public sector and thus contributing to effective development. The DLP pledged that one of their priorities would be to save and improve the conditions of the establishments funded by Turkish workers working abroad, many of which later faced dire straits or closed down. The party pledged that, if it came to power, it would allow Turkish workers working abroad to send in their votes directly to Turkey instead of having to go to customs to do so. The DLP pledged to pay special attention to the advocacy of these workers’ rights in their countries of residence and to providing those who decided to settle back in Turkey with the necessary opportunities to set up a new life in Turkey, and it also pledged to make sure that Turkish children growing up abroad would not lose touch with their cultural identity while also making sure that these children could receive the highest quality education available in their countries of residence. It pledged to equip the Turkish workers and young Turks residing abroad with publications providing the necessary information for them to be able to promote Turkey abroad, while also defending the country’s rights in the world when necessary. The DLP stated that it would ensure the dealings which Turks living abroad had with the embassies and the consulates in their areas of residence would require less effort and cost less. In an effort to tackle the problems experienced not only by Turkish workers abroad, but also by immigrants coming to Turkey and Turkish minorities in other countries, the party declared that it would establish the “Ministry of Migration and Turkish Diaspora” and that this ministry would deal with the problems faced by Turks working abroad, their investments, the education of their children and their employment and investment in or integration into Turkey if they decided to settle back in Turkey (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:128-130). The party claimed that, through this ministry, they would meet the cultural and linguistic needs of the Turkish diaspora within a framework of friendship and understanding with the countries in which they resided (The DLP Election Manifesto, 1987:132).

The WP expressed its determination to take necessary measures to avoid the unjust treatment of Turks living abroad and to defend their rights (The WP Program, 1986: 31-32). The NTP stated that its main goals were “to secure the rights and interests of Turkish workers abroad through social security agreements, to make sure they enjoy the same rights as the workers who are citizens of the country, and to cater to their needs regarding teachers, clerics and union specialists” (The NTP Program, 1986:12).

All the parties analyzed in this paper made pledges offering solutions to the problems faced by Turks working abroad. It can be observed that the DLP made the most detailed pledges concerning Turkish workers abroad.

Laws on Foreign Policy Made by the Grand National Assembly during its 18th Term

The general election was held on November 29, 1987. The MP won 36.3% of the votes, which corresponded to 292 of the total 450 seats, thus constituting a majority in the Grand National Assembly and bringing them to power. The SPP came second, winning 24.81% of the votes and 99 seats in parliament. The TPP came third, winning 19.2% of the votes and 59 seats in parliament. The DLP, WP, and NTP failed to pass the election threshold, with 8.53%, 7.14% and 2.89% of the votes, respectively (Cumhuriyet, December 1, 1987:1). After the general election of 1987, the 46th government of the Republic of Turkey (the second MP government) obtained a vote of confidence (Parliament Reports, 18, v.1:334).

It can be seen that, after the general election of 1987, three separate MP governments held office in the Grand National Assembly during its 18th term. International agreements concerning foreign policy were signed by these governments and the relevant laws were made through the ratification of MPs who entered the Grand National Assembly as members of their respective political parties. This point is important in terms of the parties' abilities to carry out their pledges, with parties that had more seats having better chances of doing so. The MP was the party that had the majority in the Grand National Assembly in this term. Accordingly, the laws made by the political parties that entered the Grand National Assembly after the general election of 1987 in connection to their pledges before the election are as follows.

Laws Made in Accordance with the General Views Expressed by Political Parties

In accordance with the general views expressed by the political parties in relation to foreign policy, laws concerning mutual legal assistance, diplomatic developments, law, commerce and culture were made. Conventions related to participation in international conventions were signed. These treaties and the laws that were made in accordance with the treaties are as follows.

Consulate agreements were signed with such countries as the Arab Republic of Egypt and the USSR, and these were ratified by the Grand National Assembly and came into force with Law No. 3489, dated 27.10.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:54) and Law No. 3491, dated 27.10.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:198). Again in this period, Turkey signed treaties with the State Council of the Polish People's Republic and the State Planning Committee of the USSR to further develop cooperation and friendship. These came into force with the laws given below.

A consulate agreement was signed in Ankara on June 5, 1987 by the President of the Republic of Turkey and the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, in response to a desire to further develop the traditionally friendly relations between the two countries, and, based on the principles of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect to territorial integrity, to improve cooperation and consular relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Polish People's Republic. This agreement came into force after its ratification by the Grand National Assembly with Law No. 3431, dated 21.4.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71:120). Additionally, a cooperation treaty was signed in Moscow on July 28, 1986 between the State Planning Organization of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey and the State Planning Committee of the USSR, and came into force after its ratification by the Grand National Assembly with Law No. 3556, dated 4.5.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:753).

Striving to develop political and economic relations with countries from all over the world, the MP governments signed mutual legal assistance agreements in legal and commercial matters with countries such as the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Republic of India, the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Kingdom of Morocco. These bilateral treaties came into force with the laws given below. The agreements in question came into force with Law No. 3604, dated 18.1.1990 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.73:67) and with Law No. 3605, dated 18.1.1990 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.73:74). They were ratified by the Grand National Assembly and came into force with Law No. 3606, dated 18.1.1990 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.73:79); Law No. 3607, dated 18.1.1990 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.73:85); Law No. 3725, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:14); Law No. 3718,

dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 991:P.9: 13); and No. 3724, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:13).

During the same period, the Convention on the Recognition of Court Decisions, signed with the Republic of Austria, was ratified and came into force with Law No. 3727, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:14) and the Convention on the Transfer of Convicted Individuals for the Execution of Penalties Restricting Personal Freedom, signed with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was ratified and came into force with Law No. 3728, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:14).

The government of the Republic of Turkey also signed educational and cultural agreements with the Republic of Portugal, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Hungarian People's Republic in this same period. These agreements were debated and then ratified at the 18th Grand National Assembly. They include:

the Treaty of Friendship with Portugal, which was ratified by Law No. 3719, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 991: P.9:13), the Treaty of Friendship with Albania, which was ratified by Law No. 3721, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9: 13) and the educational and cultural collaboration agreement with Hungary, which was ratified by Law No. 3722, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:13).

In addition, this period saw Turkey's recognition of the Independent State of Palestine as one of the first countries to do so after the Palestine Liberation Organization's declaration of independence on November 15, 1988 (Balcioglu, 2005:482).

As has been mentioned above, the MP governments signed a Treaty of Friendship with Poland, legal assistance agreements in matters of law and trade with Egypt, India, Poland, Hungary and Morocco, an agreement with Austria for the recognition of court decisions, cultural agreements with Portugal and Albania, and cultural and educational agreements with Hungary, and these agreements came into force after their ratification by the 18th Grand National Assembly. Palestine's independence was recognized by Turkey. These developments show that the MP governments signed agreements in accordance with their general pledges, and that these agreements came into force after their ratification by the Grand National Assembly.

Laws Made in Relation to Accession to the European Union

Turkey-EU relations, which began in 1963 after the signing of the Treaty of Ankara, entered a new phase when Turkey applied for full membership on December 14, 1987. The European Union did not grant Turkey full membership. However, it wanted to have a more profound relationship with Turkey by admitting it into the Customs Union after the talks of 1990 (Özçelik, 2006:174). For this reason, the issue of the European Union retained its significance during the 18th term of the Grand National Assembly. The MP government's efforts towards harmonization with the European Union include the ratification of the third supplementary protocol to the General Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe, the adoption of the European Social Charter, the application of the second clause of the European Convention on Establishment, the adoption of the eighth supplementary protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the application of the second supplementary protocol to the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons, and participation in the European Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The laws made to bring these agreements into force are given below (Erkmen, 2017:333-335).

Law No. 3557, dated 4.5.1989, on the changing of Clause 1 of Law No. 358 on the ratification of the third supplementary protocol to the general agreement on privileges and immunities of the Council of Europe, dated 29.8.1961, was passed by the Grand National Assembly (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:755). The adoption of the European Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, signed on 13.12.1955, with written statements added to Clause 2, took place at the Grand National Assembly on 12.4.1989 with Law No. 3527 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72: 504). Additionally, the European Social Charter, prepared

within the framework of the Council of Europe and signed in Turin on 18.10.1961, was adopted with Law No. 3581, dated 16.6.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:923). In addition to these, the eighth supplementary protocol to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed by Turkey in Strasbourg on February 4, 1986, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly and adopted with Law No. 3526, dated 12.4.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72: 498). Later, the second supplementary protocol to the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons was adopted with Law No. 3732, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:14). The European Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, signed by Turkey in Strasbourg on January 11, 1988, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly and was adopted with Law No. 3411, dated 25.2.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71:16). Lastly, the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehavior at Sports Events and in Particular at Football Matches was adopted by the MP government, and was ratified by the Grand National Assembly with the passing of Law No. 3608, dated 18.1.1990 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.73:92).

During their election campaigns, all parties except the WP had pledged to take steps to make accession to the European Union possible. As has been mentioned above, the MP governments made important efforts to integrate into the EU, and signed numerous agreements and adopted laws at the Grand National Assembly for the harmonization of Turkish law with the European Union's legislation.

Laws Made in Relation to Participation in International Agreements

Turkey's participation in international agreements is an important element in its path to becoming a more democratic and developed country that respects human rights. In addition to the above-mentioned treaties concerning the EU, during the MP governments, Turkey signed such international conventions as the International Labor Conference, the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident, and the Hague Convention on Civil Procedure. These conventions came into force with the laws given below.

Among these agreements, the document concerning the changes made to the Constitution of the International Labor Organization, adopted on 24.6.1986 by the 72nd International Labor Conference, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly and came into force with the adoption of Law No. 3474, dated 28.9.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:5), while the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident, which was prepared by the International Atomic Energy Agency and signed on 26.9.1986 in Vienna by signatories that included the Republic of Turkey, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly and came into force with the adoption of Law No. 3610, dated 18.1.1990 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.73:110). The supplementary agreement, dated 16.9.1988, to the Hague Convention on Civil Procedure, dated 1.3.1954, to which the Republics of Turkey and Austria were signatories, was ratified and adopted by the Grand National Assembly with the passing of Law No. 3726, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:14). Additionally, the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which Turkey signed in New York on January 25, 1988, was passed into the legislation (with the relevant announcement and reservation in the appendix) under Law No. 3441, dated 21.4.1988 (Grand National Assembly Legal Announcements, issue: 18, volume: 71:212). Besides those mentioned above, the Human Rights Inquiry Committee of the Grand National Assembly was established with Law No. 3686 issued on 5.12.1990 (Parliament Bulletin, 1990: P.4:4) in order to monitor the human rights developments in the world and in Turkey and to process applications made with the intention of harmonizing the practice in Turkey with these developments.

The developments mentioned above show that the MP governments and the Grand National Assembly in its 18th term considered participation in international conventions as important.

Laws Made in Relation to Economics

Having a strong economy is a prerequisite for an effective position in foreign policy. Economic treaties signed with foreign countries are an important element in building a strong economy. In addition to

participation in the Convention Establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency and the Treaty Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the MP governments also signed bilateral trade agreements with many countries to develop imports and exports.

The Convention Establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, signed by the MP government on 11.10.1985, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly with Law No. 3453, dated 27.5.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71: 297). Again, the Treaty Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was ratified by the Grand National Assembly with the passing of Law No. 3705, dated 20.3.1991. This law ratified the Treaty Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, signed on 29.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.7:5).

Considering the development of foreign trade as an important issue, the MP governments signed various treaties to that end, which included bilateral agreements for the mutual promotion of investments. The MP governments signed agreements with such countries as the United States of America, the Belgium–Luxembourg Economic Union, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Swiss Confederation, the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, and the Kingdom of Denmark to mutually promote and preserve investments. These agreements came into force with laws made by the Grand National Assembly. The agreements in question were ratified by the Grand National Assembly and came into force with Law No. 3533, dated 13.4.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:552), Law No. 3535, dated 13.4.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:569), Law No. 3536, dated 13.4.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72: 575), Law No. 3537, dated 13.4.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:581), Law No. 3560, dated 18.5.1989 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:814), and Law No. 3733, dated 8.5.1991 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991: P.9:15). In addition to these, the supplemented agreement concerning changes to the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), annex to Law No. 5016, dated 19.2.1947, came into force through the passing of Law No. 3706, dated 20.3.1991, by the Grand National Assembly (Parliament Bulletin, 1991: P.7:5).

Legal regulations made during the MP governments include Turkey’s participation in the Treaty Establishing the Asian Development Bank, the ratification of the Convention on the Establishment of a Common Fund for the Main Clauses Accepted at the UN conference on Trade and Development, participation in the International Convention on the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System prepared by the Customs Cooperation Council, changing of the customs tariff schedule under the Customs Law, signing of a workforce agreement with Northern Cyprus and changing of the Law on the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey. The relevant laws made in relation to these are given below.

Law No. 3707, issued on 20.3.1991, ratified Turkey’s participation in the Treaty Establishing the Asian Development Bank, dated 22.8.1966 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.7:5). In accordance with the decision number 93 (VI), adopted at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Nairobi in 1976, the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities, which was opened for signature on 27.6.1980 and signed by Turkey on 7.9.1981, was adopted with Law No. 3559, issued on 18.5.1989, following its ratification at the Grand National Assembly (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:758). In line with Article 1 (c) of Clause 12 of the International Convention on Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System, prepared by the Customs Cooperation Council, adopted in Brussels on June 14, 1983 and opened for signature on 10.6.1985, Turkey was accepted as a participant in the convention on January 1, 1989, and the ratification of this agreement took place at the Grand National Assembly with the adoption of Law No. 3501, issued on 10.11.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:308). Additionally, changes to the title and one clause of Law No. 474 concerning changes made to the customs tariff schedule under Customs Law No. 5383 were adopted at the Grand National Assembly with Law No. 3502, issued on 10.11.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:318). After the adoption of this law, the title of Law No. 474, issued on 14.5.1964, concerning changes made to the customs tariff schedule under the Customs Law No. 5383, was changed to the “Law on the Customs Tariff Schedule” (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:318). In addition to this, Law No. 3438, issued on 21.4.1988, was adopted to ratify the Workforce Agreement signed between the Republic of Turkey and Northern Cyprus on March 9, 1987.

(Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71:185). Finally, Law No. 3460, ratifying the adoption of the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of Other States, was issued and came into force on 27.5.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71:414).

Again in this period, determined to develop international trade, the MP governments signed bilateral agreements with various countries to avoid double taxation. The MP governments of the period signed agreements with the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Republic of Finland, the Kingdom of Belgium, Northern Cyprus, and the French Republic to avoid double taxation. Following debates by members of the 18th Grand National Assembly, the following laws were passed and came into force. The agreements in question were ratified and came into force with Law No. 3456, dated 27.5.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71:333), Law No. 3457, dated 27.5.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71:351), Law No.3458, dated 27.5.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71: 371), Law No. 3459, dated 27.5.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.71: 393), Law No. 3498, dated 10.11.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72: 251), Law No. 3499, dated 10.11.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72: 268), Law No. 3500, dated 10.11.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72:289), Law No. 3509, dated 7.12.1988 (Parliament Law Records, 18, v.72: 393), and Law No. 3740 (Parliament Bulletin, 1991:P.9:15).

All the political parties that participated in the general election of 1987 made pledges to develop economic relations with foreign countries. For this purpose, the MP governments signed agreements with various countries, and these agreements came into force after their ratification by the Grand National Assembly. As has been mentioned above, agreements were signed between Turkey and the USA, Belgium-Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Bangladesh, and Denmark to mutually promote investments. Additionally, a workforce agreement was signed with Northern Cyprus, another was signed with the IMF, and a participation agreement with the Asian Development Bank was also signed. Customs agreements were signed. Additionally, in this period, the MP government signed agreements with Romania, Pakistan, the UK, Ireland, Finland, Belgium, Northern Cyprus, and France to avoid double taxation.

During MP's time in power, Turkish citizens working abroad obtained the right to vote while entering or exiting Turkey (The MP Election Manifesto, 1991:65).

In conclusion, under the second, third and fourth MP governments, agreements were signed with other countries and with international organizations for the purposes of harmonization with the EU, participation in international agreements, friendship, legal and commercial matters, legal assistance, diplomacy, culture, economic relations and taxation. The laws that brought these agreements into force were adopted during the 18th term of the Grand National Assembly. Looking at the agreements and the laws from the period, it can be argued that relations with Western countries were considered more important. This is because the number of agreements signed with Western countries exceeds the number of other agreements. It can be observed that there were developments in foreign policy that were in accordance with the liberal economic policies adopted by the MP governments.

Conclusion and Discussion

The political parties analyzed in this paper all studied foreign policy issues affecting Turkey and developed suggestions in their election manifestos and party programs to solve these issues. A number of these suggestions can be considered worthy of application in a foreign policy regardless of the time period. It can be added that the pledges made by the political parties complement one another. An issue that was not included in one party's program was included in another party's program. Based on the agreements signed by the MP governments, it can be observed that a multidirectional foreign policy was pursued by these governments, and that they signed social, economic, diplomatic and political agreements with various countries. During this period, agreements were also signed for participation in international conventions.

The political parties analyzed in this paper all expressed their general views. It can be observed that the laws adopted later were in accordance with these general views. The MP governments of the period signed consular agreements with the USSR and Egypt, and a Friendship Treaty with Poland. Mutual legal assistance treaties in legal and commercial matters were signed with Egypt, India, Poland, Hungary and Morocco. In addition to these, an agreement was signed with Austria for the mutual recognition of court decisions. Treaties were signed with Portugal, Albania and Hungary. These treaties came into force through laws ratified by members of the Grand National Assembly.

The MP, SPP, DLP and NTP all made pledges that placed an emphasis on developing existing relations with the West. No promise made by the WP in this regard was found. The MP governments of the period signed, in the name of the Republic of Turkey, economic, diplomatic, educational and cultural treaties with such Western countries as Romania, the UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, Finland, Belgium, France, the USA, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Albania, Denmark and the USSR and these agreements were ratified and came into force with the adoption of laws made by the Grand National Assembly. Agreements were signed for participation in international conventions. Based on the agreements signed during this period and the relevant laws issued by the 18th Grand National Assembly, it can be observed that relations with the West had primacy over relations with other regions.

In terms of relations with the European Union, it can be observed that the parties other than the TPP and WP also stated that they saw joining the European Union as a necessity and pledged to take the necessary steps to join the union. The TPP criticized the MP governments for not making enough efforts. The TPP's attitude shows that it was not against the idea of joining the European Union. Meanwhile, the WP made no pledges concerning the European Union. As for the developments related to the EU during the 18th term of the Grand National Assembly, it can be observed that developments did take place. The European Union did not grant Turkey full membership during this period. However, it wanted to have a more profound relationship with Turkey by admitting it into the Customs Union following the talks in 1990. Again, the MP governments of the period signed agreements for the ratification of the third supplementary protocol to the General Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe, the adoption of the European Social Charter, and for the ratification of the third supplementary protocol to the General Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe. Likewise, agreements were made for the adoption of the European Convention on Establishment, for participation in the European Social Charter, which had been signed in Turin, for the adoption of the eighth supplementary protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and for the adoption of the second supplementary protocol to the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons. In addition to these, another agreement was signed for participation in the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehavior at Sports Events and in Particular at Football Matches. These agreements were ratified and came into force through laws made by the Grand National Assembly. These developments reflect the importance of accession to the EU for the MP governments and the 18th Grand National Assembly.

As for the issue of participation in international organizations, while the SPP and DLP made pledges concerning NATO, the TPP and NTP made pledges concerning the UN. While the SPP saw NATO as necessary for Turkey, the DLP warned that the joint security facilities located in Turkey should not be used without consulting Turkey. The MP governments of the period signed the document concerning changes made to the Constitution of the International Labor Organization, adopted by the 72nd International Labor Conference, as well as the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident. In addition, the Hague Convention on Civil Procedure and the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, signed by Turkey in 1988, were signed. Besides these, the Human Rights Inquiry Committee of the Grand National Assembly was established in order to monitor the human rights developments in the world and in Turkey, and to process applications made with the intention of harmonizing the practice in Turkey with these developments. These agreements were ratified and came into force through laws made by the Grand National Assembly. It is observed that the 18th Grand National Assembly considered participation in international conventions as important.

Aside from the DLP, all parties also included the issue of neighboring countries in their programs. The DLP underlined the need for a multidirectional foreign policy that would improve relations with all countries. It can be seen that during this period a workforce agreement was signed with neighboring Northern Cyprus.

As for Middle Eastern and Muslim countries, it is seen that the MP, DLP, WP and NTP made pledges concerning Middle Eastern and Muslim countries. No pledge regarding this topic could be found from the SPP. It is observed that agreements were signed with some of these countries during the period in question. In terms of relations with Muslim countries, the MP governments signed consular and commercial and legal agreements with Egypt. Likewise, a commercial and legal agreement was signed with Morocco. It has been established that a treaty was signed with Pakistan to avoid double taxation. An agreement was signed for Turkey's participation in the Treaty Establishing the Asian Development Bank. These agreements were ratified and came into force through laws made by the Grand National Assembly. In this period, Turkey also became one of the first countries to recognize Palestinian independence.

In terms of developing economic relations with foreign countries, all the parties analyzed in this study underlined the fact that developing economic relations was as important for foreign policy as the development of policies in the political sphere. It can be observed that there were economic developments in foreign policy during the 18th term of the Grand National Assembly. In addition to participation in the Convention Establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency and the Treaty Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the MP governments also signed bilateral trade agreements with many countries to develop imports and exports. The MP signed agreements with the USA, Belgium-Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Bangladesh, and Denmark to mutually promote and preserve investments. In addition, during the government led by Özal, an agreement was signed for participation in the International Convention on the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System, prepared and presented by the Customs Cooperation Council. The MP governments of the period signed, in the name of the Republic of Turkey, agreements with Romania, Pakistan, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Netherlands, Finland, Belgium, Northern Cyprus, and France to avoid double taxation. These agreements came into force with laws voted by the members of the 18th Grand National Assembly. Based on the economic agreements signed by the MP governments, it can be observed that developing economic relations with foreign countries was very important for them.

All the political parties made pledges concerning the problems faced by Turks working abroad. However, this study has established that the 18th Grand National Assembly did not issue any relevant laws. Based on this situation, it can be argued that not all the pledges made during the election campaign could later be converted into action following entry into the Grand National Assembly.

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