Turkey and the European Union
Also by Joseph S. Joseph

THE TREATY ESTABLISHING A CONSTITUTION FOR EUROPE: Introduction, Documents, Annotation (editor)
EURO–ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN (co-editor with Stephanos Constantinides)
CYPRUS AND THE EUROPEAN UNION (co-editor with Stephanos Constantinides)
THE FIFTH EU ENLARGEMENT: Revisiting the Triangle of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey (co-editor with Stephanos Constantinides)
CYPRUS: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics, from Independence to the Threshold of the European Union
Turkey and the European Union

Internal Dynamics and External Challenges

Edited by

Joseph S. Joseph
Associate Professor of International Relations and European Affairs
Jean Monnet Chair in European Foreign and Security Policy
University of Cyprus
For Eleni and our daughters, Lina and Savina, who are good at showing alternatives to anger and confrontation.

In memory of my parents, who taught me that listening can be better than talking
This page intentionally left blank
Contents

List of Tables ix

Preface x

Notes on the Contributors xiii

List of Abbreviations xviii

Chronology xx

1 Introduction: Turkey at the Threshold of the European Union 1
   Joseph S. Joseph

2 The Economic Dimension of Turkey's EU Membership:
   A Stock-Taking Exercise at the Start of Accession Negotiations 16
   Mehmet Ugur

3 Between Fedora and Fez: Modern Turkey's Troubled
   Road to Democratic Consolidation and the Pluralizing
   Role of Erdoğan's Pro-Islam Government 42
   Spyridon Kotsovilis

4 The EU Challenge: A View from the Turkish Grand
   National Assembly 71
   Neophytos G. Loizides and Elif Ersin

5 Relations Between the State and Civil Society in Turkey:
   Does the EU Make a Difference? 83
   Wendy Weber

6 The Kurdish Problem in International Politics 96
   Michael M. Gunter

7 The Europeanization of Turkey's Kurdish Question 122
   Nathalie Tocci

8 The Greek Variable in EU–Turkish Relations 138
   Alexander Kazamias

9 Turkey's Quest for EU Membership and the Cyprus Problem 161
   Tozun Bahceli

vii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Security Implications of Turkey’s March Towards EU Membership</td>
<td>Mustafa Kibaroglu</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The US and Turkey’s Quest for EU Membership</td>
<td>Omer Taspinar</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Iraq War and the Troubled US–Turkish Alliance: Some Conclusions for Europe</td>
<td>Ozlem Kayhan and Dan Lindley</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bibliography</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Index</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Impact of EU membership on sectoral profits</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Declining growth rates and increasing volatility in Turkey: decade averages</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Indicators of income inequality: Gini index</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Agricultural enterprise size in Turkey</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Strategic overview of some major players in the Middle East</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

The object of this book is to make a scholarly contribution to the debate over Turkey's quest for EU membership and participation in the European integration process. It looks at various issues and aspects of EU–Turkish relations dealing with the past, present and future of Turkey’s Western orientation and the EU’s deepening and widening.

In selecting the topics addressed in the book, there was some emphasis on diversity and innovation. The theme of the book is quite broad and includes topics in history, politics, economy, society and culture. The various issues are presented and discussed in the context of the internal dynamics and challenges that both Turkey and the EU are facing in the light of Turkey’s forthcoming membership in the Union. The regional context of Middle Eastern politics and the evolving transatlantic relations in a changing world of rising tensions between the West and Islam are also frameworks of reference for the presentation and analysis of some of the issues. The twelve chapters of the book provide a thorough picture of EU–Turkish relations and insightful analysis of the dynamics and complexities of these relations.

The first (introductory) chapter provides some background information on EU–Turkish relations and an overview of the main issues and challenges that Turkey presents to the EU and vice versa. In that sense, this chapter defines the theme of the book and provides a broader context for the more specialized chapters which follow.

In Chapter 2 Mehmet Ugur looks at the economic implications of Turkey’s membership and tries to disentangle the costs and benefits for both Turkey and the EU. He concludes that accession is likely to benefit both sides, but further research on this critical aspect is needed.

In Chapter 3 Spyridon Kotsovilis explores the complex issue of democratic consolidation and the political role of Islam. The chapter has contemporary focus and concludes that Turkey can belong to both the East and the West, and be a truly democratic and Muslim country.

Chapter 4 is a study of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and some of the issues raised in Turkey’s contentious march towards the EU. Neophytos Loizides and Elif Ersin conclude that there is increasing diversity in the views of parliamentarians, and that the stereotype of a monolithic political discourse lacking self-criticism and compromising voices is incorrect.
In Chapter 5 Wendy Weber looks at the relationship between civil society and the state in the context of Turkey’s European aspirations and its forthcoming accession to the EU. She concludes that the pre-accession process has played a role in strengthening the civil society and the efforts of nongovernmental organizations in promoting human rights.

Chapter 6 provides an overview of the Kurdish problem and looks at its many aspects as a source of instability in the Middle East and beyond. Michael Gunter concludes that although currently the Kurdish situation remains highly uncertain, the importance of the Kurds in regional and international politics is increasing.

Chapter 7 deals with the Europeanization of Turkey’s Kurdish question and looks at the EU’s concerns about internal stability, democracy and respect for human rights. Nathalie Tocci provides an analysis of the political imperatives underpinning EU–Turkish relations and their impact on the handling of the Kurdish issue.

Chapter 8 looks at Greek–Turkish relations with particular emphasis on Greece’s handling of Turkey’s application for membership in the EU. Alexander Kazamias looks at the historical context and structural constraints which affect Greek policy towards Turkey’s European course and other issues, including Cyprus and Aegean disputes.

Chapter 9 focuses on the Cyprus problem, which is high on the agenda of the Turkish government, in connection with Turkey’s EU membership prospects. Tozun Bahcheli looks at the domestic constraints and external factors influencing Turkey’s policy and handling of the Cyprus issue, with emphasis on the policy of the Erdogan government since 2003.

In Chapter 10 Mustafa Kibaroglu discusses some of the security implications that EU membership in the EU may have on Turkey. He does so in the context of a changing regional and global security environment, and by taking into account the American and European security sensitivities in the Middle East.

Chapter 11 looks at the triangle of Turkey–EU–US relations in the context of domestic Turkish politics and in the light of a changing global political environment. Omer Taspinar explores the dynamics of these relations and discusses the overall state of transatlantic relations and Turkey’s growing frustration with both the US and the EU.

Chapter 12 is a case-study of the 2003 Iraq War and its implications for the troubled US–Turkish alliance and Turkey’s European aspirations. Ozlem Kayhan and Dan Lindley suggest that Turkey’s policy during the war was helpful in fulfilling its European objectives, but a balanced policy towards its Western partners is imperative.
My thanks and appreciation go to the many individuals who helped me in preparing this book. I am especially indebted to the contributing authors. Their contribution is greatly appreciated. I could rely on their background and expertise for preparing first-class chapters, but I also enjoyed interacting with them, exchanging views, and sharing constructive criticism. In a sense, this project has been an exercise in collective and constructive engagement. I may also add that the final product is the result of transnational cooperation among individuals with diverse backgrounds from several institutions in different countries.

I am also grateful to my colleagues in the Department of Social Political Sciences at the University of Cyprus. Our conversations often helped me give substance and shape to vague ideas. My students at the University of Cyprus have also provided inspiration and ideas. The long and occasionally intense debates we had in the classroom were stimulating and refreshing.

I am grateful to Alison Howson, publisher at Palgrave Macmillan, who provided valuable advice. Her professionalism was a source of support and enthusiasm for the project. I also express my thanks to the anonymous readers for their constructive criticism and feedback.

I am also thankful to the European Commission which provided support for this project through the funding of the Jean Monnet Chair in European Foreign and Security Policy at the University of Cyprus.

Last but not least, I am especially indebted and grateful to my wife Eleni and our daughters Lina and Savina. They were a constant source of support and inspiration. Without their patience and devotion to the project, its completion would have been long delayed.

While the contribution of many people was critical in completing this collective volume, I take full responsibility for its preparation and for any errors of omission or commission.

University of Cyprus

Joseph S. Joseph

Note on spelling and accents

In the English literature many Turkish words and names are used in their anglicized version (example: Ataturk instead of Atatürk). In this volume, some chapter contributors use the original Turkish spellings and accents while some others use the anglicized versions. The preference of each chapter author has been respected. As a result, there is some inconsistency among chapters in the use of spellings and accents of Turkish words and names.
Notes on the Contributors

Tozun Bahcheli is professor of political science at King’s University College at the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. He has written widely on Turkish foreign policy issues, Greek–Turkish relations and Cypriot politics. During 1995–96 he was senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, DC. He is the author of *Greek–Turkish Relations Since 1955* (1990) and co-editor of *De Facto States: The Quest for Sovereignty* (2004).

Elif Ersin studied political science and international relations at Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey, and worked for the Student Forum of the Center of European Studies on projects involving students from all regions of Turkey. She has a special interest in Turkish and European politics and is involved in research projects on EU–Turkish relations.

Michael M. Gunter is a professor of political science at Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, Tennessee, USA. During the summer he teaches at the International University in Vienna, Austria. He is the author of several books on the Kurdish question, the most recent being *Kurdish Historical Dictionary* (2004); *The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Analysis* (1999); and *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* (1997). In addition, he is the co-editor (with Mohammed M. A. Ahmed) of *The Kurdish Question and the 2003 Iraqi War* (2005). He has also published numerous scholarly articles on the Kurds in leading periodicals including *Middle East Journal, Middle East Quarterly, Middle East Policy* and *Orient*. He was a senior Fulbright lecturer in international relations in Turkey and has been interviewed about the Kurdish question on many occasions by the international media.

Joseph S. Joseph is associate professor and holder of the Jean Monnet Chair in European foreign and security policy at the University of Cyprus. He received his BA from Panteion University (Greece); MA from the University of Stockholm (Sweden); and PhD from Miami University (USA). He was a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard and taught at the University of Alabama, Gustavus Adolphus College, and Miami University. His recent publications include *The Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe: Introduction, Documents, Annotation* (in Greek; 2006); *Cyprus: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics, from Independence*

**Ozlem Kayhan** received her BSc degree in international relations from the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, and her MA degree in political science from the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA. She is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Notre Dame. Her research interests revolve around the relationship between national security threats, civil–military relations, and state-building. She has given papers and talks on the foreign policy of Turkey, on democratic control of the Turkish Armed Forces, on the US war in Afghanistan and on Islam’s compatibility with democracy. Prior to attending Notre Dame, she interned at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey.

**Alexander Kazamias** is senior lecturer in politics at Coventry University, United Kingdom. He specializes in Greek political and diplomatic history, Euro-Mediterranean relations and West European politics. He has written articles and book chapters in these areas including ‘The Modernisation of Greek Foreign Policy and its Limitations’ (*Mediterranean Politics*, 1997); ‘L’Unione Monetaria Europea: Storia di una contro-egemonia?’, in G. Campani and L. Sommo (eds), *L’Euro – Scenari Economici e Dimensione Simbolica* (2001); and ‘The Rise and Fall of State-Partyism’ (in Greek), in T. Pelagidis (ed.), *The Entanglement of Reforms in Greece* (2005). Since 1993 he has been a regular contributor to the Greek periodical *Anti*. He has taught as a visiting lecturer in Moscow State University, Warwick University and Cairo University. In 2005 he was a visiting research fellow at Princeton University.

**Mustafa Kibaroglu** is associate professor of international relations at Bilkent University, Istanbul. He has a BSc in industrial engineering and an MA in economics from Bogazici University in Istanbul. He received his PhD in international relations from Bilkent University in Ankara. He has held fellowships at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Switzerland; at the University of Southampton in the United Kingdom as a fellow of the International Atomic Energy Agency; at the Monterey Institute, California; and at Harvard University as a

Spyridon Kotsovilis is completing his PhD in political science at McGill University, Canada. A graduate of Athens College, Greece, he holds a BA from the University of Toronto in Peace and Conflict Studies and an MA from McGill in political science. His research interests include democratization, ethnic conflict and contentious politics in Southeastern Europe and the former USSR. He is a member of the executive council of the Canadian Association of Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders, and founder and former head of a group within MSF Canada that prepared and provided socio-political reports on the destinations of medical staff of the organization.

Dan Lindley is assistant professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, and a fellow at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. He received his BA degree in International Relations and French from Tufts University, Massachusetts. He received his PhD from MIT and his dissertation has become his book manuscript: Promoting Peace with Information: Transparency as a Tool of Security Regimes. He lectured at MIT and was a fellow in the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University. He has published on UN peacekeeping, ethnic conflict, the Cyprus problem and Greek–Turkish relations. His current research interests are in the areas of public diplomacy and the extent to which miscalculation and misperception can have an impact on the state's decisions for war.

Neophytos G. Loizides is currently a lecturer in the Department of Politics and the Hellenic Studies Program at Princeton University. He received his BA in international relations from the University of Pennsylvania and MA in economics from the Central European University in Budapest where he specialized in Southeast European studies. He received his PhD in political science from the University of Toronto. He was a fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has published on conflict and peace studies, Mediterranean politics and Greek–Turkish relations. His articles were published in international journals including Security Dialogue, Southeast European Politics, Hellenic Studies and Weltpolitik. He is currently working on a book manuscript.
on framing and communication strategies in the Greek and Turkish parliaments.

Omer Taspinar is the Director of the Turkey Program at the Brookings Institution’s Center on the United States and Europe, and an adjunct professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. He received his BA in political science from Middle East Technical University, Ankara, and his MA and PhD in European Studies from Johns Hopkins University. His research focuses on Turkey–EU and Turkish–American relations; European politics; Transatlantic relations; Muslims in Europe; Islamic radicalism; and American foreign policy in the Middle East. His recent publications include *Fighting Radicalism with Human Development: Freedom, Education and Growth in the Islamic World* (Brookings Press, 2006); *Political Islam and Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey* (2005); *New Parameters in US–German–Turkish Relations* (AICGS Policy Report, 2005); ‘The Anatomy of Anti-Americanism in Turkey’ (*Insight Turkey*, 2005); *Turkey’s European Quest* (Brookings Analysis Paper, 2004); ‘Europe’s Muslim Street’ (*Foreign Policy*, 2003).

Nathalie Tocci is a Marie Curie Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence. She received her PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics. She is currently researching a book on the role of the EU in conflict resolution in the Mediterranean region. She also collaborates with the Institute of International Affairs in Rome. She has been a research fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels. Her recent publications include ‘Conflict Resolution in the Neighbourhood: Comparing the Role of the EU in the Turkish–Kurdish and Israeli–Palestinian Conflicts’ (*Mediterranean Politics*, 2005), *EU Accession Dynamics and Conflict Resolution: Cazalysing Peace or Partition in Cyprus?* (2004); with A. Evin (eds), *Towards Accession Negotiations: Turkey’s Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges Ahead* (2004).

Mehmet Ugur is Jean Monnet reader in European Political Economy at the University of Greenwich Business School. He studied at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, and the London School of Economics. His research focuses on institutional design for economic policy. In this context, he has researched and published in the areas of regional integration theory, integration–globalization linkages, EU–Turkey relations, corporate governance, and institutional determinants of economic performance. His recent publications include *Turkey and European Integration* (2004, edited with N. Canefe), *Open Economy Macroeconomics*

**Wendy Weber** is a visiting instructor at Macalester College, Minnesota, where she teaches courses in international relations. She is a PhD candidate at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg and York University in Toronto. She is currently completing her dissertation on humanitarian intervention. Her research interests are in changing patterns of governance, especially in the areas of human rights and humanitarianism.
List of Abbreviations

AKP Justice and Development Party
ANAP Motherland Party
APD Accession Partnership Document
CAP Common Agricultural Policy
CEEC Central and Eastern European Countries
CENTO Central Treaty Organization
CFSP Common Foreign and Security Policy
CGE computable general equilibrium
CHP Republican People’s Party
CIA Central Intelligence Agency
DEHAP Democratic People’s Party
DSP Democratic Left Party
DTH Democratic Society Movement
DYP True Path Party (Correct Way Party)
EAGGF European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
EC European Communities, European Community
ECHR European Court of Human Rights
ECSC European Coal and Steel Community
ECU European currency unit
ECC European Economic Community
EMU Economic and Monetary Union
ESDI European Security and Defence Identity
ESDP European Security and Defence Policy
EU European Union
EUISS European Union Institute of Strategic Studies
EURATOM European Atomic Energy Community
FBIS Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FDI foreign direct investment
FIR Flight Information Region
FYROM Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GDP gross domestic product
GNP gross national product
HADEP People’s Democracy Party
HCA Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly
IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>internally displaced person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGO</td>
<td>intergovernmental organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISAF</td>
<td>International Security Assistance Force (in Afghanistan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADEK</td>
<td>Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>Nationalist Movement (Action) Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>nongovernmental organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>Non-Proliferation Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSP</td>
<td>National Order (Salvation) Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OHAL</td>
<td>State of Emergency Legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLS</td>
<td>ordinary least square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYAK</td>
<td>Armed Forces Pension Fund (Turkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Kurdistan Workers’ Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>(Welfare Party in Turkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>Welfare Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHP</td>
<td>Social Democratic People's Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Felicity (Contentment) Party (New Turkey Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPO</td>
<td>State Planning Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBMM</td>
<td>Turkish Grand National Assembly (also TGNA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGNA</td>
<td>Turkish Grand National Assembly (also TBMM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRNC</td>
<td>‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUSIAD</td>
<td>Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEU</td>
<td>Western European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chronology

1923 Establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Kemal Ataturk becomes president.
1925 Adoption of the Gregorian calendar. Prohibition of the fez.
1928 Turkey becomes a secular state.
1938 Kemal Ataturk dies. Ismet Inonu becomes president.
1945 Turkey joins the United Nations.
1952 Turkey joins NATO.
1959 Turkey applies to become an associate member of the EEC.
1960 May Army coup. The military takes power and rules until October 1961.
1961 New constitution establishes two-chamber parliament.
1963 Association agreement signed with EEC.
1965 Suleyman Demirel becomes prime minister, a position he is to hold seven times.
1971 Army forces Demirel to resign, following the escalation of political violence.
1974 Turkish troops invade Cyprus. US arms embargo imposed on Turkey.
1978 US arms embargo lifted.
1982 New constitution provides for seven-year presidency and single-house parliament.
1983 General election won by Turgut Ozal’s Motherland Party.
1984 Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) launches a separatist guerrilla war in southeast.
1987 Turkey applies for full EEC membership.
1989 European Commission issues opinion on Turkish application. It does not recommend opening of accession negotiations.
1990 Turkey allows the US-led coalition against Iraq to launch air strikes from Turkish bases.
1992  20,000 Turkish troops enter Kurdish safe havens in Iraq in anti-PKK operation.
1993  Tansu Ciller becomes Turkey’s first woman prime minister.
1996  Customs union with the EU enters into force.
1996  Welfare Party leader Necmettin Erbakan heads the first pro-Islamic government since 1923.
1997 December Luxembourg European Council declines to grant candidate status to Turkey.
1998  Welfare Party (the largest in parliament) banned.
1999  PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan captured in Kenya. Sentenced to death; sentence later commuted to life imprisonment.
1999 December Helsinki European Council decides that Turkey is an EU candidate country.
1999 August Devastating earthquake kills 17,000 people.
2000  Ahmet Necdet Sezer takes over from Suleyman Demirel as president.
2001 October Parliament approves major amendments to the constitution to meet the Copenhagen political criteria.
2001 June Constitutional Court bans the opposition pro-Islamic Virtue Party. New pro-Islamist party Saadet is set up by former Virtue Party members in July.
2002 January Turkish men are no longer regarded in law as head of the family.
2002 July Pressure for early elections as eight ministers including Foreign Minister Cem resign over the ailing PM Ecevit’s refusal to step down amid growing economic and political turmoil.
2002 July Cem launches new party committed to social democracy and EU membership.
2002 November Islamist-based Justice and Development Party (AK) wins landslide election victory. The party promises to stick to the secular principles of constitution. Deputy leader Abdullah Gul becomes prime minister.
2002 December Copenhagen European Council decides to review Turkey’s European course in December 2004 with a
view to opening accession negotiations without delay.

2002 December Constitutional changes allow the head of the ruling AK, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to run for parliament, and so become prime minister.

2003 March AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan wins a seat in parliament and becomes prime minister. Abdullah Gul resigns as prime minister and becomes foreign minister.

2003 March Parliament decides not to allow the deployment of US forces ahead of the war in Iraq but allows US use of Turkish air space. It authorizes the dispatch of Turkish forces into Kurdish areas of northern Iraq.

2003 June/July Parliament passes further laws easing restrictions on the freedom of speech, Kurdish language rights, and reducing the political role of military.

2004 January Turkey signs the protocol banning the death penalty in all circumstances.

2004 May PKK announces it plans to end its cease-fire because of what it calls annihilation operations against its forces.

2004 June Turkish state television broadcasts first Kurdish language programme.

2004 June Four Kurdish activists, including the former MP Leyla Zana, freed from jail.

2004 June NATO heads of state gather for summit in Istanbul.

2004 September Parliament approves penal reforms introducing tougher measures to prevent torture and violence against women. Controversial proposal on criminalizing adultery dropped.

2004 October European Commission issues a report recommending that the European Council decides for the commencement of accession negotiations.


2005 January New lira currency introduced.

2005 May Parliament approves amendments to the new penal code after complaints that the previous version was too restrictive of media freedom.

2005 October Accession negotiations with the EU launched.