

# EU, Turkey and Counter-Terrorism

Fighting the PKK and ISIS

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# Preface

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This book examines the impact of the EU on Turkish counter-terrorism policies towards the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the context of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) threat. It analyses the EU's normative role on Turkey within four distinct periods: the inertia (1984–1999), the conditional transformation (1999–2004), the social transformation (2004–2015), and the backsliding (2015–2020) in which paradigm shifts in Turkish counter-terrorism policy were based on different domestic and EU-level factors. The main argument traced in the book is that when the EU has promoted democratization in Turkey, it has also implicitly impacted on Turkey's counter-terrorism policies. When the EU has provided a credible membership prospect to Turkey, and when the PKK attacks have been at a low level, then the EU conditionality strategy, based on rational reasons, has been influential on Turkey's adoption of EU promoted norms. However, when there has been no membership prospect and high levels of PKK violence, having a significant majority of the political actors in policymaking who are socially internalized to the appropriateness of EU-promoted norms has led to the adoption of EU norms. In line with the diminishing number of these political actors and the politicization of the public administration, serious backsliding has appeared in Turkish counter-terrorism policies in the context of adoption of democratic reforms. This comprehensive text provides conceptual and empirical analysis for students, academics and policymakers, both in Turkey and the EU, who are interested in the EU's impact on candidate countries' counter-terrorism policies, and EU–Turkey relations. It reveals how the EU impact on democratic transition and on the counter-terrorism policies of a candidate state can turn into backsliding within a few decades, despite all the effort by the EU and domestic political actors. This book comprises a lesson-drawing case for the EU and other countries to follow a different approach while transforming a counter-terrorism policy of state, through normative means, with the support of an international actor.

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# Abbreviations

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AFSJ	Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
ATL	Anti-Terror Law
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party
CAT	UN Committee against Torture
CCPL	Code of Criminal Procedure Law
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CEECs	Central and Eastern European Countries
CFI	Court of First Instance
CHP	Republican People's Party
CoE	Council of Europe
CPT	European Committee for the Prevention of Torture
DDKO	Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearts
DEHAP	Democratic People's Party
DEP	Democracy Party
DHKP-C	Revolutionary People's Liberation Front
DPA	Data Protection Authority
DPT	Prime Ministry Strategic Planning Organisation
DSP	Democratic Left Party
DTP	Democratic Society Party
EAS	European Agenda on Security
EC	European Community
ECFR	European Charter of Fundamental Rights
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECJ	European Court of Justice



ECRML	European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages
ECTC	European Counter Terrorism Centre
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EEC	European Economic Community
EFA	European Free Alliance
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna
EU	European Union
FCPNM	Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GUE	Confederal Group of the European United Left
HADEP	People's Democracy Party
HCNM	High Commissioner on National Minorities
HDP	Peoples' Democratic Party
HEP	People's Labour Party
HHRB	High Human Rights Board
HRCC	Human Rights Consultation Committee
HRFT	Human Rights Foundation of Turkey
HRIB	Human Rights Investigation Board
HSK	Council of Judges and Prosecutors
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESC	International Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
IDMC	International Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JFR	Judiciary and Fundamental Rights
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
JPC	Joint Parliamentary Committee
KCK	Group of Communities in Kurdistan
KDPT	Democratic Party of Kurdish Kurdistan
KSP	Socialist Party of Kurdistan
MHP	Nationalist Action/Movement Party
MIT	Turkish National Intelligence Service
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGL	Nordic Green Left
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPAA	National Programme for Adoption of Acquis
NPT	National Preventive Mechanism
NSC	National Security Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPCAT	Optional Protocol to the UN Convention against Torture
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PNR	Passenger Name Record
RADST	Regulation of Apprehension Detention and Statement Taking
RAN	Radicalization Awareness Network
RMG	Reform Monitoring Group
RTUK	Radio and Television Supreme Council
SDF	Syrian Democratic Forces
SEA	Single European Act
SHP	Social Democratic People's Party
SPT	Subcommittee on Prevention of Torture
SSCs	State Security Courts
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces

TAIEX	Technical Assistance and Information Exchange Instrument
TBMM	Turkish Grand National Assembly
TCC	Turkish Constitutional Court
TESEV	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
TIHEK	Turkish Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey
ToA	Treaty of Amsterdam
TPHRIC	Turkish Parliament Human Rights Inquiry Committee
TPI	Turkish Workers' Party
TREVI	Terrorisme Radicalisme Extremisme et Violence Internationale
TRT	Turkish Broadcasting Corporation
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
US	United States
VCCE	Venice Commission of the Council of Europe
YDG-H	The Patriotic Revolutionary Youth Movement
YOK	High Education Board
YPG	Kurdish People's Protection Units
YSK	Supreme/High Election Board

