

A MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE: FORGING A BRIGHT FUTURE ON FIRM PRINCIPLES

Turkey is emerging as a global leader, but its inconsistent behavior clashes with principles of true democracy. Turkey's human and democratic development lags and Turkey is creating new problems with friends, not "no problems" with neighbors. While Turkey decried the suffering in Gaza, it defended Sudan's president against war crimes charges. While it combated anti-democratic behavior domestically, it quickly congratulated Ahmedinejad for an election victory where political opposition was violently suppressed. The appearance that Turkey is soft on human rights violations committed by Muslims is doing serious damage to its international stature. Turkey's failure to strengthen democracy at home is jeopardizing its EU accession and its people's future. Turkey needs a principled movement for change to carry forward the democratic foundations of the Republic and forge a bright future for its people.

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This year's World Economic Forum in Davos concluded with a theme we would do well to heed. Indeed, now is a critical time to “rethink, redesign, and rebuild” Turkish foreign and domestic policies. We must rethink the tenets that are the most vital to our Republic, redesign our policies and politics to be consistent with those principles, and rebuild a new foundation for change and reform that will sustain Turkey's economic, political, and social growth in the 21st century. To achieve this we need new leadership and a principled strategy in which democratic values drive domestic and foreign policies.

Internationally, observers question if Turkey is drifting away from the West. Turkey's cultivation of regional “strategic depth” and its aim of “zero problems with neighbors” have produced questionable results. While Turkey decried the suffering in Gaza, it defended a Sudanese president indicted for war crimes in Darfur. While it scuttled military exercises with Israel, it celebrated military cooperation with Syria. While it rushed into a landmark accord with Armenia, it rushed out of favor with Azerbaijan, a long-time friend. And while it breaks up allegedly anti-democratic behavior at home, it broke with the West to quickly congratulate Ahmedinejad after an election where political opposition was violently suppressed. Turkey is creating new problems with friends, not “no problems” with neighbors.

Meanwhile, domestically, Turkey is lagging in critical areas of economic, human and democratic development. Its economy is dropping in competitiveness rankings. A great percentage of Turkish youth still leave school early or without adequate skills. Even though women's university graduation rates have risen, their labor force participation rates have declined. Furthermore, human rights and individual liberties still do not receive adequate protection and minorities lack equal opportunities to learn, work, and participate politically and socially.

We must therefore carry forward the Republic's founding goals, align ourselves with the democratic developments of the past century, and enhance opportunities for all Turkish people. To fully support individual rights and freedoms and leverage the power of shared values and principles, we must coordinate our foreign and domestic policies and renew our commitment to European Union (EU) accession. We need unwavering democratic leadership now more than ever to deliver the change and transformation that the Turkish people deserve and demand.

Why Now?

To be sure, Turkey has undertaken some positive reforms under the Justice and Development Party (AKP). Domestically, Turkey has reenergized its economy and conducted reforms that helped open EU membership negotiations in 2005. These reforms included the reform of the National Security Council, removal of discriminatory regulations against women, and most recently, the “Kurdish opening.” Internationally, Turkey has worked more closely with neighbors – for example, by thawing relations with Armenia, mediating the Syrian-Israeli dispute, and strengthening relations with Iraq. Turkey’s regional activism and its contributions to United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations around the world improved its international stature and earned it broad support for its current UN Security Council seat. Most recently, Turkey has come to Haiti’s aid, not having forgotten the generous aid that it received during the devastating Marmara earthquake a decade ago.

However, despite some notable advances, Turkey must do better and sustain a more consistent and coherent course of change and development.

The Case for Domestic Reform

Put simply, the Turkish people are not getting their fair share of progress. Turkey has grown considerably over the last decade to become the world’s 17th largest economy, yet it still lags in key areas of development, particularly in the economy, education, and democratic development – all compounded by continuing hardships facing youth, women, workers, and minorities.

Economically, unemployment remains high, Turkey’s global competitiveness is slipping, and its youth suffers from lack of jobs and opportunities. Thirteen percent of Turkish workers are unemployed,¹ and the labor participation rate of the Turkish working age population (48 percent) pales in comparison to Mexico’s 65 percent or the OECD’s average of about 78 percent. Many factors are at play, but faulty labor policy is a major culprit. Turkey ranks 145th in employing workers due to its rigid labor market regulations.² Labor market rigidity in turn affects Turkey’s global competitiveness, which has dropped eight places since

¹ Turkish Statistical Institute, “Household Labor Force Survey Results for the Period of October 2009,” *TurkStat*, www.turkstat.gov.tr, 15 January 2010.

² World Bank Group, *Doing Business 2010: Reforming Through Tough Times* (2009), pp. 4, 22, 159.

2007 to 61st in the Global Competitiveness Index³ and ten places since last year to 73rd in the World Bank's *Doing Business* report.⁴ Turkey is acutely deficient in critical areas of human development like health and education.⁵ In addition, while Turkey's 12.4 million youth can potentially catapult Turkey into a highly productive knowledge economy, the youth unemployment rate –roughly 24 percent, nearly twice the overall rate⁶– means the global economy is marching past many of Turkey's next generation. To improve conditions for its economy and its workers Turkey must improve its employment, environment and labor regulations.

In education, Turkey is failing to prepare its youth for the competitive job market. Companies complain of the shortage of talent, even while unemployment soars. Turkey's adult illiteracy rate of 11.3 percent ranks 77th in the world, and its combined gross school enrollment rate of 71.1 percent ranks 105th.⁷ The UN Development Programme found that in 2003, about 45 percent of Turkish youth left school without basic skills – three times the OECD average.⁸

In addition to these problems, a serious gender gap exists throughout Turkish society. While female school enrollment rates have risen, they are still a full one eighth below that of men – one of the worst educational gender gaps in the world.⁹ More disturbingly, female youth employment has actually dropped roughly ten percentage points over the last decade. While the labor force participation rate for men is 71 percent, it is a mere 27 percent for women.¹⁰ Well over two million “ev kızı” [house girls] do not go to work or school.¹¹ Inequalities like these earn Turkey the dismal rank of 129th in the Gender Gap Index.¹² For a country that led Europe in enfranchising women and empowering them to serve in Parliament, Turkey's persistent gender disparity is not just startling but inexcusable and must be mended.

³ World Economic Forum, *The Global Competitiveness Report 2009-2010* (2009), p. 310.

⁴ World Bank Group (2009), p. 4.

⁵ World Economic Forum (2009), p. 310.

⁶ TurkStat (2010).

⁷ UNDP, *Human Development Report* (2009).

⁸ UNDP, *Human Development Report: Youth in Turkey* (2008).

⁹ “Turkey: The Human Development Index – going beyond income,” *UNDP Human Development Reports*, hdrstats.undp.org, 1 February 2010.

¹⁰ TurkStat (2010).

¹¹ UNDP (2008).

¹² World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2009* (2009), pp. 9, 20.

Finally, Turkey lags in other major areas of democratic development. Turkey ranks 87th in the Democracy Index¹³—recognized not as a “flawed democracy” but as a “hybrid regime” between authoritarianism and full democracy—and 121st in the Global Peace Index.¹⁴ Several areas of particular importance include Turkey’s flagging secularism, human rights and liberties, and political participation. Regarding secularism, the Turkish government increasingly promotes Islamic education without providing equal opportunities to other faiths, as evidenced by its failure to open the Halki Seminary that trained Patriarch Bartholomew I, a Turkish citizen. It also does not officially recognize Alevi houses of prayer. Turkey needs to live up to its founding principles of religious freedom and equality.

Strengthening human rights and liberties in Turkey will require sweeping legal and judicial reforms. For example, despite the recent revision of Article 301 of the criminal code, leading Turkish intellectuals still face prosecution for voicing opinions that “insult Turkishness”. Under Article 318, Turks may face trial for expressing conscientious objection to military service. Through convoluted court cases news firms are fined for criticizing the government. To address problems like these Turkey needs swift and comprehensive legal and judiciary reforms, including reforming appointment procedures for the high court, judges and counsel to ensure the independence, representativeness, objectiveness, impartiality and transparency of Turkey’s justice system.

Turkey must also provide more avenues for political participation. At nine percent, female representation in Parliament is abysmally low. The ten percent threshold to enter Parliament obstructs democracy and keeps political representation out of reach for many citizen groups. Kurds constitute about 15 percent of Turkey’s population—almost one in seven—and yet they still struggle to participate in government. The recent closure of the Democratic Society Party (DTP) was legally correct as per the 1982 constitution, but questionable politically and inconsistent with democracy. Turkey urgently needs a new constitution and new legislation on banning parties: all voices must be sought and heard in Turkey’s democracy.

Lagging democratic development at home is not simply a domestic issue. In democracies, foreign and domestic policies are inextricably linked. The EU is

¹³ “The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Index of Democracy 2008,” *Economist Intelligence Unit*, www.eiu.com, 1 February 2010.

¹⁴ “Global Peace Index 2009,” *Vision of Humanity*, www.visionofhumanity.com, 1 February 2010.

deeply dismayed at the closure of DTP, and the near halt in reforms is jeopardizing Turkey's EU bid. The recent news of the honor killing of a 16 year-old girl by live burial¹⁵ has shocked the conscience of Turkey and the international community. The incident demonstrates how much work remains in Turkey to protect women – and prosecute those who treat them as property – and strengthen human rights.

Without urgently resolving issues of democratic development at home, Turkey's EU accession and growing leadership role in the world are at risk. As the recent report of the Independent Commission on Turkey concluded, “progress has stalled in strengthening democracy, broadening respect for human rights and building up a free and vibrant civil society.”¹⁶ From one of the most supportive voices of Turkey's EU accession, this is grave criticism indeed.

The Case for Foreign Policy Reform

Turkey has generally maintained strong bonds with Europe and strived to improve its relations with its neighbors. It has also emphasized its soft power capabilities in its activities in the region and around the globe. But while Turkey has been right to focus on its soft power, its foreign policy has lacked focus. Certainly, Turkey faces the daunting diplomatic challenge of balancing the interests of all players in the region, many who are at odds with each other. Nonetheless, Turkey's foreign policy needs firmer priorities, more measured approaches and, above all, stronger principles and norms. Turkey also needs to develop real strategies in areas of foreign relations that so far appear to lack coherent approaches, notably in energy policy and EU accession.

First, Turkey must better prioritize the steps required to properly establish its international leadership credentials. For example, Turkey is now dedicating energy to Bosnia's cause to enter NATO even though other more pressing issues for Turkey's regional leadership –like the Cyprus dispute and stalled EU accession negotiations– demand sustained attention. Turkey should of course aspire to be a global negotiator and peace builder, but aspirations need firm priorities to obtain the desired results.

¹⁵ “Turkish girl, 16, buried alive for talking to boys,” *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/feb/04/girl-buried-alive-turkey>, 4 February 2010.

¹⁶ Independent Commission on Turkey, *Turkey in Europe: Breaking the Vicious Circle* (September 2009), p. 7.

Second, Turkey must adopt calibrated, low-profile approaches to regional reconciliation rather than rushing and pushing for solutions. It must also connect its efforts with those of its allies and friends. For example, Turkey signed a “historic” accord with Armenia in October 2009. However, the Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute over the occupied territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian territorial claims, and the controversy over the Armenian deaths in 1915 all remain unresolved. To be sure, creating a truly independent commission to examine the 1915 events is an important step forward. But the Armenian Constitutional Court’s recent ruling that tightly restricts the accord has severely handicapped the normalization process. The cost of hastiness is high: neglecting to first resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute is pushing Azerbaijan closer to Russia and threatening the Nabucco Pipeline project – effectively striking a blow against the energy security of Turkey and Europe.

Third, Turkey must harmonize its domestic and foreign policies with liberal democratic principles fundamental to its progress. For example, while the government has been attacking anti-democratic conspiracies domestically through its ever-expanding Ergenekon investigation, it has not shied away from warming to undemocratic neighbors. Turkey was one of the first nations to congratulate Mahmoud Ahmedinejad after a contested Iranian election in which the opposition was violently suppressed and persecuted.

An even more egregious case is Turkey’s attitude toward Israel. Turkey is rightly concerned about Israel’s treatment of Palestinians: Israel’s operation against the Gaza strip last year killed over 700 Palestinian civilians – one-third of them children.¹⁷ In the aftermath, the international community failed to extend sufficient humanitarian aid to the Gaza population. Turkish leaders helped voice the Palestinians’ suffering, yet while doing so they deeply offended the people and leaders of Israel. This severely undermined trust between Turkey and Israel, stripping Turkey of its potential role as an intermediary between Israelis and Arabs.

Turkey’s contradictory actions have tarnished its credibility and influence. Turkey has shut down a Turkish political party with presumed links to Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) terrorists, but the Turkish government has relations with Hamas. After cancelling joint military exercises with Israel in October, citing Israel’s humanitarian violations in Gaza, Turkey announced joint military exercises

¹⁷ “Israel ‘understated’ Gaza deaths,” *BBC*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8245433.stm, 9 September 2009.

with Syria despite Syria's own poor record of human rights violations. While Prime Minister Erdoğan has openly lashed out at President Peres and Israel over the tragic Gaza incursion, he has been quick to defend Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir who is indicted for crimes against humanity and still faces a possible charge of genocide by the International Criminal Court. Mr Erdoğan claimed that there was no genocide in Darfur and that Muslims cannot commit genocide, suggesting also that less people were killed in Darfur than Gaza.¹⁸ This light treatment of Darfur is unfathomable. Around 1,400 people died due to the Gaza incursion, half of whom were civilians, and over 250 of whom were children. Though these are unconscionable numbers,¹⁹ as many as 300,000 people have died due to the conflict in Darfur.²⁰ Even the appearance that Turkey is soft on human rights violations when committed by Muslims does serious damage to its stature and influence in international affairs.

Other haphazard actions also undercut Turkey's criticism of Israel. In particular, while the Turkish government claimed to be criticizing Israel's policies and not Jews in general, it failed to counter a rise in anti-Jewish feelings at home. The government permitted anti-Semitic cartoons to be displayed at a metro station in Taksim, the "Times Square" of Istanbul, even though it opposed the appointment of the Danish candidate as NATO Chief over the controversial cartoons – whose caricatures of Mohammed deeply offended many Muslims – published in a Danish newspaper. Turkey also recently allowed a show to air on a state television channel depicting Israeli soldiers brutally killing civilians, even though it had previously suspended a show that contained overly inflammatory depictions of Kurdish militants doing the same.²¹ Turkey's inconsistent support of free speech severely undermines its defense against Israel's accusation of state-sponsored incitement. Foreign Minister Davutoğlu astonishingly claimed, "Turkey does not have censorship,"²² and Turkey's leadership has failed to draw a clear line between criticizing Israel's policies and committing pernicious religious characterizations.

¹⁸ "Prime Minister Erdoğan reiterates 'no genocide' in Darfur," *Today's Zaman*, www.todayszaman.com, 9 November 2009.

¹⁹ "Israel 'understated' Gaza deaths," *BBC*, 9 September 2009.

²⁰ "Darfur deaths 'could be 300,000'," *BBC*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7361979.stm>, 23 April 2009.

²¹ The show accused of inciting anti-Semitic hatred is "Ayrılık" [Separation]; the show suspended for depicting Kurdish guerillas killing civilians was "Kurtlar Vadisi" [Valley of the Wolves]. "Turkish TV series angers Israel," *BBC*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8308124.stm, 15 October 2009; and "TV series sparks free speech row in Turkey," *The Christian Science Monitor*, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0302/p07s02-woeu.html>, 2 March 2007.

²² "Turkey denies government role in Gaza TV drama," *CNN*, <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/europe/10/16/israel.turkey.tv.show/index.html>, 16 October 2009.

Turkey and Israel have been strategic allies for over half a century. Rather than distancing itself, Turkey should prioritize *closer* relations with Israel to achieve better outcomes in Palestine. It is possible to both oppose the inhumane treatment of Palestinian civilians and recognize Israel's valid security concerns. By lashing out at Israel while warming to countries like Syria and Sudan, Turkey undermines its credibility and influence in the international community. But by embracing, not abandoning, its unique position of being a friend to both Israelis and Palestinians, Turkey can help foster an urgently needed settlement.

Finally, as mentioned above, Turkey must take a strategic approach to major areas of its foreign policy, particularly energy security and EU accession. With respect to energy policy, Turkey needs to develop an integrated future-oriented energy strategy. Given Turkey's own projected growth and development, it must both manage its energy demand and diversify its energy sources, focusing not just on fossil fuels but renewable and nuclear energy, and counterbalancing its dependence on Russian energy. Furthermore, Turkey must become a reliable energy transit state that can provide much needed energy diversity and security to Europe, an area where the EU places great hope in Turkey. Earning a real reputation for reliability requires a strategy that strengthens shared values not just in the energy space, but in broader areas of economic, political and social development.

With respect to EU accession, Turkey must treat it as a core part of its overall development strategy –foreign and domestic– and not just as an element of foreign policy. Enhancing Turkey's "strategic depth" in the Middle East should not come at the expense of its rapport with the West. Perception is a critical part of foreign policy, and many observers perceive a widening gap between Turkey's European and regional vocations. Turkey should not seek to build a "neo-Ottoman pole"; the post-Cold War system needs more Euro-Atlantic solidarity, stability and security, not more fragmented centers of power. Rather than trying to lead without the West, Turkey should strive to connect the East with the West.

The Case for EU Membership

The promises EU accession holds are wide-ranging, and EU accession should be central to Turkey's overall development and security strategy.

First, Turkey has become a much stronger economy with the EU. Over the past decade, per capita income rose over 50 percent in real terms, and inflation dropped eight-fold to under ten percent. For much of the last decade the country's GDP has grown at around seven percent per year, and it is estimated that in four years its growth rate will trail only those of China and India.²³

Second, Turkey is a strategic trade and business partner in the region. Turkey is the EU's seventh largest trading partner, with a trade volume over 100 billion Euros.²⁴ Turkey is also increasingly a leading trade partner for its non-Western neighbors, with exports to the Middle East having reached one-third of those to the EU.²⁵

Third, Turkey's leadership role in the Middle East will be much stronger if Turkey is a member of the EU. Without the EU, however, Turkey's influence would greatly diminish – not just in Europe, but in the Middle East as well.

Fourth, as already mentioned, Turkey is a critical partner in Europe's energy security. The Turkey-Greece Interconnector is already operational and will soon be extended to Italy. The proposed Nabucco Pipeline also promises to deliver Caspian natural gas to the heart of Europe, reducing dependence on Russian supply. The new "Silk Roads" of energy running through Turkey can help guarantee Europe's future energy security.

Fifth, Turkey's youth bulge will produce a surge of economic productivity for decades to come. Waves of Turkish youth are entering the workforce, whereas Europe's population is aging and its labor base is shrinking. As Europe's working age population drops 30 million by 2025, Turkey's will rise by seven million.²⁶ Turkey's entrepreneurial workers have helped and can continue to help a graying and shrinking Europe – another reason why domestic education reform is so crucial.

²³ "Country Statistical Profiles 2009: Turkey," *OECD.Stat*, <http://stats.oecd.org/viewhtml.aspx?queryname=18172&querytype=view&lang=en>,

²⁴ European Commission, *Turkey 2009 Progress Report*

²⁵ "Exports to Middle East up," *Hürriyet Daily News*, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=exports-to-middle-east-up-2009-08-30>, 30 August 2009.

²⁶ Education Reform Initiative, *The Window of Opportunity Awaiting Turkey: Demographics, Education, and New Perspectives towards 2025* (January 2007).

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Turkey's EU accession would be a powerful symbol that Europe is truly founded on universal values and principles. European nations have recovered from tremendously brutal wars between themselves through an institution –now the EU– that embodies trust and respect. The EU's mission is an inspiring one: to create unity *within* diversity. The power of this European idea comes from shared liberal democratic principles, not from cultural homogeneity. As European Commission President José Manuel Barroso emphasized when he quoted John Stuart Mill: “Europe is ... wholly indebted to [its] plurality of paths for its progressive and many-sided development.”²⁷ Extending full trust and respect to Turkey by allowing it to earn EU membership will prove to the world that the EU is committed to its founding principles.

Unfortunately, Turkey's lack of consistency in domestic and foreign policy reinforces the perception that it is not fully committed to liberal democracy. The pre-2005 “virtuous circle” –by which reforms improved the economy and in turn increased support in Europe and Turkey for membership– has been replaced by a “vicious circle” by which lack of reform has lowered support in Europe, in turn diminishing the Turkish government's Europeanization effort.²⁸ Trust and respect between Turkey and Europe has regrettably regressed.

We must reestablish the virtuous circle by focusing on the principles behind reform. As the Independent Commission states, “comprehensive, consistent and sustained progress towards more democracy at home is the best way to persuade more Europeans of Turkey's EU compatibility.”²⁹

Being the Change We Want to See

Turkey needs change that focuses on democracy and its underlying values. Turkey is becoming an increasingly polarized society; it needs a new movement that can create constructive dialogue to bring stability to politics and accelerate democratic development and EU accession. To bring true democracy to Turkey, we must focus on four pillars of prosperity: a free market economy, universal social services, participatory democracy, and respect for human rights and freedoms. Within these, we must stress gender equality, individual rights and freedoms, as

²⁷ José Manuel Barroso, “Europe and The Challenges of Globalization,” Speech given on 11 October 2007, St. Antony's College, Oxford.

²⁸ Independent Commission on Turkey (2009), p. 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

well as secularism, accountability, and transparency in government. These are principles of modern democracy shared by the world's most developed countries – particularly in the Council of Europe and the Transatlantic region.

Of course, change in Turkey cannot come through organizations that do not themselves reflect the change they seek in society. After all, Mahatma Gandhi instructed us to “be the change [we] wish to see in the world.” True change requires organizations designed in accordance with their principles. Our political parties must not simply preach democratic participation; they must practice it: party chairpersons and parliamentarians should be elected directly by registered party members; women and youth must be given a strong voice; parties should ensure a minimum level of female representation at all levels and actively engage youth and solicit their participation. True democratic participation must exist within political parties.

Change in Turkey also cannot come about if it exists only within political parties. We need the cooperation of all political parties and the active involvement of civil society –with openings for minorities in all areas– to build a brighter future.

The Way Forward

To achieve true change, Turkey must rethink, redesign, and rebuild the foundations of its democracy.

Turkey has gained a strong sense of self-confidence, but without the proper focus and priorities, Turkey is overreaching and making mistakes. As Turks, we must shore up the commitment to liberal democracy at home. We must provide a dynamic economy and universal social services that give opportunities to all Turks and close the gap between the rich and poor. We must uphold the equality of every human being irrespective of gender, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. We must protect freedom of expression –the life-blood of participatory democracy– and maintain zero tolerance for corruption and torture. We must bring Kurds and minorities fully into the democratic fold, providing opportunities to learn Kurdish and use it in political life, and offer other translation services and citizenship classes. We must prove our commitment to religious freedom for people of all faiths by reopening the historical Halki Seminary. We must also urgently improve education and employment

opportunities for Turkish youth, especially for women, and work closely with the International Labor Organization to improve the Turkish labor market and working conditions. We cannot forge a bright democratic future without the full social, political, and economic participation of women, youth and minorities. To achieve these changes, we want, need, and intend to write a new constitution.

We must also reaffirm our liberal democratic principles in our relationships abroad. Unfortunately, Turkey's soft power has been severely deflated by inconsistent foreign policy. Instead of blindly defending Omar al-Bashir against war crimes charges, for example, we should ratify the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court. Instead of promoting Hamas, we must resolutely oppose terror and terrorists and work with Israel and Palestine to foster peaceful mediation. As well as warming to other neighbors, we must work closely with our longtime ally and democratic partner, Israel, to achieve better outcomes for Palestinians and Arabs.

In addition, we must fully commit to aligning Turkey with the EU. Europe committed itself to Turkey by unanimously voting for its EU candidacy; we must nurture Europe's trust. We must commit to the rousing European idea of "unity within diversity". Rather than striving for EU membership while distancing ourselves from the West, we should strive for closer cooperation with Europe extending beyond membership negotiations. A full partnership between Turkey and Europe will be a powerful instrument of democracy and its corresponding values.

Let us come together in an enduring commitment to strengthen democracy at home and abroad. Let us come together in a real movement for change to forge a bright future based on firm principles.