

Turkey

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Turkey is considered authoritarian from 1919 through 1945. We are missing Geddes' regime type coding, but Mehmed VI Vahidettin (also: Vahdettin, Vahidüddin) of the Osmanli Dynasty (Morby 2002) ruled as Sultan in 1919. Thus, we consider Turkey a monarchy for the duration of his rule.

Clashes between the Sultanate and Turkish nationalists intensified in the years after the Ottoman Empire's loss in World War I. The Sultan was willing to accept "any terms the Allies were willing to give so long as they were left in power" (Ahmad 1993, 48). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (also: Kemal Pasha) in his role as Inspector-General of the armies in Anatolia led a nationalist movement in opposition to the Sultanate (Ahmad 1993, 49). In 1920 the nationalists formed a new, rival parliament called the Grand National Assembly, and met in Ankara, not Istanbul. Vahidettin's collusion with foreign powers discredited him; the Grand National Assembly voted to abolish the Sultanate in November 1922 and Vahdettin fled in exile (Ahmad 1993, 50). Atatürk and his rival nationalist government immediately took over, with Atatürk serving as Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. This is a SOLS change because it marks the end of the monarchy and the beginning of Atatürk's rule. We code Turkey's regime type through 1921 as monarchy, as undefined non-democracy in 1922, and as single-party regime starting in 1923. (GWF code Turkey as single-party regime starting in 1924 based on their Jan. 1 rule)

In 1923 Atatürk formed the Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi (People's Party, or CHP), becoming the party's leader (Ahmad 1993, 53). After national elections, Atatürk became president of Turkey in October 1923. From 1923-1946 CHP was the only legal party (Worldstatesmen.org). The country should be considered single-party and not personalist because: 1) the party was organized to usher the country into a new era of republican government; 2) Atatürk's eventual successor, Mustafa İsmet İnönü, was not a member of Atatürk's family, clan, or tribe; 3) İnönü held a high position, prime minister, before replacing Atatürk as head of state; 4) "all political activity outside the ruling party ceased" (Ahmad 1993, 58); and the Grand National Assembly elected İnönü, he was not chosen by Atatürk. Atatürk remained president until his death in 1938. Mustafa İsmet İnönü, CHP, became president. "İnönü's unanimous election as Atatürk's successor by the Grand National Assembly on 11 November demonstrated the power of the party machine" (Ahmad 1993, 69). This is not a SOLS change.

According to Geddes, Turkey is considered a single-party authoritarian regime until 1950 and according to Cheibub et al. (2010) it is non-democratic until 1960. However, based on our coding rules, Turkey is a parliamentary democracy starting in 1946 (Esmer 2002; Ozbudun 2011). Mustafa İsmet İnönü, CHP, ruled the country in 1945 and continued to rule until 1950. In 1950, Adnan Menderes, DP, became PM. Since Menderes had a different party affiliation than İnönü (and Geddes in fact sees Menderes' assumption of power as ending the CHP single-party regime), we code this as a SOLS change. In 1954, when Menderes is still in power, the country is considered authoritarian, but Geddes has not provided coding on regime type on these initial non-democratic years. Starting in 1957, when Menderes and his DP party are still in power, Geddes considers Turkey a single-party authoritarian regime and this coding goes until 1960. In 1960 there was a military coup and Cemal Gürsel, Mil, arrested the PM and charged the government with instituting a dictatorship. Menderes was charged and hanged. A Committee of

National Unity (CNU) was created as an interim government (Library of Congress). Despite the fact that this was considered an interim government by some, we code this as a SOLS change since, according to Geddes, for the years 1960-1961, which corresponds to Gürsel's tenure, a pure military regime was in place. Starting in 1961, the country is returned to parliamentary democracy. In 1961, İnönü, CHP, became PM in coalition with JP (Woldendorp et. al.). This is a SOLS change. The 1962 elections resulted in a CHP/NTP/RPNP/IND coalition (minor SOLS change).

Elections in 1963 returned a CHP majority so they left the coalition and governed alone. According to the U.S. Library of Congress, the "AP¹ made such significant gains in the 1964 local elections that İnönü stepped down as prime minister. After unsuccessful attempts by the AP and the CHP to form a government, an administration was appointed in February 1965 to serve until the October 1965 general election." This interim administration was led by Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, Non-Party, who became PM in coalition with JP/NTP/RPNP/NP, this is not a SOLS change (Laquer 1969, 18). According to Ahmad (2002, 138) Ürgüplü's government was "JP rule by proxy" since Ürgüplü, though an independent, was elected on the JP list.

In October 1965, elections brought Süleyman Demirel, JP, to power as PM. This is a SOLS change because Ürgüplü was interim. In 1971 the armed forces threatened to take over the administration of the state again as they had in 1960 unless a new government was put into place that would deal with the pressing problems of the day. Demirel resigned immediately. The military oversaw the appointment of İsmail Nihat Erim, Non-Party, to PM, in coalition with JP/CHP/NRP. According to the U.S. Library of Congress, "Erim led the first of a series of weak caretaker cabinets that governed Turkey until the October 1973 elections." From 1971 until 1973 the country is considered an authoritarian regime, but Geddes has not provided regime type coding. (Interestingly, Cheibub et. al. consider Turkey to be a parliamentary democracy during this period.) Since Erim led an interim government (U.S. Library of Congress; Christian Science Monitor) this is not a SOLS change for 1971. In 1972, Ferit Sadi Melen succeeded Erim as PM in coalition with the NRP/JP/CHP coalition. According to Zürcher (2005, 260) "Erim resigned when the general assembly refused to give him the right to demand by decree". From Ahmad (2008, 250-51) we learn that Nihat Erim, became increasingly powerless and resigned. It seems that previous prime minister Demirel (JP) successfully created the crisis that left Erim powerless, by withdrawing JP ministers from the cabinet. Even though Demirel had been ousted by the military, it seems that Demirel remained influential within the JP. This is supported by Zürcher (2005, 258-62) as well. There is little evidence to suggest that Ferit Melen's cabinet, which had the same party composition, was a break from the Erim government.

We code neither Erim nor Melen as a SOLS change since they seem to have been interim governments. Our regional experts also agree that during the periods under Erim and Melen, military had effective control over policy and the Erim and Melen should be considered as caretaker governments under military tutelage. The military demanded the formation of a strong government, which runs counter to traditional interim governments that are merely supposed to manage daily affairs (Zürcher 2005, 258-261). Furthermore, Geddes does not code a military regime at the time and Cheibub et al. actually code the parliamentary democracy as continuing. In fact, in 1973 the military attempted to force the National Assembly to elect their candidate for president but was rebuffed. The military acceded to the Assembly and the Assembly elected Fahri Korutürk on April 6th.

¹ AP and JP are references to the same party, the Justice Party, former DP.

Melen resigned his premiership on April 7th to allow Koruturk to appoint a new PM (Ahmad 2002, 155). Koruturk named Mehmet Naim Talu, Non-Party, to be the PM who was then instructed to form a national coalition government with JP/RRP. This is not a SOLS change because Talu's was also considered a "caretaker" government ("December 16" 1973; Zürcher 2005, 261) whose main purpose was to lead the government to elections. (During that time the NRP merged with the the splinter Republican Party to form the RRP (Karpas 1976; 269).) Elections were held on schedule in October 1973 with CHP winning the most votes, but the new government was not formed until 1974 due to an inability to form a coalition. From 1973 until 1980 the country is considered a parliamentary democracy.

In January 1974, Mustafa Bülent Ecevit, CHP, officially became PM in coalition with NSP. This is a SOLS change because Ecevit's SOLS is different from the last regular leader (Demirel: JP). In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus and took control over forty percent of the island. Ecevit was seen as a national hero. After difficulties with his deputy premier Ecevit decided to resign so he could hold early elections, which he was certain he would win in a landslide and henceforth would no longer have to compromise with a coalition government. He resigned September 18, 1974 prompting the dissolution of the government (Ahmad 2002, 165). In November 1974, Mahmut Sadi Irmak, Non-party, was persuaded to head an interim government and prepare the country for elections (Jenkins 2008, 133; Uslu 2003, 211). This is not a SOLS change because he was an interim leader. In 1975, Demirel, JP, became PM in coalition with NSP/RRP/NAP. This is a SOLS change. Later in the year Demirel's dropped the RRP from the previous coalition. In 1977, Ecevit, CHP, once again became PM when Demirel's governing coalition fell apart. This is a SOLS change. Still later in 1977, however, Demirel, JP, returned to the premiership in coalition with the NSP/NAP. In 1978, Ecevit, CHP, became PM in coalition with the RRP/DP. This is a SOLS change. In 1979, Ecevit resigned and Demirel, JP, returned to power as PM, this time out of coalition. This is a SOLS change.

In 1980 there was a military coup. The National Security Council (NSC) named Saim Bülent Ulusu as PM, but Archigos codes Evren, the President and Chairmen of the National Council Committee, as leader. This is a SOLS change for 1980. From 1980 until 1983 the country is considered a military authoritarian regime. Then starting again in 1983 and lasting through the end of the observation period, the country is considered a parliamentary democracy. In 1983, Turgut Ozal, AnaP, became PM. This is a SOLS change. In 1989, Yildirim Akbulut, also of the AnaP, became PM. This is not a SOLS change because he belongs to the same party as his predecessor. In 1991, Ahmet Mesut Yilmaz, AnaP, became PM. This is not a SOLS change since he again has the same party affiliation. Later in the year Demirel, DYP (also DTP), became PM in coalition with SHP. This is a SOLS change. In 1993, Erdal Inonu, SHP, became interim leader (worldstatesmen.org) of the SHP/DYP coalition. This is not a SOLS change. Later in the year Tansu Ciller, DYP, became PM in coalition with SHP. This is not a SOLS change since Ciller and Demirel had the same party affiliation and coalition. According to WKB, in 1995 the SHP, merged with the CHP becoming the CHP. This is a minor SOLS change (3/27/1995). In 1996, Yilmaz, AnaP, returned to the premiership in coalition with DYP. This is a SOLS change. Later in the year Necmettin Erbakan, Refah, became PM in coalition with DYP. This is a SOLS change. In 1997, Yilmaz, AnaP, once again formed a government in coalition with DYP/DSP. This is a SOLS change. In 1999, Mustafa Bülent Ecevit, DSP, became PM. Ecevit's government was initially a minority government with outside support of the other parties. The government failed and new elections were held in April. Ecevit remained Prime Minister and formed a coalition government of DSP, MHP and ANAP (Inter-Parliamentary

Union 2002; Heper & Sayari 2002). This is coded as a minor SOLS change. This is a SOLS change. In 2002 Abdullah Gül, AKP, formed a government. The AKP of Gul acquired a majority in parliament following the 2002 elections and did not have any coalition partners (Casier & Jongerden 2010; Inter-Parliamentary Union 2002). This is a SOLS change. In 2003, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, also of the AKP, took power. This is not a SOLS change. Erdogan ruled through 2008.

Party Abbreviations:

CHP - Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi, also known as the Republican People's Party (RPP)
DP - Demokrat Türkiye Partisi
JP/AP - Justice Party
NTP - New Turkey Party
RPNP - Republican Peasants' Nation Party or Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi (CKMP)
IND - Independent
NP - Nation Party
RRP - Republican Reliance Party, formerly National Reliance Party (NRP), which merged in 1973 with the splinter Republican Party to form the RRP
NSP - National Salvation Party, also known as Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP)
NAP - Nationalist Action Party, also translated as Nationalist Movement Party (in Turkish: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, MHP)
AnaP - Anavatan Partisi, also known as the Motherland Party
DYP (also DTP)- Dogru Yol Partisi (former JP/AP, est. 1983)
SHP - Social Democratic People's Party (merged with CHP 1995)
RP - Refah Partisi
DSP - Demokratik Sol Partisi, also known as Democratic Left Party
AKP - Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi
MHP-Nationalist Movement Party

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Coded by Anna Carella (Vanderbilt) on 08/09/2010 and 01/2010

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