

Turkey

Rice

In 1919, Turkey was known as the Ottoman Empire and was a monarchy under the Osmanli Dynasty (and had been since approximately 1280). The Sultan in 1919 was Mehmed VI Vahidüddin.

In 1922, after a successful war against Greece by Turkish nationalist forces (led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (also known as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk later, who then became the Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly), the Sultan fled the country. He was then deposed by Parliament. Shortly thereafter, under Mustafa Kemal's leadership, Parliament declared the formation of the Republic of Turkey, with Kemal as President. Though he was originally a member of the Military, at that point he created a party, known as the Republican People's Party (CHP). 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 a monarchy, as an 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)

Kemal (who became known as Kemal Atatürk in 1935) guided Turkey through major reforms in all sectors and created a new secular state. In 1926, after an assassination attempt on Kemal, the government suppressed all opposition, including the "loyal opposition" party (Howard 2001, 96). The CHP platform was a six-point plan known as "Kemalism", that was later incorporated into the Turkish constitution. Kemalism meant "a devotion to Atatürk that sometimes resembled elements of a personality cult"—including "the cultic status of [his] image and of his sayings" (Howard 2001, 108).

After Atatürk's death in 1938, leadership of the country passed to Ismet İnönü, one of his chief advisors. İnönü was then elevated to the position of Chairman of the CHP in December 1938. This was not a SOLS change. İnönü was in power until 1950. In 1945, he oversaw democratic reforms, such as the allowance of an opposition party (the DP, or Democratic Turkey Party). National elections were held in 1946. While 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, based on our coding rules, Turkey is a parliamentary democracy starting in 1946 (Esmer 2002; Ozbudun 2011). Mustafa Ismet İnönü, CHP, ruled the country in 1945 and continued to rule until 1950.

The CHP continued to dominate until 1950, when they lost the majority in parliament and peacefully handed over power to a DP government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. This important change represented a SOLS change. The Menderes government began as democratic but eventually trended towards the authoritarian and became a single-party regime out to crush opposition.

A military coup led by the Chief of General Staff Cemal Gürsel in 1960 ousted Menderes. A committee of National Unity was established, effectively allowing the officers who had organized the coup to be in charge of the government. General Gürsel took on the roles of Prime Minister, President, and Defense Minister. This coup was coded as a SOLS change.

In 1961, General Gürsel asked former President İnönü to lead the government as a prime minister with his party, the Republican People's Party (CHP). This second republic signaled a SOLS change in Turkey. Parliamentary elections in the next few years saw multiple minor SOLS changes in İnönü's government: the coalition began as CHP and Justice Party (JP), then

in 1962 switched to the CHP, the NTP, the RPNP, and the Independents, then in 1963 finally became just the CHP. This last administration survived until 1965.

In 1965, an interim government representing several parties was formed under Suat Hayri Ürgüplü after İnönü's CHP government collapsed. Correspondingly, the change to this interim government is not coded as a SOLS change (Laquer 1969, 18). However, elections in October gave the JP the government, and they took power with Süleyman Demirel as their Prime Minister. Demirel and the JP had uninterrupted rule permeated by gradual political decline for several years until 1971.

In 1971, unrest compelled top army leaders to demand a strong government be instituted, lest a coup be necessary. Demirel promptly resigned, and a series of caretaker governments backed unofficially by the military came to power (Library of Congress). First was the administration of Nihat Erim, from 1971 to 1972, and then that of Ferit Melen from 1972 to 1973. 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 according to the Library of Congress. Our regional experts also agree that during the periods under Erim and Melen, military had effective control over policies 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 (Zurcher 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 1973, Naim Talu, non-party, was instructed to form a national coalition government with JP/RRP. Zürcher 2005 (p.261) confirms that Talu was interim: "[...] appointed the economist Naim Talu to lead a *caretaker* government to take the country to the first free elections after the 12 March coup, those of October 1973." (The NRP transformed into the RRP when it merged with a Republican Party splinter.) This is also not a SOLS change because Talu's was also considered a "caretaker" government.

1974 and 1975 saw complicated election years for the Turkish government. In January of 1974, a brief agreement was reached by which Bülent Ecevit of the CHP would head a government united with the NSP, an Islamicist party. This government collapsed in November, whereupon yet another transitional government with no parliamentary majority came to power under Sadi Irmak (Jenkins 2008, 133; Uslu 2003, 211). These changes are coded as SOLS change and not SOLS change, respectively. In March of 1975, Irmak's government gave way to a coalition of four parties (JP, NSP, RRP, and NAP) led by former Prime Minister Demirel. In late July, 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. Control shifted again to Ecevit and his coalition in 1978. In January the CHP, RRP, and DP formed a coalition. Then things changed back the next

year, when Demirel lead the JP to another government. Both of these changes again represent shifts in SOLS, as they were rival party groups trading power. The parliamentary situation stabilized only briefly; in 1980, the military put yet another coup in to action. While the military regime placed Admiral Bülend Ulusu into the Prime Minister role, Archigos codes Evren, the President and Chairmen of the National Security Council, as leader. This is a SOLS change.

In 1983, elections were held, which saw the Motherland Party (ANAP) come out on top, with a government headed by Turgut Özal. He stayed in power until 1989, and then transferred the prime ministership to Yildirim Akbulut. This transfer was not a SOLS change because both men were members of ANAP. This was the case through 1991, as after Akbulut came Mesut Yilmaz also representing ANAP.

Power shifted away from ANAP in the elections of November 1991. The True Path Party (DYP), the chief rivals of ANAP, gained the upper hand in a coalition with the Social Democratic People's Party (SHP) to prompt a SOLS change coding. Former Prime Minister Demirel again took the reins of government to head this coalition. A slight hiccup in the government structure occurred in 1993, when the president passed away and Demirel was elected to take his place; for less than thirty days between May and June, Erdal İnönü led as a transitional Prime Minister. Shortly afterwards, Tansu Çiller was elected to continue leading the DYP-SHP government. Neither of these ministers (İnönü and Çiller) were SOLS changes because they were transitional and of the same party as the last, respectively. Note that in 1995 the SHP, merged with the CHP, becoming the CHP. This is a minor SOLS change (3/27/1995).

In 1996, a new coalition emerged with former Prime Minister Yilmaz leading an ANAP-DYP coalition. This broke down in three months, leading to a second SOLS change when Necmettin Erbakan united the Welfare Party (RP) and the DYP in a coalition. Things continued to change in 1997, when a new coalition of ANAP-DYP-DSP led again by Yilmaz.

Yilmaz's government lasted until 1999, when it fell to former Prime Minister Ecevit's DSP government. 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. The DSP gave way to the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a Muslim Democratic organization, which fielded two prime ministers—Abdullah Gül from 2002 to 2003, and Recep Erdoğan from 2003 to present. 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).

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