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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Case No.: 200701753

MAR 25 2010

I refer to your letter dated March 11, 2007 regarding the release of certain Department of State material under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552).

We searched for and reviewed the self study guides that you requested and have determined that all except one of them may be released. They are on the enclosed disc. One of the guides is being released with excisions.

An enclosure provides information on Freedom of Information Act exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. With respect to material withheld by the Department of State, you have the right to appeal our determination within 60 days. A copy of the appeals procedures is enclosed.

We have now completed the processing of your case. If you have any questions, you may write to the Office of Information Programs and Services, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, DC 20522-8100, or telephone us at (202) 261-8484. Please be sure to refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

We hope that the Department has been of service to you in this matter.

Sincerely,



for Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:
As stated.

63934 Federal Register/Vol. 69, No. 212
Rules and Regulations

Subpart F – Appeal Procedures

§171.52 Appeal of denial of access to, declassification of, amendment of, accounting of disclosures of, or challenge to classification of records.

- (a) *Right of administrative appeal.* Except for records that have been reviewed and withheld within the past two years or are the subject of litigation, any requester whose request for access to records, declassification of records, amendment of records, accounting of disclosure of records, or any authorized holder of classified information whose classification challenge has been denied, has a right to appeal the denial to the Department's Appeals Review Panel. This appeal right includes the right to appeal the determination by the Department that no records responsive to an access request exist in Department files. Privacy Act appeals may be made only by the individual to whom the records pertain.
- (b) *Form of appeal.* There is no required form for an appeal. However, it is essential that the appeal contain a clear statement of the decision or determination by the Department being appealed. When possible, the appeal should include argumentation and documentation to support the appeal and to contest the bases for denial cited by the Department. The appeal should be sent to: Chairman, Appeals Review Panel, c/o Appeals Officer, A/GIS/IPS/PP/LC, U.S. Department of State, SA-2, Room 8100, Washington, DC 20522-8100.
- (c) *Time limits.* The appeal should be received within 60 days of the date of receipt by the requester of the Department's denial. The time limit for response to an appeal begins to run on the day that the appeal is received. The time limit (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) for agency decision on an administrative appeal is 20 days under the FOIA (which may be extended for up to an additional 10 days in unusual circumstances) and 30 days under the Privacy Act (which the Panel may extend an additional 30 days for good cause shown). The Panel shall decide mandatory declassification review appeals as promptly as possible.
- (d) *Notification to appellant.* The Chairman of the Appeals Review Panel shall notify the appellant in writing of the Panel's decision on the appeal. When the decision is to uphold the denial, the Chairman shall include in his notification the reasons therefore. The appellant shall be advised that the decision of the Panel represents the final decision of the Department and of the right to seek judicial review of the Panel's decision, when applicable. In mandatory declassification review appeals, the Panel shall advise the requester of the right to appeal the decision to the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel under §3.5(d) of E.O. 12958.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Withholding specifically authorized under an Executive Order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy, and properly classified. E.O. 12958, as amended, includes the following classification categories:
 - 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
 - 1.4(b) Foreign government information
 - 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
 - 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
 - 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
 - 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(h) Information on weapons of mass destruction
- (b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:
 - ARMEX Arms Export Control Act, 22 USC 2778(e)
 - CIA Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)
 - EXPORT Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 App. USC 2411(c)(1)
 - FSA Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4003 & 4004
 - INA Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f)
 - IRAN Iran Claims Settlement Act, Sec 505, 50 USC 1701, note
- (b)(4) Privileged/confidential trade secrets, commercial or financial information from a person
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Information compiled for law enforcement purposes that would:
 - (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
 - (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
 - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
 - (D) disclose confidential sources
 - (E) disclose investigation techniques
 - (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual
- (b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions
- (b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

- NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request, excised with the agreement of the requester

TURKEY

SELF STUDY GUIDE

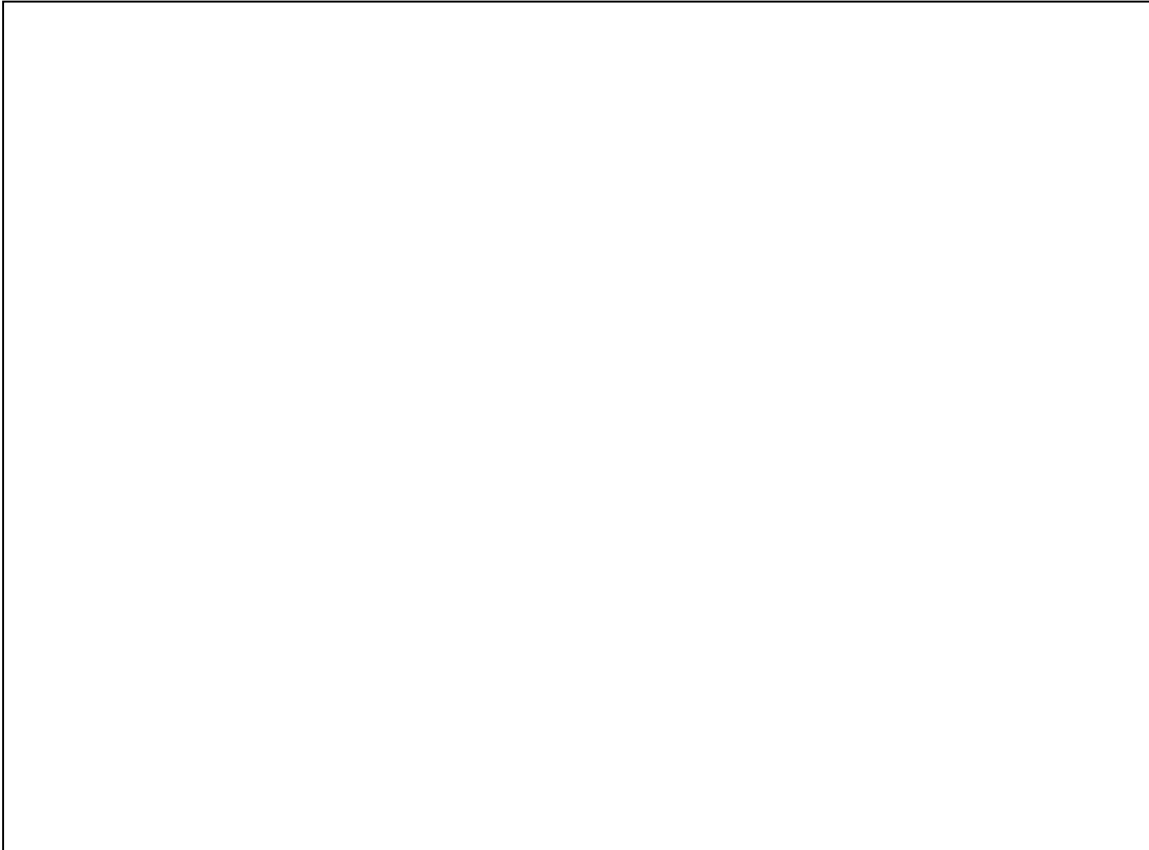


TABLE OF CONTENTS

TURKISH TIMELINE

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

HISTORY

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

ECONOMY

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

TURKISH TIMELINE

Pre-Ottoman Period

Origins of Turks in Outer Mongolia,
South of Lake Baikal
Conversion into Islam
Westward Migration
Entry into Anatolia
Great Seljuk Empire
Rum Seljuk Empire

3rd Century A.D.
c. 7th to 10th Centuries
c. 11th Century
1071
1038-1157
1077-1307

The Ottoman Empire

Founding of the Ottoman State by Sultan Othman	1281
Ottoman Conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul	1453
The Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent	1520-1556
Further Expansion into Europe and Middle East	c. 1500-1700
Decline of the Ottoman Empire	c. 1700-1900
Ottoman Entry into World War I	1914
Allied Occupation of Turkey	1918-22
End of the Ottoman Empire	1923

The Turkish Republic

Establishment of the Republic	1923
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as President	1923-1938
Founding of the Republican People's Party (RPP)	1923
Abolishment of the Shari'a and Adoption of Western Civil Codes	1926
Switch from Arabic to Latin alphabet	1928
Extension of Suffrage to Women	1934
Death of Ataturk	1938
Presidency of Ismet Inonu	1938-1950
Beginnings of Democratization and Multi-Party Politics	1946-1950
First Free and Honest Elections	1950
Democratic Party of Adnan Menderes in Power	1950-1960
Military Coup by Junior Officers	1960
Period of Direct Military Rule	1960-1961
Resumption of Electoral Politics and Period of Coalition Governments	1961-1965
Communal Clashes on Cyprus and Beginnings of the Cyprus Problem	1962-1963
Justice Party of Suleyman Demirel in Power	1965-1971
"Coup by Memorandum" and Indirect Military Rule	1971-1973
Period of Coalition Governments under Bulent Ecevit and Suleyman Demirel	1973-1980
Coup against President Makarios on Cyprus by Greek Junta and Landing of Turkish Troops on the Island	1974
Period of Escalating Terrorism and Political Violence	1976-1980
Military Coup by Senior Officers and Direct Military Rule	1980-1983
Ozal as Prime Minister (1983-89) and President (1989-93)	1983-1993
Beginnings of the Political Violence and Terrorism Campaign by Abdullah Ocalan's Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK)	1983
Turkish Participation in Allied Coalition in Gulf War	1990-1991
Ozal's Death	1993
Period of Coalition or Minority Governments led by Suleyman Demirel, Tansu Ciller, Mesut Yilmaz, Necmettin Erbakan,	

and Bulent Ecevit	1991-2002
Islamist Welfare Party's Rise to Power in a Coalition	1996
The ouster of the Welfare Party from office under Military Pressure	1997
The worst economic crisis of the post-WWII period	2001
The victory of Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party in Parliamentary Elections	2002
Turkish parliament's vote against U.S. troop deployment in Turkey for the Iraq War	2003

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this self-study guide is to provide basic background information on Turkey for persons being assigned there. The guide tries to present the information in a way that individuals can obtain a better understanding of the country and, as a result, have a more productive and pleasant tour of duty. You are encouraged to think about the questions raised at the end of each section and pursue those that interest you, drawing on resource materials at the end of the paper.

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The Republic of Turkey is situated in a near-rectangular peninsula that is bounded in the north by the Black Sea, in the west by the Aegean and in the south by the Mediterranean. A small part of the country's territory known as Thrace (Trakya) that encompasses 3 percent of Turkey's total territory and holds about 8 percent of its population lies in Europe. The main heartland of the country in the semiarid central plateau is called Anatolia (Anadolu). Observers have often depicted Turkey as a bridge between Europe and Asia due to its unique geography that straddles two continents. Turkey's total area, including lakes, is approximately 780, 576 square kilometers (302, 169 square miles) is greater than that of any European state. Turkey is two and a half times as big as Italy and about three times as big as the United Kingdom. Turkey is also one of the larger states of the Middle East, where its area is exceeded by only Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Egypt.

Thrace is separated from Turkey's mainland by two straits, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and by the Sea of Marmara. Historically, the Turkish Straits have played an important geostrategic role: Tsarist Russia as well as the Soviet Union have sought to control them for access to their navies from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean while Britain and France, fighting against the Ottoman Empire, sought to force their navies through the Dardanelles in a failed attempt during the famous Gallipoli campaign in World War I. Much of Turkey's past and present importance stems from its strategic location as a land that, in addition to the straits and the maritime routes between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, also lies at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

At present, the Republic of Turkey has borders with eight neighboring countries in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. In the Balkans, Turkish borders with Greece and Bulgaria in Thrace extend to 206 kilometers and 240 kilometers, respectively. Neither boundary has been a subject for territorial disputes since the signing of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923. Turkey's neighbors in the Middle East include Syria, Iraq, and Iran. The 822 kilometers-long boundary with Syria--the longest among Turkish borders--has been a source of conflict between the two countries over the Alexandretta (Hatay) province on the Mediterranean. Syria has not formally accepted the transfer of the sovereignty of this province to Turkey by France in 1938 following a plebiscite. This issue remains a source of tension between the two neighboring states. In contrast, Turkey's 331 kilometers long boundary with Iraq has not been contested since its confirmation through the Ankara Treaty of 1926 between Britain and Turkey. The boundary between Iran and Turkey, which covers 500 kilometers, has remained unchanged since the Ottoman times. In the Caucasus, the demise of the former Soviet Union at the end of the Cold War has led to the emergence of three independent republics that border Turkey: Georgia (252 kilometers), Armenia (268 kilometers) and Azerbaijan (9 kilometers).

Turkey's highly complex geological structure was formed as a result of approximately 600 million years of earth movements and geomorphologic evolutions. The country possesses all types of geological formations of various eras. Turkey's topography is varied with high elevations, lofty mountains, plains, plateaus, and depressions. There are high mountain ranges that parallel the Black Sea in the north and the Mediterranean in

the south. The large plains in the central part of Anatolia separate these mountain ranges to the north and south of the country. The topography of Turkey displays significant regional variations. Western Turkey from the shores of the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara to the borders of central Anatolia includes some of the country's most fertile agricultural areas as well as several densely populated urban centers such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Bursa. Several of the so-called "Anatolian Tigers", cities such as Denizli that have grown and prospered largely through the development of textile industry in the 1990s, are also located in the Western region. In contrast, the Eastern region that stretches from the central heartland to the east and the southeast is marked with rugged mountains and mostly arid terrain that makes agriculture more difficult than in the West. Eastern Turkey is where the Euphrates (Firat) and the Tigris (Dicle) originate from: Both of these large rivers flow southward from Turkey and eventually join in Iraq before emptying into the Persian Gulf. Turkey's Black Sea region has high mountain ridges along the coast that separate the valleys in the interior from the Black Sea. The slopes of the mountains along the Black Sea coast also have dense forests. In the south, the Mediterranean region extends from the Taurus Mountains to the coastal area. The Mediterranean region has fertile soil and warm climate that makes it ideal for growing variety of citrus products. Additionally, its sandy beaches have made this region a booming area for tourism since the late 1980s.

Turkey is geologically located in the Alpine-Himalayan belt, which is one of the world's important seismic regions. Throughout history, Anatolia has witnessed numerous major earthquakes. In more recent times, the country has experienced several devastating earthquakes along major fault lines of tectonic weakness and earth movement. Beginning with the 1939 earthquake in the eastern city of Erzincan that claimed more than 20,000 lives, there have been seven major earthquakes along the fault line that stretches westward from eastern Anatolia. The latest of these took place in August 1999 around the industrial city of Izmit located on the Marmara Sea close to Istanbul. Officially, the number of fatalities from the Marmara earthquake was put at 18,000 but unofficial estimates went as high as 30,000. The magnitude of the earthquake (7.4 on the Richter scale) was also visible from the destruction of over 100,000 homes in and around the Izmit province. Due to its proximity to Istanbul and the westward direction of this particular fault line, the Marmara earthquake of 1999 has intensified the fears of many residents of Turkey's largest city about the possibility of a similar earthquake in the near future.

Turkey's climate is generally described as a dry, semi-continental variant of the Mediterranean type or alternatively as transitional between the Mediterranean and temperate continental regimes. The temperature conditions in winter become progressively colder towards the east where, at times, very intense cold is experienced. However, winters along the coastal areas and in the western regions of the country tend to be milder. In summer months, temperature differences tend to be less varied and, with the exception of the high mountains, most areas of Turkey experience hot weather conditions. In particular, the Mediterranean and the Aegean coastal regions experience hot and arid summers. In terms of rainfall, the wettest areas are the coastlands, especially the coastal mountain ranges along the Black Sea.

Self-Study Questions for Further Exploration

1. Should Turkey geographically be considered an Asian or a European country?
2. How does Turkey's size compare with other countries in Europe and the Middle East?
3. What gives strategic importance to Turkish Straits?
4. Does Turkey have boundary disputes with any of its neighbors?
5. Why are most Turks concerned about a major earthquake in Istanbul in the near future?

HISTORY

Since ancient times, the Anatolian peninsula has been host to numerous civilizations and empires. The Old Testament includes numerous references to Anatolia and its peoples, from the prophet Noah whose ark was said to have landed on Mount Ararat in eastern Turkey to Abraham who came from Edessa, which is the present-day city of Urfa in southeastern Turkey. Over the centuries, the land of the present-day Turkish Republic was inhabited by a variety of peoples belonging to different racial, ethnic, and religious communities. This long history of civilizations, states, and peoples makes Turkey a fascinating place for visitors who can see the remnants of Anatolia's rich historical legacy in numerous archeological sites and ruins that dot the country's landscape.

ANCIENT ANATOLIAN WORLD

The oldest traces of human existence in Anatolia date back to the Stone Age, around 10,000 years ago. Archeological evidence from several sites in western and southeastern Turkey shows that by approximately 6,000 B.C. the evolution from hunting to settled communities that subsided on the cultivation of agricultural crops such as barley was completed. Catal Hoyuk, near the present city of Konya in central Anatolia, was one of the earliest urban settlements in the world with a population of approximately 5,000 inhabitants around 6250 B.C. Some of the major discoveries from the excavations at Catal Hoyuk are on display at the Archeological Museum in Ankara. Around 2500 B.C., with the discovery of copper, Anatolia entered the “Bronze Age” and became a principal supplier of metal for the military empires of Mesopotamia. During this period, a people known as the Hattians inhabited Anatolia whose name led the Egyptians to call Anatolia the Hattian land.

Towards the end of the third millennium B.C., Anatolia witnessed an invasion from the northeast. The invasion led to the destruction of existing communities and the rise of the Hittite kingdom as the dominant power. Speaking an Indo-European language who got their name because they were known as “kings of the Hattian land,” the Hittites distinguished themselves as warriors and merchants who managed to establish their control over Anatolia and northern Syria. The Archeological Museum in Ankara has an impressive collection from the Hittite period. The artifacts on display attest to the cultural accomplishments of the Hittites. After reaching the zenith of its power in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, the Hittite kingdom came to an end around 1200 B.C. when the Phrygians defeated the Hittites and destroyed their capital Hattusas (today known as Bogazkoy). From the destruction of the Hittite kingdom until the ninth century B.C., most of Anatolia was engulfed in turmoil and disorder. Order was restored when the Phrygians, who had a written script, based on the Phoenician alphabet and spoke an Indo-European language, established their capital in the city of Gordium near today’s Ankara and ruled most of central and western Anatolia during the ninth century B.C.

The Phrygians were surrounded by hostile neighbors in much the same way the Hittites had been. Their kingdom was overthrown by the Cimmerians in the seventh century B.C., and then absorbed by the Lydians who dominated Western Anatolia for about a hundred years (650-546 B.C.). A Thracian warrior group, the Lydians set up a powerful kingdom with its capital at Sardis and accumulated considerable wealth from the alluvial gold found in the tributaries of Gediz (Hermus) River. In Eastern Anatolia, on the other hand, the Urartian Kingdom existed from the eleventh until the last decades of the seventh century when it was destroyed by the semi-nomadic Schyrtian tribes from central Eurasia and the Medes who marched northward into Anatolia. The seventh century also witnessed the appearance of the Armenians who took refuge in the region around Lake Van region to escape the raids launched by the Cimmerians.

In 546 B.C. the Persians under King Cyrus invaded Lydia and conquered it. Persian power quickly extended to the Aegean coast of Anatolia where Greek settlers had formed

their communities. Although the Greeks repelled the Persians from the Aegean coast, the interior parts of Anatolia remained under Persian rule until Alexander the Great set foot in Anatolia in 334 B.C. and defeated the Persians. Alexander did more than just liberate the population of Anatolia from Persian rule. He also spearheaded the dissemination of Greek culture and his influence on Anatolia that lasted for centuries. The cities of Anatolia during the Hellenistic period built grand city walls, gymnasiums to educate the youth, theaters for plays and concerts and stadiums for races.

For a generation after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. the history of Anatolia was one of civil wars between smaller Hellenistic kingdoms. This period came to an end with the advent of the Romans into Anatolia around second century B.C. By A.D 43, almost all of Anatolia was integrated into the Roman imperial system. During the course of the next several centuries, the Romans, originally pagans and republicans, were transformed into the Greek-speaking, imperial, and Christian Byzantines. But they continued to call themselves “Romans” which is why the Greeks of Anatolia and Cyprus are known, in Turkish as “Rum”, even today. One of the most important developments of the Roman centuries in Anatolia was the establishment of the empire’s capital at the Greek city-state of Byzantium by Emperor Constantine in 330 A.D. Until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1453, the city renamed Constantinople, remained the capital of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire.

The expansion of Roman rule into Anatolia was accompanied by the growth of Christianity in the region. Christianity was introduced into Anatolia by Saint Paul, a native of the city of Tarsus. His missionary journeys through southern and western Anatolia between A.D. 45 and 58 laid the groundwork for the spread of Christianity. After withering years of severe persecution by the authorities, Christianity was finally granted official toleration in A.D. 313. During the course of the next two centuries, Christianity was firmly established as the dominant religion of the Byzantine Empire. The basilica of Hagia Sophia, which was constructed by Emperor Justinian in Constantinople in 532, became the center of Greek Christendom as well as one of the most highly acclaimed architectural masterpieces in the world.

The high point of the Byzantine Empire was the tenth century when under Emperor Basil II (976-1025), its territorial possessions expanded vastly to include Anatolia and Greece along with the Balkans, most of Italy, North Africa, Egypt and Syria. The Anatolian hinterland served as the primary source of both military manpower and tax revenues for the Byzantine Empire. However, the supremacy of the Byzantines began to face a serious challenge in the mid-eleventh century from the raids by the Turks into eastern Anatolia.

THE TURKISH CONQUEST OF ANATOLIA

The Turks originated as tribally organized semi-nomadic peoples in Outer Mongolia, south of Lake Baikal and north of the Gobi Desert. Most of the Turkish tribes originally followed a shamanistic religion and worshipped elemental forces of nature. However, a significant number also practiced Christianity, Buddhism, and Judaism. Turks first

encountered Islam following the Arab conquest of Iran in the seventh century when Arab and Persian missionaries carried the message of Prophet Muhammad to the fringes of Central Asia. Later, they adopted Islam as their main religion as they moved westward from Central Asia to the Middle East. By the tenth century, majority of Turks had converted to Islam. The Turks of Central Asia spoke a language recognizably akin to that spoken in Turkey today and they began to use the Arabic script upon accepting Islam as their religion.

Among the many Turkish tribes in the fringes of Central Asia, one large group known as the Oguz inhabited the region north of Lake Balkhash. One clan of the Oguz, the Seljuks, moved westward and conquered all of Iran by 1054. The following year, the westward Seljuk expansion culminated with the capture of Baghdad, the capital of the Islamic Caliphate. The great Seljuk leader, Tugrul, had himself proclaimed Sultan, relegating the Caliph to a vague spiritual power with little political influence. Upon their conquest of Baghdad, the Seljuks established themselves as the principal power in the Middle East as well as champions of Sunni Islam.

The single most important event in the expansion of Turkish presence in Anatolia took place in 1071 when the Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantine army at the battle of Malazgirt (Manzikert) in eastern Anatolia. The battle of Malazgirt opened up Anatolia for the Turks and they proceeded to the westernmost parts of the peninsula to the port of Izmir (Smyrna) on the Aegean Sea and Iznik (Nicaea) not far from Constantinople. Soon after the Seljuk conquest, the Anatolian plateau became a Muslim Turkish land. There was a large influx of Turkish tribesmen. While some settled into hundreds of villages, others remained nomads.

In 1076, the Seljuk Empire expanded its territories in the Middle East by gaining control over Syria and most of Palestine. The growing power of the Seljuks prompted Latin Europe to organize the First Crusade to liberate Jerusalem from Muslim rule. On their way to Jerusalem in 1097-1098, the Crusaders recaptured Iznik, defeated the Seljuks at Doryleum, and took Antioch. Crusading armies crossed Anatolia throughout the twelfth century but the Seljuks remained in control of it. The greater impact of the crusades on Anatolia came with the blow to Byzantine power following the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade and the seizure of the Byzantine throne in 1204. Although the crusaders were driven out of Constantinople in 1261, the Byzantium Empire survived for two more centuries as a state whose size and power was considerably diminished.

At the end of the eleventh century, the Seljuk Empire began to disintegrate. The tradition of dividing rule among members of the Seljuk dynasty eventually led to the rise of conflicts and wars within the Seljuk household. The Turks who had moved into Anatolia eventually formed a separate state called the Rum Seljuk Empire with its capital first in Iznik, and later in Konya. The name Rum was used to distinguish it from the Great Seljuk Empire and in reference to their territory that had once been part of the Roman/Byzantine Empire. The Rum Seljuk rule in Anatolia saw a flowering of urban civilization as a number of cities such as Konya, Sivas, and Kayseri became prosperous centers of

commerce and culture. At the same time, the administrative and governmental systems established by the Seljuks provided the basis for later Turkish rule.

In the thirteenth century, the Rum Seljuks were overcome by the invading Mongols from the East who defeated the Seljuk army and established their control in Konya. The Mongol campaign in Anatolia led to the destruction of several major cities in Anatolia and the demise of the Rum Seljuk state.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Empire is the immediate precursor of the modern Turkish Republic. The Republic emerged out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire and the legacy of the Ottomans has had a strong impact on the new Republic.

The Ottoman Turks originated as a nomadic people who moved into northwestern Anatolia in the 12th century fleeing the invading Mongols. Initially, they were one of several small principalities in the western part of Anatolia. In the 13th century, the leadership passed to Osman I who is credited with establishing the dynasty that came to be called after his name as the Ottomans by the Europeans. Osman and his immediate successors managed to expand the frontiers of the new state first by absorbing neighboring Turkish principalities in Western Anatolia and then moving into the Balkans. By the end of the 14th century, the Ottomans had conquered most of the Balkan Peninsula along with western and central Anatolia. One of their most important military victories in the Balkans took place in Kosovo in 1389 when the Ottomans defeated the Serbs. The Ottomans encountered a temporary setback in Anatolia when they were defeated by the Mongol leader Timur (Tamerlane) near Ankara in 1402. In the battle, the Ottoman Sultan Bayezit was taken prisoner and he later died in captivity. However, the Ottomans recovered their power during the next two decades and resumed their raids into the Thrace and the Balkans. These renewed military campaigns expanded the Ottoman frontiers in the Balkans and southeastern Europe at the expense of various non-Muslim powers, especially the Serbs and the Hungarians.

Despite their successes in Anatolia and the Balkans, Constantinople eluded capture by the Turks until 1453. By this time, the once powerful Byzantine Empire had been reduced in size to its capital and the surrounding area. The Ottoman ruler Mehmet II, known also as Fatih (“the Conquer”) began to plan the conquest of the city upon assuming power in 1451. His predecessors had twice laid siege to Constantinople without success. However, under Mehmet II’s leadership, the Ottomans managed to capture the city on May 29, 1453 after a siege that lasted nearly two months. The conquest of the city, which the Turks called Istanbul, represented a major event in the development of the Ottoman Empire. It provided the Turks with one of the best-situated ports in the world and enabled them to control important trade routes. It also represented an important symbolic victory for the Muslim Turks who succeeded in capturing the capital of the Christian Byzantine state where the world famous Hagia Sophia was located. To highlight the religious

importance of the city's conquest, Mehmet II converted it into a mosque after removing its icons and covering its mosaics.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire. Mehmet II's long and illustrious reign (1451-81) was followed by the successes of Bayezit II (1481-1512), Selim I (1512-20), and Suleyman I (1520-66). Under these four rulers, the frontiers of the Empire extended from the gates of Vienna in Europe to most parts of the Middle East and North Africa. Along with their military prowess, the Ottomans developed a strong bureaucratic and legal tradition that enabled them to rule over a vast empire that included numerous ethnic and religious communities. During the Middle Ages, the Ottomans generally showed greater tolerance toward those communities that did not share their religious beliefs in comparison with western European states. At the same time, the Empire achieved notable success in cultural matters and the arts. Ottoman Sultans built magnificent mosques in Istanbul and other major cities, displayed a keen interest in poetry, literature, music, and calligraphy. Sultan Suleyman I, called "Kanuni" ("the lawgiver") by the Turks and "Suleyman the Magnificent" by the Europeans, was renowned for his skills as a warrior. But he was also instrumental in the codification of the laws governing the Empire, especially in matters concerning taxation, land tenure, and related administrative issues.

The death of Suleyman the Magnificent marked the beginning of the reversal of the Ottoman fortunes. The Empire survived for another three centuries but encountered growing military, economic, and administrative problems. Following their unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottoman expansion into Europe came to a halt and the Empire began to lose its territories to European powers, most notably the Habsburgs. The Ottoman decline was due to a multiplicity of factors. The Empire's military might weakened with the corruption of its principal elite fighting force called the janissaries and its failure to keep up with new technological developments in the West. The Ottoman economy was adversely affected from decreasing tax revenues that resulted from territorial losses and inflationary spirals. The Empire suffered from poor leadership since most of the Sultans from the 17th century onwards displayed much less ability in statecraft than their predecessors. While the Ottomans had earlier benefited from the weaknesses of the European powers, this trend was reversed as the European states increasingly grew stronger and gained superiority over the Ottomans in later centuries.

Despite its decline, the Ottoman Empire managed to survive until the end of World War I. The rise of independence movements among the Serbs, the Greeks, and the Bulgarians during the 19th century led to the shrinking of the territory controlled by the Ottomans in the Balkans. The Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913 brought a dramatic end to centuries long Ottoman presence in the Balkans. Russian territorial gains around the northern shores of the Black Sea and the Caucasus progressively increased during the 19th and early 20th centuries. In a misguided attempt to recover its lost territories, the Ottoman Empire entered World War I on the side of Germany and against Allied Powers. With few exceptions, the Ottoman armies were defeated in various campaigns in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Caucasus. An Arab revolt against Ottoman rule that was supported by the British and the French facilitated the loss of Ottoman domains in the Middle East.

By the end of World War I, victorious Allied armies occupied Istanbul, and proceeded to organize the partition of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Sevres that was presented by the Allies to the Ottoman officials in 1920 formalized the partitioning of the Ottoman lands among the British, French, Italians, and the Greeks. The Sevres Treaty also foresaw the establishment of an Armenian and a Kurdish state in eastern Turkey. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire was reduced to a small principality in Anatolia with its capital Istanbul under the Allied occupation. The future of even this small political entity seemed bleak when the Greek forces invaded Anatolia and advanced toward Ankara in 1921.

THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

The Treaty of Sevres was never implemented thanks to the growth of a nationalist movement, which managed to mobilize the population against the Allies and score decisive victories against the invading Greek forces during 1921-22. The nationalists also succeeded in defeating the Armenians in eastern Anatolia as well as forcing the French to withdraw from several provinces in the southeast. These nationalist gains led to the signing of a new peace treaty in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1923. The Lausanne Treaty affirmed the victories of the Turkish nationalist movement and undid the provisions of the Sevres Treaty regarding the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire among Allied powers and the establishment of independent Armenian and Kurdish states in eastern Anatolia. Through the Lausanne Treaty the nationalists regained all of Anatolia and eastern Thrace and established the territorial basis for the new Turkish Republic, which came into existence in October 1923.

One individual played a central role in Turkey's recovery out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Kemal (later given the surname Atatürk or "Father of the Turks" by the Turkish parliament) is commonly regarded as the founding father of the Turkish Republic. Born in Salonica in 1881 when the city was still under Ottoman rule, Mustafa Kemal graduated from the War College in Istanbul and began his career in the Ottoman army, serving in several campaigns in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Balkans. A distinguished military officer, he gained further acclaim with his leadership in the Gallipoli campaign and the defense of the Dardanelles. Promoted to brigadier, Mustafa Kemal began to organize the nationalist movement after failing to persuade the last Ottoman Sultan to take a strong position against the occupation of Anatolia by Allied forces and the landing of Greek troops in Izmir. Within a fairly short period, he managed to establish contact with local nationalist groups in Anatolia and organize the resistance against the Allied occupation. By convening several congresses for the nationalists that served to lay the foundations for an alternative new political structure, Mustafa Kemal openly defied the legitimacy of the Sultan in Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal's stature as the leader of the national independence movement rose to a new level when the Turkish troops defeated the Greek forces in two major battles in 1921 and 1922.

Upon the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Mustafa Kemal became its first president. From 1923 until his death in 1938, he was the undisputed leader of an authoritarian one-party regime in which the Republican People's Party (RPP) functioned

as its “official” party. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed a series of reforms that were introduced by Mustafa Kemal. These included the abolishment of the Caliphate (1924), the outlawing of the fez for men and the veil for women (1925), the replacement of shari’a with civil codes based on European models (1926), the adoption of a new Turkish alphabet and the change from Arabic to Latin script (1928), the extension of suffrage to women (1934), the adoption of surnames (1934), and the replacement of Friday with Sunday as the legal weekly holiday (1935). Ataturk’s reforms aimed at the establishment of a Western-oriented, secular state that would rigorously follow the path toward modernization and Westernization. In particular, the reforms sought to lessen the influence of religion in political institutions, educational processes, and legal system. Given the importance of Islam in the Ottoman Empire, the changes that were brought about by Ataturk amounted to no less than a large-scale cultural revolution in Turkey.

Upon Ataturk’s death in 1938, one of his principal associates, Ismet Inonu, was elected to be his successor by the National Assembly. Inonu’s major achievements when he served as Turkey’s second president from 1938 to 1950 were twofold. First, he managed to keep Turkey out of World War II through skilful diplomacy that required a delicate balancing act between the Allied and Axis powers. Second, Inonu engineered the transition from an authoritarian regime to democratic politics at the end of the war. By permitting the formation of opposition parties in 1946, Inonu initiated the democratization process within a multi-party system and competitive elections. This regime change was to have far-reaching political, economic, and social consequences for Turkey.

Turkey’s first truly honest elections in 1950 resulted in a landslide victory for the main opposition group, the Democratic Party (DP). Two of the DP’s founders, Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes, served as president and prime minister, respectively, from 1950 to 1960. The transition to democracy had shown that success in the elections depended largely on catering to the interests of farmers and peasants who made up nearly two-thirds of the electorate in the 1950s. The three electoral victories of the DP in 1950, 1954, and 1957 owed to the party’s ability to initiate rural development projects and show greater tolerance to religious traditions and practices than was the case under Ataturk and Inonu. However, the DP’s leadership increasingly grew intolerant of criticisms voiced by the political opposition, led by Inonu and his RPP. The government’s attempts to coerce the opposition eventually led to student demonstrations against the DP in Ankara and Istanbul. Amidst growing political instability, Turkey experienced its first military coup in 1960.

The 1960 military coup was staged by junior officers and it was broadly supported by the urban, educated, bureaucratic, and professional groups who had become disillusioned with the DP due to its authoritarian measures and its perceived deviation from the Republic’s strict secularist principles. Following an eighteen-month military rule, Turkey returned to democracy and competitive elections at the end of 1961. The two dominant parties of the 1960s and 1970s were the RPP and the Justice Party (JP), which was formed to capture the loyalties of the DP’s supporters after the DP was banned by the military following the 1960 coup. From 1961 to 1964, several coalitions led by the RPP were in power with Inonu serving as prime minister. Following its landslide victory in the

1965 parliamentary elections, the JP, under Suleyman Demirel's leadership, became the governing party. The JP repeated its success at the polls in 1969 but its tenure in office was cut short by the military intervention in 1971. Turkey's second experience with a military intervention was prompted both by the rise of radical leftist terrorist activism and factional competition for power in the armed forces. The so-called "coup by memorandum" (the armed forces had issued a memorandum that threatened a coup unless the government resigned) ousted Demirel from office. From 1971 until 1973, Turkey had civilian governments that were largely made up of technocrats with the military exercising power behind the scenes.

As in the case of the 1960 coup, the military interregnum in politics during 1971-73 was followed by the return to democratic politics. Since none of the parties could muster a parliamentary majority, Turkey experienced successive coalition and minority governments between 1973 and 1980. These center-left and center-right coalitions were formed by the two major parties of the center-left (RPP) and center-right (JP). Bulent Ecevit, who took over the RPP's leadership from Inonu in 1972, and Suleyman Demirel, leader of the JP, alternated in government as prime ministers. During the latter part of the decade, Turkey was engulfed in a protracted crisis that was brought about by an escalating wave of political terrorism and violence, governmental instability, and severe economic problems. Political violence initially erupted on university campuses in Ankara and Istanbul between radical groups on the far-right and extreme left. It then spread to other parts of the country when the traditional social and cultural cleavages based on religious sectarian (Sunni versus Alevi) and ethnic (Turkish versus Kurdish) differences were politicized and exploited by the warring factions of the rival ideological groups. The intensification of the crisis led to the third breakdown of Turkish democracy through a military coup in September 1980.

The 1980 coup led to the longest period of military rule in recent Turkish politics. The generals who stayed in power for nearly three years sought major changes in the Turkish political system by closing down all parties, banning their leaders from politics for ten years, drafting a new constitution that curtailed the activities of labor unions and civil society institutions, and introduced changes in the electoral system that aimed at reducing political fragmentation in the parliament. The main objective of the measures introduced by the military regime under Gen. Kenan Evren was to ensure political stability and prevent the recurrence of a crisis similar to the one that the country faced in the late 1970s. The bans on political parties and their leaders underscored the generals' belief that politicians bore the main responsibility for that crisis. The military regime (1980-83) also imprisoned thousands of leftist, rightist, and Kurdish militants who were suspected of involvement in terrorist activities. The regime's efforts to clamp down on militant groups led to a pronounced increase in human rights violations and infringement of civil and political liberties.

The resumption of electoral politics at the end of 1983 signaled the beginning of the transition from military to civilian rule. The military's scenario for the transition involved a contest between two newly formed parties, one of which was led by a retired general. Other potential contenders for power were vetoed by the ruling junta. However, the

officers reluctantly decided to permit a third newly formed party to enter the elections. Led by Turgut Ozal, who had served as the chief economic advisor to the military regime, the Motherland Party (MP) won a decisive victory in the 1983 elections. Throughout the 1980s, Ozal and his party dominated Turkish politics since the MP enjoyed a comfortable parliamentary majority and also controlled many municipal and local elective offices. First as prime minister (1983-89), and later as president of Turkey (1989-93), Ozal had a major impact on Turkey. He launched an ambitious economic liberalization program that emphasized privatization, free exchange rates, and export-oriented development. As a practicing Muslim who also had a Kurdish grandmother, he sought greater official tolerance toward both Islam and ethnic differences in Turkish society. Ozal's death in 1993 from a heart attack ended a period of remarkable changes in Turkish economy and society.

Another important development in Turkey during the 1980s was the reemergence of the Kurdish problem as a major issue. After posing a serious challenge to the Turkish state in the 1920 and 1930, the Kurdish question had remained largely dormant until it began to be politicized by leftist parties in the 1960s. However, it was only after the emergence of the PKK (Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan or Kurdish Workers Party) under the leadership of Abdullah Ocalan in the late 1970s that the Kurdish question gained prominence. The PKK chose terrorism as its principal strategy and it launched a campaign of political violence in the predominantly Kurdish regions in the southeast in 1984. Targeting Turkish security forces and Kurds who did not support the PKK, Ocalan's group advocated the establishment of a Kurdish state based on Marxist-Leninist ideology that would be carved out of existing Turkish territories. Faced with mounting fatalities and a serious challenge to the country's territorial integrity, Turkish security forces embarked on a large-scale anti-terrorism campaign.

Ozal's MP was the main loser of the 1991 national elections. The party finished second after the center-right True Path Party (TPP) led by veteran politician Suleyman Demirel. The TPP formed a coalition government with the center-left Social Democratic Party, which stayed in power until the next elections in 1995. Upon Ozal's death in 1993, Demirel left his post as prime minister to become Turkey's next president. In turn, Demirel was replaced by Tansu Ciller who was the country's first female prime minister. Turkey continued to be governed by coalition governments following the 1995 and 1999 elections since neither provided any one single party with a parliamentary majority. The 1995 elections witnessed the emergence of the Islamist Welfare Party (WP) as the strongest party. Led by the veteran Islamist politician, Necmettin Erbakan, the WP formed a coalition with Ciller's TPP in 1996. Turkey's first Islamist-led government had a turbulent stay in office and it was forced to leave power after a year under mounting pressure from the military and the country's secularist forces. The WP-TPP government was replaced by another coalition in which the MP, led by Mesut Yilmaz, served as the senior partner. The Democratic Left Party (DLP), which was formed by Bulent Ecevit in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup, also took part in the coalition. The DLP finished first in the 1999 elections and Ecevit became prime minister in a new coalition that also included the DLP, the MP, and the far-right Nationalist Action Party (NAP).

The rise and fall of successive coalition governments during the 1990s underscored the rise of electoral volatility and political fragmentation in Turkey. With the exception of the 1991-95 period, most of these coalitions were short-lived and failed to provide Turkey with stable and effective governance. The failure of the governing centrist parties to deal with economic and financial problems, especially their inability to bring down the inflation rate, which averaged 70 percent annually, undermined their popular support. In addition, they were also hurt with the widespread perception regarding their involvement in a number of major corruption scandals. The erosion of popular support for the center-right and center-left parties was evident in the 1995 and 1999 parliamentary elections. However, this trend became even more apparent in 2002 when the parties led by Yilmaz, Ciller, and Ecevit suffered their worst electoral defeats in more than a decade.

The clear winner of the November 2002 national elections was the Justice and Development Party (JDP). It was formed by the former mayor of Istanbul, Tayyip Erdogan, in 2001. Erdogan was a protégé of Necmettin Erbakan and he had been active in Turkey's Islamist movements and political parties. After Erbakan's WP was banned by the Constitutional Court in 1998, it reemerged as the Virtue Party (VP). However, the VP was also banned three years later. At that time, Erdogan decided to form his own party. Despite his long record as someone who wished to undermine secularism and distance Turkey from the West, Erdogan had gradually moved toward a more moderate position by the late 1990s. Unlike several Islamist parties that were led by Erbakan, Erdogan's JDP favored closer ties with the West and it refrained from pursuing policies that might provoke a confrontation with the secularist forces in Turkey, particularly the Turkish armed forces.

During the 1990s, the ascendancy of political Islam and the Kurdish issue posed two major challenges to the established principles of the Republic. The electoral successes of the Islamist parties increased the concerns of the secularists regarding the secular nature of Turkey's political institutions and educational processes. The polarization between the secularists and the Islamists reached its zenith after Erbakan became prime minister in 1996. This polarization culminated with his ouster from power under the threat of another possible military coup. In fact, some observers have called the muscle flexing by the army as a "post-modern coup" although the military did not, as in the case of the 1960 and 1980 interventions, actually seize power in 1997. The rise of political Islam, coupled with weak and unstable civilian governments, was one main reason for the increased influence of the Turkish military in politics. The other was the PKK's threat to Turkey's territorial integrity. In the early part of the decade, the PKK intensified its activism and terrorist campaign in the southeast. This was partly due to the emergence of a political vacuum in Northern Iraq following the 1990-91 Gulf War. The PKK established new bases near the Turkish border, which it used to launch raids into Turkey. In addition, many PKK militants slipped into Turkey among the refugees who were fleeing from Saddam Hussein's campaign against the Kurds in the aftermath of the Gulf War. In 1994, the Turkish military forces began a more pro-active strategy against the PKK, which included entry into northern Iraq to pursue the PKK's militants. This new strategy also included a large-scale pacification program that led to the evacuation of nearly 3000 Kurdish villages and small hamlets in the southeast. Although this policy intensified

Kurdish grievances against the state, it also significantly undermined the PKK's potential logistical support base. The capture and imprisonment of the PKK's leader Ocalan in February 1998 after he was forced out of Syria ended PKK's campaign of political violence and terrorism. After conceding military defeat, the PKK intensified its efforts to internationalize Turkey's Kurdish problem and to force the Turkish authorities to grant additional political and cultural rights to Turkey's Kurdish citizens.

Self-Study Questions for Further Exploration

1. Why is Anatolia often viewed as the "cradle of civilizations"?
2. What historical links exist between the peoples of Central Asia and Turks living in Turkey today?
3. How did the Ottomans succeed in establishing a major world empire?
4. What were the principal objectives of Ataturk's policies and reforms?
5. What have been the main features of Turkey's experience with democratic politics since the late 1940s?

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Turkey has experienced rapid social and economic changes during the last half century. In 1950, it was a predominantly agricultural society where nearly two-thirds of the labor force was employed in the agricultural sector and lived in rural areas. Fifty years later, the share of the manufacturing and services sectors in the economy had surpassed that of agriculture and majority of Turkey's population lived and worked in cities and metropolitan centers. Until Turkey's transition to democracy in the aftermath of World War II, state officials kept Islam under close scrutiny. Since then, Turkey has experienced a gradual but unmistakable trend toward the reassertion of religious traditions and practices. Similarly, the ethnic and sectarian differences in Turkish society have become more apparent and politicized in recent years in comparison with the formative years of the Republic.

POPULATION, DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS, AND MIGRATION

Turkey's population between the country's first census in 1927 and 1950 increased from about 12 million to 21 million people. This modest growth rate changed dramatically during the second half of the 20th century. According to the national census in 2000, Turkey's population was 67.8 million. Recent years have witnessed a relative decline in average population growth rates. During the 1970-80 period, Turkey's population grew by 2.3 percent annually. In the period from 1990 to 2000, this figure dropped to 1.6 percent. Average annual population increase during the first decade of the 21st century is expected to further decline to 1.1 percent. Despite this slowdown, the annual population increase in Turkey is still relatively high in comparison to that of European countries. Moreover, Turkey is a country with a young population. 30 percent of Turkey's population is in the 0-14 age group while those who are 65 or older constitute only 5 percent of the population.

Beginning in the late 1950s, Turkey has experienced large-scale migration from the rural areas to the cities. This massive migratory process has led to the swelling of the populations of Turkey's major cities. Istanbul, which had a population of about 800,000 until the 1950s, today has about ten million inhabitants or approximately 14 percent of Turkey's total population. Nine other Turkish cities now have populations with more than one million people. They include Ankara (4 million), Izmir (3.4 million), Konya (2.1 million), Bursa (2.1 million), Adana (1.8 million), Antalya (1.7 million), Icel (1.6 million), Diyarbakir (1.3 million), and Gaziantep (1.2 million). The migration from the countryside to the urban centers has had major social and political consequences. Many newcomers to the cities settle in the large shantytown areas surrounding the urban centers called *gecekondu* in Turkish. Most Turkish cities now have sprawling *gecekondu* districts where the urban poor live. Initially, when they are first established, these districts lack roads, electricity, and sewage systems. Over time, many *gecekondu* neighborhoods receive municipal services while new ones are built on the periphery of the cities. During the late 1970s, many leftist and rightist militant who joined terrorist organizations were recruited from the *gecekondu* districts in Istanbul and Ankara. In electoral contests in the 1990s, the urban poor living in the *gecekondus* provided strong support for the Islamist political parties.

Migration from Turkey to Europe and immigration into Turkey from the Balkans has had a major impact on Turkey. Faced by a labor shortage, Germany and other Western European countries began recruiting workers from Turkey in the early 1960s. During the next ten years, thousands of workers left Turkey for Europe in search of higher wages and better living conditions. Although Germany and other European countries formally ended this practice in 1973-74, the size of the Turkish migrant worker community in Western Europe continued to increase through family reunification and relatively high fertility rates. Today, with 2.5 million, migrants from Turkey make up Germany's largest "guest worker" community. France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavian countries also have large numbers of people from Turkey who have settled permanently in these countries with no intention of returning to their homeland. Immigration into Turkey from the Balkans started with a major population exchange between Greece and

Turkey after the founding of the Turkish Republic. In accordance with the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, there was an exchange of about 500,000 Muslims from Greece with 2 million Greeks in Anatolia in 1927. In later years, thousands of Bulgarians, Romanians, and Yugoslavs of Turkish origin immigrated to Turkey. The latest waves took place in the 1980s when over 300,000 Bulgarian Turks fled to Turkey to escape forced assimilation and in the 1990s when about 25,000 Bosnian Muslims sought refuge in Turkey after the eruption of the ethno-religious conflict in Bosnia.

ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC GROUPS

Situated at the crossroads of two continents, Turkey has been home to a variety of ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups over the centuries. As noted earlier, the Ottoman Empire was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state where dozens of different ethnic and religious communities coexisted in territories stretching from the Christian Europe to the Muslim Middle East and North Africa. The Ottoman defeats in the Balkans and the Caucasus during the empire's disintegration in the first two decades of the twentieth century led thousands of Turks and Muslims who had settled in these regions to seek refuge in Anatolia. As a result, the population of Turkey today includes large numbers of people who can trace their ancestry to the Balkans and the Caucasus.

Turks constitute the major ethnic group in Turkey, comprising approximately 80 to 85 percent of the population. The ethnic and racial origins of today's Turks are diverse. Some are descendants of Turkish groups who settled in Anatolia following the entry of the Oguz tribes into the peninsula, settling in the Central Anatolian plateau, or the coastal areas along the Black Sea, the Aegean, and the Mediterranean. Others are descendants from Turks who settled in the Balkans following the Ottoman conquests in southeastern Europe in the 15th century. These so-called Rumelian Turks were resettled mostly in western Turkey and the Thrace as the Ottomans lost their territories that nowadays include former Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria. There are also Turks whose ancestors lived in the Caucasus and Crimea. In particular, there are sizeable numbers of Turks who have Azeri, Chechen, Circassian, Dagistani, Georgian, and Crimean Tatar origins.

In addition to ethnicity, language is the other major defining attributes of the Turks. The Turkish language, with its several dialects, which are spoken in different parts of the country, acts as a common, unifying element among the Turks. Turkish is a member of the southwestern or Oguz group of the Turkic languages, the others being: the Turkic dialects of the Balkans, Azeri or Azerbaijani, spoken in Azerbaijan and northwestern Iran, the Qashqai of southern Iran, and Turkmen or Turcoman of northern Iraq. Until 1923, the language of Turkey was known as Ottoman Turkish, which had thousands of Arabic and Persian words. Under Ataturk, a major effort was made to purify the language and find alternatives to words of non-Turkish origin. The language reform of 1934 had mixed results. While it removed many words of non-Turkish origin, some of the alternatives that were introduced failed to gain popular usage. The language reform also proved to have long-lasting political ramifications. While the left-wing intelligentsia and followers of Ataturk's ideology prefer to use the so-called purified Turkish, the Islamists

generally sprinkle their writings with a large dose of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian.

Kurds constitute the second largest ethnic group in Turkey. Although there are no census figures, it is estimated that approximately 12 to 15 percent of Turkey's population (or between 8 to 10 million) is of Kurdish origin. Turkey has nearly 50 percent of the total Kurdish population in the region that is dispersed between Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and former Soviet territories in the Caucasus. Kurds are ethnically distinct from the Turks and they have existed in Anatolia and Mesopotamia since the 5th century B.C. Kurdish is also distinct from Turkish and it belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. In Turkey, two dialects of Kurdish are spoken: the Kermanji, which is used by the majority, and Zaza that is largely confined to several provinces in the southeast. Turkey's Kurdish population has been historically concentrated along Turkey's borders with Iraq and Iran. However, during the past four decades, large numbers of Kurds have moved to western Turkey and settled in major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. Kurds have also participated heavily in the flow of migrant workers from Turkey to Europe.

The Kurdish question in Turkey dates back to the formative years of the Republic. The Kurds resented Ataturk's emphasis on Turkish nationalism and his policy of radical secularism. Their opposition to the newly founded Republic took the form of several rebellions during the 1920s and 1930s, all of which were suppressed by the Turkish military. After staying dormant for the next three decades, the Kurdish issue reemerged in the 1960s when the radical leftist parties began to advocate greater cultural and political rights for the Kurds. The rise of the PKK and its campaign of violence in subsequent decades made Turkey's Kurdish problem a major issue in the country's domestic politics and foreign policy. Initially, the PKK called for the establishment of a separate, Marxist, Kurdish state that would be carved out of Turkey's existing territory. Later, it began to advocate a federal arrangement to replace Turkey's unitary administrative structure. The Turkish authorities have vigorously opposed these ideas. More recently, following Ocalan's capture and imprisonment, the PKK has announced that it would cease its activities in Turkey and work for a resolution of the conflict through democratic means. The organization has also changed its name from PKK to KADEK to highlight its new orientation. At present, the principal demands of the Kurds include greater cultural and political rights, reduction of the army's presence and role in the predominantly Kurdish populated provinces, and better economic conditions. In mid-2003, the Turkish government has passed an amnesty bill to entice the PKK's militants into giving up their arms and renouncing violence. Whether this measure will lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict remains to be seen.

Turkey's citizens of Arab origins constitute the country's third largest ethnic group. Numbering around 1 million, they are concentrated in the villages and small towns along the Syrian border. The province of Hatay (also known as Alexandretta) is predominantly made up of ethnic Arabs. As noted earlier, since it was ceded to Turkey by the French through a referendum in 1938, Hatay's status has been challenged by Syria, which views it as part of its territory.

The three non-Muslim groups in Turkey are the Armenians, Greeks, and the Jews. In the Ottoman Empire, they all had sizeable populations. Today, their numbers are much smaller than in the past. The shrinking of the Armenian and Greek populations is largely due to political causes. The large Armenian community in Eastern Turkey practically disappeared in the aftermath of World War I through civil conflict and deportations. The Armenians maintain that what happened during 1915-16 that resulted in the death of approximately 500,000 people represents genocide. The Turks, on the other hand, deny that there was genocide and argue that large numbers of Turks and Muslims also lost their lives at the hands of the Armenians during this turbulent period in history. Today, the Armenian population, which is estimated to be around 50,000, is concentrated largely in and around Istanbul. The number of Greeks in Turkey has similarly declined over the years. The eruption of the Cyprus conflict and the rise of tensions between Greece and Turkey resulted in new waves of Greek migration from Turkey. At present, the Greek Orthodox community numbers only a few thousand people who live mostly in Istanbul. The shrinking of Turkey's Jewish population was prompted primarily by the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. At that time, approximately 30,000 Jews immigrated to the newly established Jewish state. This process continued in the 1950s and 1960s, reducing the Jewish population to its present size of approximately 30,000 people. Like the Greeks and the Armenians, the Jews are concentrated in Istanbul.

RELIGION AND ITS ROLE IN SOCIETY

Religion plays an important role in Turkish society. Turkey is a predominantly Muslim country, with nearly 98 percent of the population belonging to the Islamic faith. After their conversion to Islam beginning in the seventh century, the Turks became deeply involved in the expansion of Islam. In particular, the Ottoman march into Europe was primarily driven with a religious zeal that aimed at conquering the lands of the "infidels" in the name of Islam. When the institution of the Caliphate was brought from Cairo to Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire became the center of the entire Islamic world. In the Ottoman Empire, Islam served as a source of political legitimacy for the rulers and a primary means of personal and communal identity for the empire's Muslim subjects. The Ottoman dynasty, as well as the majority of the Turks, belonged to the Sunni or orthodox branch of Islam. Along with this official Islam of the court and the administration, manifestations of what anthropologists refer to as "folk Islam" also flourished in society through a variety of sects and religious brotherhoods (or *tarikats* in Turkish).

Ataturk's radical secularization project sought to undermine the influence of Islam in Turkey, especially in political institutions and education. Measures such as the abolishment of the Caliphate and the shari'a dealt serious blows to religion. However, since the transition to democratic politics in the aftermath of World War II, Turkey has experienced a gradual but unmistakable trend toward the expansion of Islam in politics and society. Although Turkey today is one of the most secular states in the Islamic world, it is also a country that is going through a major redefinition of its identity, which stresses the importance of observing traditional religious practices, norms, and values. Until the

beginning of mass migration to the cities, religion played a more visible role in the daily lives of the people living in rural areas. Urbanization has altered this picture since most newcomers to the metropolitan centers bring with them their pious observance of Islam. The political ascendancy of the Islamist parties, as demonstrated most recently by the electoral victory of the Justice and Development Party in 2002, underscores the changing political climate in the country. At the same time, the growing strength of the Islamist parties and the trend toward further Islamization of society has increased the concerns of the Turkish secularists and it has accentuated the polarization between the Islamists and the secularists.

The majority of Turkey's Muslims (both ethnic Turks and ethnic Kurds) are Sunnis. However, approximately one-fifth of the country's population (or about 20 million) belongs to an offshoot Shi'a branch of Islam called the Alevi that includes ethnic Turks as well as ethnic Kurds. Like the Shii elsewhere in the Muslim world, the Alevi in Turkey are the followers of Ali, the son-in-law of prophet Muhammad. Apart from this, however, the beliefs and practices of Turkey's Alevi differ significantly from traditional Shi'a Islam as it is practiced in countries such as Iran. For example, unlike in Iran, the Alevi in Turkey do not have a hierarchical organization led by powerful religious figures and they have no mosques but community houses, called *cemevi*. The Alevi accept the basic Islamic creed: "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger." However, their practices differ considerably from the Sunnis. In addition to the absence of mosques, they do not pray five times a day but only when they feel the urge or need; do not fast during the month of Ramadan or make the pilgrimage to Mecca; their services include both men and women; and their initiation rites include the consumption of alcohol. The Sunnis have historically viewed the Alevi as a heretical movement that is alien to real Islam. Since political Islam in contemporary Turkey is largely Sunni-based and supported, the Alevi tend to be strong supporters of secularism and fear that the ascendancy of Islam in society and politics could lead to their domination by the Sunnis. During the heyday of political violence in Turkey in the late 1970s, there was an alarming rise in bloody conflicts between the Sunnis and the Alevi in provincial Anatolian towns. Since then, there has been a steady trend toward the assertion of the Alevi identity and politicization of Alevi concerns and interests.

Self-Study Questions for Further Exploration

1. What are the main characteristics of demographic change in Turkey?
2. What has been the social and political impact of uncontrolled urbanization?
3. What are the major characteristics of Turkish society regarding ethnicity and religion?
4. How has the Turkish government approached the Kurdish question?
5. What are the reasons for the ascendancy of political Islam in Turkey?

THE ECONOMY

Economic development and growth have been the primary objectives of successive Turkish governments since the establishment of the Republic in 1923. During the past 70 years, there have been notable successes as well as serious problems in Turkey's economic development. The newly-established Republic faced truly dire economic conditions: protracted wars and conflicts during the final years of the Ottoman Empire had ravaged the country, majority of the population lived the rural areas and worked on the land using primitive agricultural methods, and Turkey lacked domestic or international capital that could be mobilized for industrialization. Seventy years later, the economic conditions in Turkey display a very different picture. Turkey has been transformed from a largely agricultural country into one with a rapidly growing industrial and manufacturing sector. Turkey now exports a broad range of manufactured goods as well as services to regional and international markets. Economic development and growth over the years have significantly improved the material conditions and well being of Turkey's citizens. However, Turkey's economic development has not been without its

problems. The country's economy has periodically encountered major crises, most recently in 2001, which resulted in a sharp drop in industrial productivity and a severe rise in unemployment. Although the Turkish economy has registered relatively high growth rates in the post-World War II period, its performance has been poor with respect to inflation and employment. Since the mid-1980s, inflation rates have hovered around 50-70 percent annually due to the failure of governments to exercise fiscal discipline and cut budget deficits. The economy has also not performed well in creating jobs for a growing young labor force and unemployment remains a perennial problem.

TRENDS IN ECONOMIC POLICY

In the absence of significant private domestic capital or foreign investment, economic policies during the 1920s and 1930s emphasized the role of the state in fostering industrialization and growth. The establishment of the State Economic Enterprises (SES's) during the formative years of the Republican period represented an effort to promote industrialization under the aegis of the state. The dominant role of the state in the management of economic life remained a major characteristic of the Turkish economy well into the 1970s despite a noticeable growth of the private sector following the transition to democracy after World War II. During the period from 1950 to 1980, Turkish officials emphasized their commitment to a "mixed economy" in which the private and the public sectors would co-exist and play equally important roles in economic policy-making. In fact, however, until 1980, the Turkish economy remained largely under the control of the state and the public sector figured much more prominently than the private sector.

The rise to power of Turgut Ozal in Turkish politics led to a fundamental reorientation of the country's economic policies after 1980. Ozal, who had held high ranking positions in the economic policy-making bureaucracy, became the military junta's chief official in charge of the economy after the 1980 coup. As noted earlier, the military intervention of 1980 came in the wake of one of the worst economic crises in the Republic's history. The near collapse of the country's economy in the late 1970s created a favorable environment for major economic and financial reforms. The poor performances of the governments headed by Prime Ministers Demirel and Ecevit in managing the economy between 1974 and 1980 discredited both import substitution and statism as effective strategies for economic stability and growth. After successfully launching a stabilization program for economic recovery from the crisis, Ozal sought to liberalize the economy through a series of measures. These included a major policy switch from import substitution to export promotion, the abolishment of foreign-exchange controls, new laws to attract foreign investment, and emphasis on privatization schemes that aimed at the sale of the SES's. The performance of the Turkish economy during the 1980s reflected the impact of the changes that were implemented under Ozal's leadership. Following its recovery, the economy experienced a relatively high growth rate. The liberalization policies created a much better business environment for the private sector. The most striking results were achieved in the promotion of exports, which more than tripled between 1980 and 1987. The incentives granted to domestic and international investors paved the way for the emergence of tourism as a major sector in the economy. Ozal's efforts to modernize and

privatize the public sector had less striking but nevertheless significant results. The cutback of subsidies and the lifting of price ceilings forced the SES's to be more competitive and efficient. However, Ozal's policies failed in several areas. After a temporary decline in the early 1980s, Turkey was once again faced with a runaway inflation in the latter part of the decade resulting from expanding budget deficits. Economic liberalization also contributed to the widening gap between the higher and lower income groups as well as to a significant rise in political corruption.

Turgut Ozal's bold policies represented a watershed in the liberalization of an economy that had remained largely controlled and managed by the state since the founding of the Turkish Republic. Although Ozal disappeared from the political scene after his death in 1993, his views concerning the management of the economy continued to shape the outlook of the governments on the economy during the 1990s. This was most evident in the strong support given to expanding Turkish exports. While Turkey became the European Union's major supplier of textiles, Turkish manufactured goods (televisions, cars, refrigerators, etc.) managed to capture a respectable share of the regional markets. In addition, private companies from Turkey undertook a series of large construction projects in the Middle East as well as in the Russian Federation and the new Turkic Republics in Central Asia.

The Turkish economy during the 1990s was characterized by another legacy of the Ozal era: endemic high inflation resulting from excessive public spending and budget deficits. The decade also witnessed bouts of rapid short-term growth followed by recessionary trends, which prevented the economy from fulfilling its longer-term growth potential. The rise and fall of short-lived coalition governments during the 1990s represented another problem in the conduct and implementation of effective macroeconomic policies since these often led to a turnover in top ministerial positions in charge of running the economy. In 2001, Turkey was hit by one of the most serious economic and financial crises in its recent political history. The trigger for the crisis was the emergence of financial problems in the banking sector. The liquidity crunch faced by several banks turned into a major financial crisis when, following a heated cabinet meeting in which Prime Minister Ecevit and President Sezer exchanged heated words, the Prime Minister publicly declared that Turkey was faced with a political crisis. This sent shockwaves on domestic and international markets: overnight interest rates soared to 2000 percent, the Turkish lira was devalued by half against the dollar, and there was a massive capital flight out of Turkey. The crisis led to a sharp decline in business activity and rapid rise in unemployment. With respect to its destabilizing economic and social effects, the crisis that Turkey faced in 2001 displayed many similarities to the Argentinean crisis, which took place around the same time. However, Turkey did better than Argentina in its recovery from the crisis thanks to a \$7 billion loan from the IMF and speedy implementation of a series of monetary and fiscal reforms that were demanded by the IMF. Following its rise to power in 2002, the new JDP government continued the IMF-backed stabilization policies and Turkish economy appeared to be on the way to recovery.

FOREIGN TRADE

The EU plays a major role in Turkey's trade relations. Imports from and exports to EU member states account for more than fifty percent of Turkish imports and exports. The signing of a Customs Union between Turkey and the EU in 1995 has enhanced the free circulation of goods between the two sides. In particular, the Customs Union has made a significant contribution to the expansion of textile exports from Turkey to Europe. Within the EU, Germany is Turkey's major trading partner. Trade with Germany accounts for nearly half of Turkish exports to and imports from the EU. Other EU members such as Italy, the United Kingdom, and France are also among important trading partners of Turkey.

Outside the EU, Turkey does a significant amount of trade with the Russian Federation, several Middle Eastern states, and the U.S. U.S-Turkish trade ties have grown since the mid-1980s. The volume of trade between the two countries rose from \$1.6 billion in 1985 to \$6.2 billion in 1998. The U.S. now ranks second after Germany in Turkey's foreign trade relations. The principal imports from the U.S are defense industry products, machinery, organic chemicals, cotton, and tobacco. Turkey's main exports to the U.S. are textiles, tobacco, and iron and steel.

Self-Study Questions for Further Exploration

1. What were the reasons for the establishment of the State Economic Enterprises?
2. What role did the state play in Turkey's economic development?
3. What were the main reforms introduced by Turgut Ozal and how did they affect the economy?
4. What were the causes and consequences of the 2001 financial crisis?
5. Which countries figure prominently in Turkey's trade relations?

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since its transition from an authoritarian one-party system to a multi-party system with competitive and free elections in the late 1940s, Turkey's political system has been based on democratic governance. However, Turkey's experience with democratic politics for more than half a century has also included several major crises leading to military interventions and temporary suspension of civil and political liberties. Turkey has made considerable progress in democratization over the years and represents an important example of a predominantly Muslim country that has had a strong commitment to the maintenance of representative institutions and processes. Yet, Turkey's democratic system is still not fully consolidated and it displays significant shortcomings in several important areas including political accountability, civilian supremacy over the military, and human rights.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SETTING

Turkey has had three constitutions since the founding of the Republic in 1923. The country's current constitution was drafted in 1982 by a commission of experts working under the aegis of the then governing military leadership. It went into effect the same year after it was approved in a national referendum. The 1982 constitution called for the continuation of the country's parliamentary system in which the prime minister, appointed by the president normally from the ranks of the party with the largest seats in the parliament, has the executive authority. The prime minister is the head of government and he or she is responsible for the coordination and implementation of government policies. While maintaining the country's parliamentary system, the 1982 constitution also increased the powers of the president. The president of the Republic is elected for a seven-year term by the parliament. Unlike the earlier 1961 constitution, the president is not required to be a sitting member of the parliament at the time of this election. A group of deputies not less than one-fifth of the full membership of the parliament can nominate a person for president from outside the legislature. The 1982 constitution gives the president a wide range of formal powers. Among the most important are the president's power to appoint the prime minister and other ministers, to request the parliament to reexamine bills, and to chair cabinet meetings if he or she wishes to do so. The 1982 constitution did not turn Turkey into a presidential or semi-presidential system but it did create a hybrid system in which executive authority is more diffused than before.

The Turkish parliament, called *Buyuk Millet Meclisi* (Grand National Assembly), has 550 members who are elected for a five-year term. Electoral districts are based on the country's 80 provinces (the largest administrative unit at the local level). Provinces with large populations, such as Istanbul and Ankara, have far greater representation in the parliament than others with small populations, such as Hakkari or Osmaniye. The strengths of the political parties in the parliament usually vary over the course of a legislative session due to the high rate of party switching among the deputies. In addition, there is usually a fairly high rate of turnover in parliamentary representation at each election. This trend was especially pronounced in the 2002 national elections when more than two-thirds of the deputies who won seats were newcomers to the parliament.

Turkey has experimented with a variety of different electoral systems over the years. Following the transition to democracy, elections were held according to plurality or winner-take-all system with multimember electoral districts. The outcome of the elections in the 1950s favored the strongest party at the expense of the others and led to disproportionately large parliamentary representation for the winners. Beginning in 1961, Turkey adopted the proportional representation (PR) electoral system in an effort to redress this problem. Since then different versions of PR have been in effect, with frequent changes in the mathematical formulae used in the allocation of parliamentary seats. The current electoral law is PR with national quota according to d'Hondt formula. In the Turkish electoral system, political parties prepare the lists of their candidates and voters cannot change the rank order on the ballots. Although parties are required by law to hold election primaries for the nomination of candidates to the parliament, this is not widely practiced. Instead, the leaders of the parties and their inner circle of associates commonly prepare the lists. This practice has provided party leaders with extensive authority over the party organizations and it has been a major reason for their long

durability despite repeated electoral failures at the polls. Another important feature of the electoral system in Turkey concerns the 10 percent threshold: To gain representation in the parliament, a party has to win 10 percent or more of the national vote. This high threshold was included in the 1982 constitution to limit political fragmentation.

Since its transition to democracy, Turkey has been governed by single party majority governments as well as coalition governments that have included two or more parties. Infrequently, there have also been minority party governments in power. The plurality system that was used in the 1950s enabled one party (the Democratic Party) to enjoy comfortable parliamentary majorities in successive elections and form the government by itself. Following the adoption of the PR system in 1961, Turkey had its first experience with coalition governments since no single party managed to control a majority in the parliament. This trend was reversed in 1965 and Turkey had a majority party government until 1971. During the period from 1973 to 1980, governments were formed either through coalition arrangements between two and more parties or through the use of minority government formula. In the aftermath of the 1980 coup, Turkey had nearly a decade-long period of majority party governments when Turgut Ozal's Motherland Party (MP) managed to win majority of the seats in the legislature. However, the increase of political fragmentation in the party system in the 1990s resulted, once again, the need to form the government through coalition partnerships among different parties. Turkey had its first majority party government in more than a decade when the Justice and Development Party obtained a parliamentary majority in the 2002 elections.

MILITARY'S ROLE IN POLITICS

One of the major issues in contemporary Turkish politics concerns the role of the military in the political processes. Historically, the military has always been an important institution in Turkey. In the Ottoman Empire, the military constituted one of the major groups within the ruling establishment. The Turkish Republic was founded by a group of military men, led by Mustafa Kemal. Various public opinion surveys conducted during the past decade have shown that a majority of the Turkish population views the armed forces as the country's most trusted institution. The military has traditionally viewed itself as the guardian of the founding principles of the Republic, most notably secularism. It has intervened in politics to restore law and order during periods of escalating civil strife or when it viewed secularism coming under the threat of political Islam. Military rule in Turkey has been relatively short in comparison with military regimes elsewhere in the world and each intervention was followed by return to elections and civilian governments. In 1960, the military was in power for over a year, in 1971 it did not officially assume power but exercised it indirectly, and the military regime in 1980 lasted for approximately three years. After each intervention, the officers have either supervised the drafting of new constitutions (1961 and 1982) or amended existing constitutions (1971). They have also changed electoral laws and tinkered with the party system by banning parties and their leaders.

One of the principal constitutional channels used by the military to influence politics is the National Security Council (NSC), a body that was established in 1961 to provide a forum for coordination between the government and the armed forces. Although it was initially conceived as a consultative body, the NSC increased its role in the policy process, especially in the 1990s, when Turkey faced the double-threat of ethnic separatism and radical Islam. The NSC, whose membership is equally divided between several key government ministers and top commanders, often got involved in explicitly nonmilitary issues. In July 2003, the Turkish parliament passed a number of bills designed to conform Turkey to EU standards. One of these so-called “reform packages” aims to curtail the role of the NSC and redefine civil-military relations in Turkey. Whether this important new legislation will in fact lead to undermine the military’s influence in Turkish politics and usher in a new phase in civil-military relations remains to be seen.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PARTY SYSTEM

Political parties have existed in Turkey since the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the absence of a democratic regime until the late 1940s, parties played an important role in national politics during the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918) in the Ottoman Empire, and following the founding of the Republic during the one-party authoritarian period (1923-1946). However, the importance of parties in Turkish politics increased markedly after the liberalization of the country’s political system and the beginning of free and honest elections. Within a fairly short time following the transition to democracy, competing political parties extended their organizational networks throughout the country in the late 1940’s. Parties became the principal means for the recruitment of local and national political elites, mobilization of the voters in electoral contests, and representation of social and political interests and concerns of their supporters in local and national elective bodies.

The natural evolution of party politics in Turkey has been hampered by the successive military interventions in politics. By banning some parties and excluding their leaders from politics, the officers have sought to reshape the party system. In most cases, however, their efforts have been fruitless: banned political parties have reappeared on the political scene under new labels after a short hiatus and their former leaders have usually managed to reenter politics as well. This fact of Turkish political life was best illustrated by developments in the aftermath of the 1980 coup when the ruling military leadership banned all existing parties and excluded their leaders from participating in politics for up to ten years. But by the latter part of the decade, all the pre-1980 parties were back on the political scene, and with one or two exceptions, all were led, once again, by their former leaders.

Over the years, the strengths of political parties in Turkey have witnessed significant fluctuations. Some parties have disappeared from the political arena, whereas others have shown greater capacity for survival. During the 1990s, most of the parties on the center-right and center-left have seen an erosion in their votes while the Islamists expanded their popular support. In the 2002 national elections, only two parties managed to clear the 10

percent threshold and entered the parliament. The Justice and Development Party (JDP) of Tayyip Erdogan finished first with 34 percent of the votes, which provided it with a comfortable majority. The JDP as noted earlier, was formed in 2001 following a factional split from Necmettin Erbakan's Virtue Party. The party has its roots in the Islamist movement but it has adopted a relatively moderate orientation and its first year in government did not display an Islamist agenda. The other party, which succeeded in winning representation in the parliament, is the Republican People's Party (RPP). It received 19 percent of the total votes and won 178 seats out of the 550-seat legislature. The RPP is Turkey's oldest party and it was founded by Ataturk in 1923 to serve as the "official" party of the one-party system. Since the mid-1960s, it has been a leading force of center-left politics with a social democratic program. The party has been mired in protracted internal factional fights and appears to have lost the momentum that it had gained prior to the 2002 elections. It is led by a veteran politician, Deniz Baykal. Two-center-right parties that alternated in government during the 1990s, the Motherland Party (MP) and the True Path Party (TPP), led by Mesut Yilmaz and Tansu Ciller, respectively, have lost much of their popular support and both of these leaders were forced out of their positions following their parties' poor showing in 2002. Bulent Ecevit's Democratic Left Party (DLP), which finished first in 1999 and became the senior partner of the coalition government from 1999 to 2002, suffered a dramatic loss in 2000 when its votes fell from 22 percent to 1 percent. Another partner of the coalition, the far-right Nationalist Action Party (NAP), also lost a significant portion of its votes in 2002 and failed to gain seats in the parliament. The pro-Kurdish DEHAP won 6 percent of the national vote and finished first in the Kurdish provinces. However, it, too, could not enter the parliament because of the 10 percent electoral threshold.

Self-Study Questions for Further Exploration

1. What type of a system does the constitution provide for Turkey regarding the powers of the Prime Minister and the President?
2. What has been the political consequence of the electoral laws in Turkey?
3. What accounts for the influence of the military in Turkish political life?
4. How have the military interventions affected Turkey's party politics?
5. What factors have led to the decline in the popular support of the centrist parties?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

From the founding of the Republic until the mid-1940s, Turkey pursued a neutralist policy in foreign affairs. The bitter experience of Ottoman Empire's involvement in World War I which led to its demise and almost ended a sovereign Turkish state led Ataturk and his associates to shy away from international alliances in world politics. During the 1920s and 1930s, Turkey's energies were largely focused on domestic reforms and developments. The annexation of the Hatay (Alexandretta) province in 1938 was one of the few important foreign policy issues that preoccupied Turkish policymakers during the interwar years. Ataturk's successor as president, Ismet Inonu, continued the country's policy of neutrality and managed to keep Turkey out of World War II despite strong pressures from both the Allied and the Axis powers to join their side.

COLD WAR PERIOD

At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union confronted Turkey with a major challenge: Moscow demanded territorial concessions in Eastern Turkey and a share in the control of the Straits. Faced with the Soviet threat, Turkey abandoned its neutral stance and sought to establish close political and military ties with the West. Fearful of further Soviet expansionism after Moscow's moves in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, President Truman responded to Turkey's search for deterrence and provided Turkey, along with Greece, with economic and military assistance through the Truman Doctrine in 1947. Turkey's bilateral ties with the U.S. grew rapidly in the next few years. Turkey sent troops to Korea in 1950 and joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952. During the 1950s, the U.S. established numerous bases in Turkey, which served as valuable listening posts at a time when the Cold War between the two superpowers was intensified. In return for providing Washington with bases where nearly 30,000 American personnel served, Turkey became one of the largest recipients of U.S. military and economic assistance.

Turkey's role as a key state in NATO's Southern flank continued throughout the Cold War period. With nearly half a million soldiers, Turkey had the second largest army in NATO after the U.S. Despite extensive cooperation between Washington and Ankara on security issues, the bilateral relationship was not without problems. The eruption of the Cyprus conflict in the early 1960s, and American efforts to prevent a war between its two NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, created tensions in the bilateral ties. The late 1960s saw the emergence of student-led demonstrations against the U.S. with radical leftist groups taking the lead in organizing street demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul. The bilateral relationship was sorely tested again a decade later when the U.S. Congress imposed an arms embargo against Turkey in response to the landing of Turkish troops on Cyprus in 1974. Although the embargo was lifted in 1978, it left a bitter legacy for the Turks. Nevertheless, the U.S.-Turkey relationship was soon back on track when both sides realized the importance of close ties in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the rise of a radical Islamic regime in Iran in 1979.

POST-COLD WAR ERA

Turkey is one of the countries that was most profoundly affected by the end of the Cold War and the transformation of the strategic and political landscape of Eurasia. This watershed in international affairs radically altered Turkey's foreign policy environment, creating opportunities to expand its regional role while also posing new risks and challenges. Observers have described Turkey's efforts to chart its course in the new international system in such terms as a policy of "new activism" or one that displayed signs of both "daring and caution." Indeed, compared to the Cold War years, Turkish foreign policy in the 1990s was significantly more assertive and activist. However, this did not imply the abandonment of moderation and caution that has traditionally characterized Turkey's approach to international and regional affairs.

During the 1990s, Turkey's assertive and active policies was most pronounced in the Middle East. Turkey had traditionally pursued a cautious and low profile policy toward

its southern neighbors. Turkey's decision to join the Allied coalition during the 1990-91 Gulf War marked a major departure from this established policy. The expansion of Turkey's role in the Middle East continued after the Gulf War. The principal reason was the escalation of the PKK's campaign of political violence and terrorism. To prevent the PKK from launching attacks in Turkey from its bases in Northern Iraq, Turkish troops periodically entered into Northern Iraq in pursuit of the Kurdish militants. In the 1990s, Turkey mobilized its troops near the Syrian border to send a strong signal to the Syrian regime, which had harbored the PKK's leader Abdullah Ocalan and provided logistical support to the PKK. This showdown with Syria led to the expulsion of Ocalan from Syria. The Kurdish issue was also a major reason in Ankara's decision to forge closer military and security ties with Israel. The signing of a military training and education agreement in 1996 ushered in a period of increased military, commercial, and cultural relations between Israel and Turkey.

The rise of the new Turkic Republics in Central Asia and the Caucasus after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union provided Turkey with the opportunity to expand its regional influence in line with its new activist foreign policy orientation. Throughout the Cold War period, Turkey's relations with Central Asia and the Caucasus were almost nonexistent despite common ethnic and cultural ties. During the 1990s, Turkey expanded its political and commercial relations with Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. Turkey's efforts to expand its influence in these two regions were opposed by Russia and Iran. In particular, both countries were concerned about Turkey's participation in the export of Caspian energy resources to Western markets through the creation of an East-West energy corridor. Turkey, with Washington's backing, pushed for the construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, which would carry Azeri oil from the Caspian Sea to the Turkish port of Ceyhan on the Mediterranean. By the end of the decade, the Russian opposition to this project had diminished considerably and the plans for the construction of the pipeline had made significant progress.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, there was a discernible increase in Turkey's interest and involvement in the Balkans as well. This was precipitated by the eruption of violent ethno-nationalist conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo, which had the potential to spill over into Turkey. Furthermore, ethnic conflicts in the region generated extensive interest and concern in Turkey due to the presence of large numbers of Turks who had migrated from the Balkans to Turkey over the years. To prevent the escalation of the conflicts, Turkey participated in the multilateral UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo and deployed a small contingent of F-16 jets in Italy for use in NATO's air campaign against the Serb leadership during the Kosovo conflict. The 1990s also witnessed efforts by Turkey to develop closer political, economic, and military ties with Albania, Macedonia, Romania, and Bulgaria. In particular, the post-Cold War era saw a remarkable transformation in Turkey's relations with neighboring Bulgaria, which had remained strained throughout the preceding four decades.

Another significant improvement in Turkey's foreign relations concerned Greece. Although both countries had been allies within NATO, the relations between the two

countries deteriorated with the eruption of the Cyprus conflict in the early 1960s. The harassment of the Turkish Cypriot community on the island by the Greek Cypriot majority during the 1960s followed by the landing of Turkish troops on the island during the Cyprus crisis in 1974 led to the worsening of the ties between two NATO allies. In addition to Cyprus, the opposing positions of the two countries regarding a number of unresolved issues in the Aegean brought Ankara and Athens to the brink of armed conflict on several occasions. However, Greek-Turkish relations took a turn for the better in the aftermath of two major earthquakes that hit Turkey and Greece in August and September of 1999, respectively. The aid provided by the Greek relief organizations and workers to Turkey was reciprocated a month later by Turkish rescue teams a month later. These efforts paved the way for the so-called “seismic diplomacy” whereby the Greek and Turkish foreign ministers developed a close working relationship that led to a rapprochement after years of strained ties. Although serious differences over Cyprus and the Aegean remained, there was nevertheless a markedly improved environment in the bilateral relationship.

The Cyprus issue has been on Turkey’s foreign policy agenda for more than forty years. It has been a major irritant in Turkey’s relations with Greece, the U.S., and more recently, the EU. Following decades of British rule, the island became an independent republic in 1960 after lengthy negotiations between England, Greece, and Turkey. The newly established republic was based on an intricate power-sharing arrangement that sought to protect the rights of the Turkish-Cypriot minority (18 percent of the population) against the Greek-Cypriot majority (80 percent). However, this constitutional arrangement fell apart with the beginning of communal violence in 1962. Vastly outnumbered, the Turkish Cypriots began to clamor for intervention from Turkey for protection. Several Turkish threats to intervene were averted through American efforts during the 1960s. However, Turkey did intervene militarily in 1974 when the junta that was then in power in Greece staged a coup on the island to replace President Makarios with one of its henchmen. Turkish troops subsequently seized control of nearly half of the island. Since 1974, the island has remained divided and separated by a UN monitored “Green Line” that separates the two communities. The Turkish Cypriots established their own Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1984 but this political entity has been recognized only by Turkey. Numerous diplomatic efforts by the US, UN and the EU have not yet succeeded in resolving the dispute. The issue has become more complicated with the EU’s decision to admit the Greek-controlled southern part of the island--the internationally recognized body—as a full member in 2004. Over the years, the US has sought to mediate the conflict by periodically sending special envoys of ambassadorial rank. Washington’s approach has been influenced both by the desire to prevent an armed clash between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus and by the strong lobbying pressure brought on to the successive US administrations by the powerful Greek-American organizations.

Turkey’s long-standing goal to become a full member of the European Union (EU) continues to be a major issue in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey became an associate member of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963 through the Ankara Agreement. According to this agreement, Turkey could expect to become a full member of the Community within the next two decades after completing a three-phase accession

process. However, Turkey's aspirations for full membership soon ran into various roadblocks. Turkey's problems in consolidating its democracy, improving its human rights record, and stabilizing its economy constituted one set of problems. Europeans, in particular the Germans, were concerned about the prospect of new waves of worker migration from Turkey since 2.5 million Turkish citizens had already settled in Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe. The EU and Turkey entered into a formal custom union agreement in 1995, which created the closest economic and political relationship between the EU and any non-member country. In its Luxembourg Summit in 1997, the EU Council excluded Turkey from its list of formal candidates but this decision was reversed two years later in the Helsinki Summit. In its Seville Summit in 2002, the European Council reaffirmed that the implementation of the required political and economic reforms would bring forward Turkey's prospects of accession in accordance with the same principles applied to the other candidate countries. The reforms required by the EU include the abolition of the death penalty, improved rights for the minorities, and reduction of the military's involvement in politics. In addition to reforms, the EU also expects Turkey to work towards a solution of the Cyprus problem and reach an accommodation with Greece over the disputed issues concerning the Aegean. The new JDP government in Ankara has passed a series of reform bills to meet the EU's requirements. However, there are still a number of outstanding issues, most notably those concerning Cyprus and civil-military relations, and prospects for Turkey joining the EU as a full member still appear to be years away.

The U.S has been Turkey's most important ally in world politics since the Truman Doctrine in 1947, which provided aid to Greece and Turkey. Confronted with the Soviet Union's territorial demands at the end of World War II, Turkey eagerly accepted the development of close military and political ties with the U.S. For its part, the U.S. was also eager to build strong ties with Turkey given Turkey's strategic location at a time when Washington sought to "contain" the Soviet Union through alliances with countries bordering the Soviets. Turkey's participation in the Korean War and its inclusion in NATO further strengthened the relations between Washington and Ankara. Throughout the Cold War period, Turkey cooperated extensively with the U.S. through NATO's defense and security policies. The eruption of the Cyprus conflict did hurt the bilateral ties, especially when the U.S. Congress imposed an arms embargo on Turkey after the Turkish troops landed on the island in 1974. The lifting of the embargo four years later put the relationship back on track and Turkey's strategic importance for the U.S. was buttressed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the rise of a radical Islamic republic in Iran in 1979.

In the post-Cold War period, the U.S.-Turkish relationship encountered new challenges as each country sought to define its role in the changing international system. Turkey's contribution to the Allied coalition in the 1990-91 Gulf War proved to be an important development that helped shape closer cooperation between the two countries in regional security issues in the Middle East, Balkans, and the Caucasus, Caspian energy development, and economic and commercial ties. However, the 1990s also witnessed divergence of policies between Ankara and Washington over Iraq and, to a lesser degree, Cyprus. To prevent further attacks by Saddam Hussein against the Kurds in Northern

Iraq, Turkey agreed to host Operation Provide Comfort (later renamed Operation Northern Watch). However, the emergence of a Kurdish political entity in Northern Iraq under the protection of Western powers led by the U.S. increased Turkey's concerns about the possible spillover of this development into its own heavily Kurdish populated regions in the southeast. Turkey did not support the U.S. plans to topple Saddam Hussein's regime for the same reason since it believed that this could lead to Iraq's fragmentation and the rise of an independent Kurdish state near its borders.

The war in Iraq in 2003 was a critical turning point in U.S.-Turkish relations. Majority of the Turks opposed the U.S. decision to go to war in Iraq. However, Washington viewed Turkey as an important part of its war planning and wanted to open a "Northern Front" by deploying up to 60,000 troops through Turkey. In return for its cooperation, Washington promised to provide Ankara \$6 billion in aid and loan guarantees. The newly elected JDP government reluctantly agreed to support the U.S. request but it failed to muster a parliamentary majority when the troop deployment bill was voted on March 1, 2003. The Bush administration was clearly disappointed with the outcome of the parliamentary vote and senior officials expressed their dismay at Turkey's Iraq war policy. The crisis in U.S.-Turkish relations in 2003 was the most serious problem in bilateral relations since the imposition of the Congressional arms embargo on Turkey in 1974. In the aftermath of the March 1 vote in the Turkish parliament, both sides have sought to take measures to repair the relationship. Given its proximity, Turkey is likely to play an important role in Iraq's reconstruction and return to stability. However, the war in Iraq has clearly altered the nature of the ties between Ankara and Washington and its effects are likely to have a long-lasting impact on how the U.S. views Turkey.

Self-Study Questions for Further Exploration

1. What prompted Turkey to adopt a pro-Western foreign policy in the aftermath of World War II?
2. What role did Turkey play in the Western Alliance during the Cold War?
3. How did Turkey seek to cope with the changes that took place in the international system with the end of the Cold War?
4. What are the major developments in EU-Turkey relations?
5. Why has Iraq figured prominently in U.S.-Turkish relations since the 1990-91 Gulf War?

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