

BIROL BAŞKAN
and **BURAK BILGEHAN ÖZPEK**

TURKEY

The Second Republic

The Contemporary Middle East

ROUTLEDGE



TURKEY

Focused on the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) over the last two decades, this book discusses and contextualizes key events and developments in Turkish politics, economics and foreign policy.

The authors begin by exploring the longer-term historical trends that shaped the country, focusing on Ottoman and Republican legacies, culminating in the formation of the modern state in Turkey. This context, it is argued, is key in understanding the AKP's emergence since 2002 as the preeminent political power. The book further argues that the AKP achieved this position due to political maneuvers aimed at undermining military influence within politics, its management of the economy and its approach to foreign policy. These three domains are dealt with in successive chapters to help explicate how the AKP built broad societal coalitions and consolidated its power. The book concludes by analyzing contemporary developments: in the face of mounting economic and political challenges, the fate of the AKP, and of Turkey, remain uncertain.

Written in an accessible style and grounded in data-driven analysis, the book will appeal to journalists, policymakers, researchers and general audiences interested in the contemporary Middle East, Turkish political economy and international relations.

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The Contemporary Middle East

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The Second Republic

Birol Başkan and Burak Bilgehan Özpek

Designed cover image: Adem Altan/AFP via Getty Images

First published 2024

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-13107-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-13111-5 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-22770-0 (ebk)

DOI: [10.4324/9781003227700](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003227700)

Typeset in Sabon

by KnowledgeWorks Global Ltd.

*To Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,
the hero and the founder*



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CONTENTS

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>List of Tables</i> | <i>viii</i> |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | <i>x</i> |
| <i>Note on Transliteration</i> | <i>xii</i> |
| <i>List of Acronyms</i> | <i>xiii</i> |
| <i>Chronology</i> | <i>xiv</i> |
| Introduction | 1 |
| 1 Modern State Formation | 18 |
| 2 Politics | 53 |
| 3 Economy | 75 |
| 4 Foreign Policy | 93 |
| Conclusion | 120 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | <i>124</i> |
| <i>Index</i> | <i>132</i> |

TABLES

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| 0.1 | Demographics | 3 |
| 0.2 | Economy | 4 |
| 0.3 | Economic Inequality | 5 |
| 0.4 | Living Conditions | 5 |
| 0.5 | Debt | 6 |
| 0.6 | Foreign Trade and Investment | 6 |
| 0.7 | Transportation | 7 |
| 0.8 | The 2023 Presidential Election Votes Shares of the AKP Candidate in the Earthquake-Hit Provinces | 11 |
| 0.9 | Democracy | 12 |
| 0.10 | Elections | 15 |
| 3.1 | The 2001 Crisis | 76 |
| 3.2 | Chronic Economic Problems | 78 |
| 3.3 | Turkey's Chronic Economic Problems and the AKP's Economic Performance | 79 |
| 3.4 | Privatization (in US \$Billion) | 80 |
| 3.5 | Foreign Direct Investment (in US \$Billion) | 81 |
| 3.6 | Basic Economic Indicators | 82 |
| 3.7 | Average Growth Rates | 82 |
| 3.8 | Gross Minimum Wage | 83 |
| 3.9 | The Sale Numbers of Cars and Home Appliances (in Thousands) | 83 |
| 3.10 | Divided State Highways and Provincial Roads (in km) | 84 |
| 3.11 | Domestic Air Transportation (in Thousands) | 84 |
| 3.12 | Unemployment Rate | 84 |
| 3.13 | International Investment Position (in US \$Billion) | 85 |

| | | |
|-------|--|----|
| 3.14 | Foreign Debt | 85 |
| 3.15 | Imports and Trade Balance (in \$Billions) | 85 |
| 3.16A | Technology Intensity in Manufacturing (Share in Total Production) | 86 |
| 3.16B | Technology Intensity in SMSE Manufacturing (Share in Total Revenue) | 86 |
| 3.16C | Technology Intensity in Exports | 87 |
| 3.17 | Rule of Law Index | 88 |
| 3.18 | Central Bank Policy Rate | 89 |
| 3.19 | Quarterly Growth Rates | 89 |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the Preface to his *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* states Eric Hobsbawm:

My own lifetime coincides with most of the period with which this book deals, and for most of it, from early-teen-age to the present, I have been conscious of public affairs, that is to say I have accumulated views and prejudices about it as a contemporary rather than a scholar.

The same applies to us. We have personally lived through the period this book deals with and attended to, engaged with and even tried to influence, in retrospect, yes, very naively, its unfolding. To write this book, therefore, we had to put aside our contemporary/participant/citizenry hats and put on our political scientist ones and rethink the whole period. We tried our best to prevent any of our biases and prejudices toward the main actors from influencing our narration and analysis of the events and developments of the period. As the reader might guess, that was a challenging task, but a rewarding one. For, as the saying goes, “to understand all is to forgive all.” Did we forgive? Well, whom to forgive? And what to forgive? Not one single person. Not one single fault. Many people. Many faults. To say the least, however, it was cathartic to write this book for we have made peace with a fact. That is, we could not sustain democracy without democrats. As simple as that.

For giving us this opportunity, we are grateful to Anoushiravan Ehteshami and his colleagues at Routledge and forbearing with us. We are also grateful to many scholars who wrote and thought about Turkey, from whom we have learned a lot and cited their names in the bibliography. Yet, we

are aware that we forgot many others, for which we apologize. Finally, we are most grateful to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, to whom we dedicate this book. Our national hero and the founder of the Republic, even he could not change the fate of his people singly. For us, he is a statesman, a soldier who fully devoted himself to the betterment of his country. As such, he is a truly exemplary patriot. But he is also a symbol name, a name representing all before and after him who tirelessly worked to contribute to the same end. Without him, without them, we would most likely be writing a totally different story of Turkey, a story that would be, we strongly believe, more tragic and dramatic than the one we tell in this book.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Modern Turkish has liberally borrowed from other languages, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Armenian, etc., and undergone a scriptural change in 1928 from Arabic to Latin. For better or for worse, we use the current Turkish orthography of all non-English words: hence, for example, we write Necmettin, not Najm al-Din; Said, not Sa'id; Recep, not Rajab. We make exceptions to this rule, however, only when an Arabic or Persian or Turkish word is widely used in English: hence, for example, we write Quran, not Kuran, Istanbul, not İstanbul.

The reader should know that the modern Turkish alphabet have some letters that either do not exist in English or are pronounced differently. While reading the Turkish words/names/phrases we mention in the text, the reader should pronounce 'a' as 'u' in 'shut', c as 'j' in Jack, ç as 'ch' in church, 'g' as 'g' in game, ı as 'e' in open, 'j' as s in 'leisure', 'ö' as 'u' in 'turn', ş as 'sh' in 'shine,' and 'ü' as 'u' in cube. Finally, the reader should not pronounce ğ at all, but prolong the previous vowel just one letter.

ACRONYMS

| | |
|------|---|
| AKP | Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) |
| AP | Justice Party (Adalet Partisi) |
| CHP | Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) |
| DP | Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti) |
| EU | European Union |
| HDP | Peoples' Democratic Party (Halkların Demokratik Partisi) |
| ISIS | Islamic State in Iraq and Syria |
| ITC | Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) |
| KKTC | Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti) |
| MGK | National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu) |
| MHP | Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) |
| PKK | Kurdistan Workers' Party (Pariya Karkeren Kurdistanê) |
| TSK | Turkish Armed Forces (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri) |

CHRONOLOGY

- 10th century Conversion of Oghuz Turks to Islam and beginning of their westward migrations
- 1055 The Great Seljuq Empire founded in Iran
- 1071 The Byzantium Empire defeated by the Seljuqs at Manzikert
- 1071–1077 Territorial expansion of the Seljuks into Anatolia
- 1077 The Anatolian Seljuq state founded with İznik, later Konya, as its capital
- 1243 The Anatolian Seljuqs defeated by the Mongols at Köseadağ
- 1243–1308 Disintegration of the Anatolian Seljuqid state and foundation of Anatolian Turkish Principalities
- 1209–1402 Rise of the Ottoman Empire and Its Territorial Expansion in Western Anatolia and the Balkans
- 1402 The Ottomans defeated by the Timurids at Ankara
- 1403–1413 The Ottoman Civil War
- 1413–1451 Recovery and re-rise of the Ottomans
- 1453 Constantinople conquered and made the capital of the Ottoman Empire
- 1453–1699 Territorial expansion of the Ottomans in Europe, Asia and North Africa
- 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz signed, marking the start of the Ottoman decline
- 1700–1798 Successive wars with Russia, Austria and Iran and further territorial losses
- 1798 France invaded Egypt
- 1808–1839 Reign of Mahmud II and the start of modern state building reforms
- 1839 The Gülhane Decree proclaimed

- 1839–1914 Territorial losses in the Balkans and North Africa and stubborn pursuit of reforms
- 1876–1909 Reign of Abdülhamid II
- 1876–1878 First constitutional period
- 1881 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk born in Selanik
- 1902 The Committee of Union and Progress founded
- 1908 The Young Turk Revolution and beginning of the second constitutional period
- 1912–1914 The Balkan Wars
- 1914–1918 The First World War and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire
- 1916 The Arab Revolt
- 1918 The Moudros armistice and occupation by the Allies of Istanbul
- 1919 İzmir invaded by the Greek forces and the beginning of the formation of local militias
- 1919–1922 Rise of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Independence War
- 1920 April: The Grand National Assembly opened in Ankara
August: Treaty of Sevres
- 1922 October: Armistice of Mudanya
November: Abolition of the Sultanate
- 1923 July: Treaty of Lausanne
September: The Republican People's Party formed by Atatürk
October: Foundation of the Republic of Turkey
- 1923–1950 One Party Period
- 1924 April: Adoption of a New Constitution
- 1924–1935 Abolition of the Caliphate, Sharia Courts and other Atatürk reforms
- 1925 February: Sheikh Said rebellion erupted
November: Sufi Orders closed and banned
- 1927 May: The Encouragement of Industry Law passed
- 1934 January: Initiation of state-led Industrialization
- 1936 July: Montreaux Convention
- 1937 March: Seyyid Rıza rebellion erupted
- 1938 November: Death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
- 1939–1945 Second World War
- 1946 January: The Democrat Party founded
- 1950 May: Transition to multiparty politics and beginning of the Democrat Party period
- 1952 February: Accession to NATO
- 1954 February: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan born in İstanbul
- 1959 July: Application to the European Economic Community
- 1960 May: Military coup and the end of the Democrat Party period
- 1966–1980 The formation of the Gülen Movement in and around the province of İzmir