

unmatched by any other Arab nation. His successor was Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (b. 1936), who became president on November 7, 1987. His regime ushered Tunisia into a new era, known as the "Change." It involved democratic reform. Ben Ali initiated several major reforms to firmly anchor democracy and expand political participation. Tunisia became a constitutional government. In 1994 presidential and legislative elections were held; Ben Ali was elected for a second term, and in 1999 voters elected him to a third term.

Executive power is divided between the president of the republic and the government (ministers and prime ministers) appointed by the president. In addition, there is a Constitutional Council whose function is to review laws for constitutional compliance prior to promulgation. Both the president and the unicameral legislature are elected through direct, free, and secret elections with universal suffrage. The Court of Cassation (Supreme Court) sits atop a hierarchical judiciary whose judges are appointed by the president. The Human Rights Watch has complained that the harassment of dissidents has increased since the 1990s, including the imprisonment of individuals critical of the regime's human rights abuses.

See also: Reproductive Rights; Shari'a.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Laitman, Leon. *Tunisia Today: Crisis in North Africa*. New York: Citadel Press, 1954.

Perkins, Kenneth. *Tunisia: Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986.

"Tunisia." *CIA World Factbook*. Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2005. <<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ts.html>>.

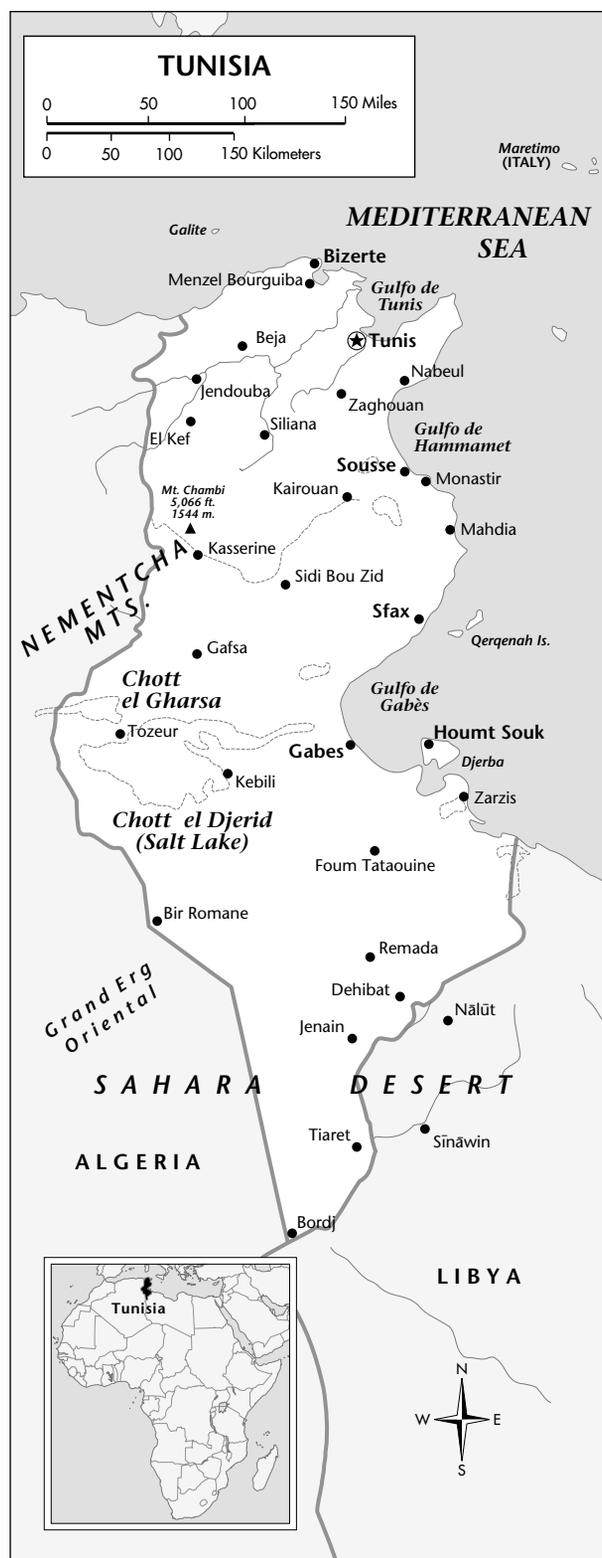
Tunisia Government Online. <<http://www.tunisiaonline.com>>.

"Tunisia: Government Steps Up Harassment of Activists." *Human Rights News*, September 6 2003. <<http://hrw.org/press/2003/09/tunisia090603.htm>>.

Ernest A. Dover Jr.

Turkey

Turkey is a relatively new country even though it has a long history. Turks who had been living in Anatolia for a millennium intermingled with peoples belonging to different religions and ethnic groups. From the end of the eighteenth century onward that rich cultural experience became even more variegated by the process of Westernization. Turks opted for this new cultural transformation by their own volition; it was not imposed on them. To their way of thinking "civilization" meant European civilization, and it had to be imported with both its roses and its thorns. Unlike other countries in the Middle East, Turkey developed amicable relations with Western countries. Consequently, although Turkey may be described as both



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

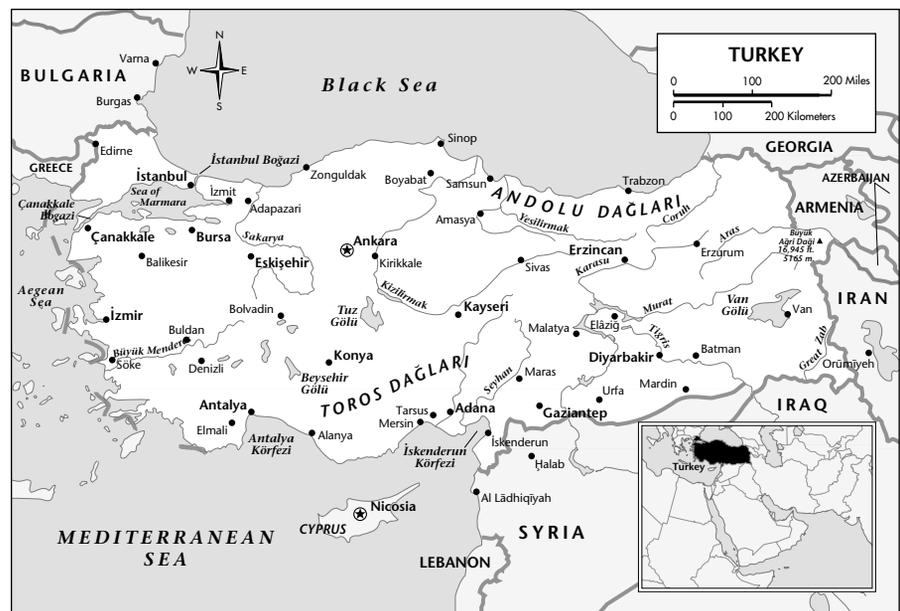
Eastern and Western, its Western characteristics are more marked. Turkey entered the twenty-first century as one of two Muslim countries with a democratic system of government, the other country being Indonesia, a far less advanced democracy. Turkey became a member of the Organization for Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1970 but joined the Council of Europe (CoE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) at their inception after World War II (post-1945). In 2004 it belonged to the Customs Union with the European Union (EU), which protects European external borders and minimizes tax obstacles to competitiveness and sustainable development; the country had also obtained a date for the start of negotiations for full membership in the EU. Travelers from the East have often remarked that the borders of Europe appear to start in Turkey.

COUNTRY PROFILE

In geographic terms Turkey constitutes a bridge between Europe and the Middle East. The greatest landmass of the country (Anatolia) lies in Asia. Turkey has a territory of 779,452 square kilometers (301,358 square miles), making it slightly larger than Texas. To the south of the country lies the Mediterranean, and to the north the Black Sea. In Europe, Turkey's neighbors are Bulgaria and Greece. In Asia, Turkey shares its borders with Armenia, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

In 2003 the population of Turkey was estimated at 68,893,918. Sixty-one percent of the population lived in urban areas, and 39 percent in rural areas. Turkey's major cities are Istanbul (with 10 million inhabitants), Ankara (4 million), Izmir (3.3 million), Bursa (2.1 million), and Adana (1.8 million). The population is 99.8 percent Muslim (mostly Sunnis); the remainder are mostly Christians as well as Jews. In ethnic terms, about 80 percent of the people are Turks and about 20 percent are Kurds. Turkish is the official language. Other primary languages are Kurdish, Arabic, Armenian, and Greek, spoken in that order of frequency.

In the early decades of the republic agriculture played a major role in the economy. However, by 2004 its share had dropped to 15 percent, with industry



(MAP BY MARYLAND CARTOGRAPHICS/THE GALE GROUP)

and the services sector accounting for 30 and 50 percent of the economy, respectively. Turkey's per capita income in 2003 was estimated at \$6,700.

BRIEF HISTORY

Around the second millennium B.C.E. Turks belonged to a group of Altaic peoples in outer Mongolia in Central Asia. They became Muslims by the tenth century. They migrated to their modern-day land in the following century and founded the Ottoman Empire (1299–1922) in 1299. The empire reached its zenith in the second part of the sixteenth century, stretching from Hungary in the north to the Arabian Peninsula in the south and from Algiers in the west to modern-day western Iran in the east. Around that time the Turks also found themselves immersed in European politics, and the nation's sultan began to use the title of caliph, which denoted his role as the supreme head of all Muslim realms. The Ottoman Empire began to decline toward the end of the sixteenth century; that period of decline continued for close to three centuries. It was followed by a period of reform (1839–1876) during which the law, the civil **bureaucracy**, diplomacy, and education were modernized somewhat in a **secular** direction.

In 1876 the Ottomans' first short-lived constitutional period commenced, with the country's new constitution stipulating, among other things, the equality of all Ottoman subjects. Sultan Abdül-Hamid II (1842–1918) shelved the constitution in 1878 and began his personal rule of Turkey. On the one hand, his **regime** to a certain extent re-Islamized the country (to hold together the Muslim realms of the empire); on the other hand, the sultan established modern institutions of higher learning that educated the late Ottoman and early republican elite. Those new cadres were instrumental in bringing about the second constitutional period (1909–1918). That era was characterized by further efforts at Westernization with regard to political parties, government, the press, finance, the bureaucracy, the military, and the law. The period also was characterized by the clash of three trends of thought: (1) Ottomanism, the equality of all Ottoman subjects without regard to religion and language; (2) Islamism, opposition to rapid Westernization and a belief in pan-Islamism as the salvation of the empire; and (3) Turkism, an emphasis on Turkish culture and language. The Ottomans entered World War I (1914–1918) on the side of Germany and faced disastrous consequences as a result. The country was partitioned by the victors—the British, French, and Italians. That situation led to the Turkish War of Independence led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938). The war ended with a Turkish victory; the **sultanate** and caliphate were abolished; and on October 29, 1923, the Turkish Republic was officially proclaimed.

Under the authoritative rule of the charismatic Atatürk, head of the Republican People's Party and Turkey's president from 1923 to 1938, the new regime opted for a policy of total Westernization. It aimed to substitute a secular nation for the religious community that the republic had inherited from the Ottoman Empire. This called for significant cultural changes, including the replacement of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. The 1924 provision in the constitution that named Islam the official state religion was **abrogated**; Islam's sway over public policies also was eliminated. Official Islamic law, Shari'a, was replaced with the civil, penal, and commercial codes of Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, respectively, which were adopted intact.

From 1938 to 1950 Turkey was led by Ismet İnönü (1884–1973), Atatürk's right-hand man and prime minister. İnönü acted as the guardian of Republican reforms but also began to open up the political system gradually to other interests. Turkey made a transition to multiparty politics in 1945. In the wake of the

bureaucracy: a system of administering government involving professional labor; the mass of individuals administering government

secularism: a refutation of, apathy toward, or exclusion of all religion

regime: a type of government, or, the government in power in a region

sultanate: a country governed by the sovereign of an Islamic state, called a sultan

abrogate: to abolish or undo, usually a law

market economy: an economy with little government ownership and relatively free markets

cultural revolution: a radical change in a culture usually caused by new ideas, events, or technology

separatism: a belief that two regions should be separated politically

nationalism: the belief that one's nation or culture is superior to all others

sovereignty: autonomy; or, rule over a political entity

rule of law: the principle that the law is a final grounds of decision-making and applies equally to all people; law and order

unicameral: comprised of one chamber, usually a legislative body

suffrage: to vote, or, the right to vote

1950 national elections, after twenty-seven years in power, the Republican People's Party handed over control to the *Demokrat Parti* (Democratic Party or DP). Adnan Menders (1899–1961), one of the founders of the DP and Turkey's prime minister during the 1950s, was instrumental in shifting the country, in part, to a **market economy**. His clash with intellectual, bureaucratic, and military elites, particularly on the issue of secularism, led to a military intervention in the government from 1960 to 1961 and the subsequent 1961 constitution that expanded the scope of basic rights and liberties for Turkish citizens but also circumscribed the authority of Parliament by creating such institutions as the Constitutional Court and the National Security Council.

During the 1960s and 1970s the conflict surrounding secularism was complemented by ideological and ethnic struggles. The two major leaders of the time, Bülent Ecevit (b. 1925), representing the center-left, and Süleyman Demirel (b. 1924), representing the center-right, could not reach compromise solutions to the growing problems Turkey faced. The consequence of that stalemate was two further military interventions: from 1971 to 1973 and from 1980 to 1983. However, in each case, as in the earlier military action of 1960 and 1961, the military intervened to save democracy from itself and then quickly vacated center stage.

Under Atatürk, Turkey had undergone a **cultural revolution**, and under İnönü, a democratic revolution. In the 1980s under Turgut Özal (1927–1993), the leader of the Motherland Party, prime minister between 1983 and 1989, and president from 1989 to 1993, Turkey experienced an economic revolution, realizing a transition from an import-substituted economy to an export-oriented one.

The most significant problem Turkey had to address during the 1980s and 1990s was the Kurdish **separatist** movement led by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). It posed the twin dangers of engendering a radical form of Turkish **nationalism** and the militarization of the political regime. In fact, neither of these two dangers materialized; the separatist movement petered out at the end of the 1990s.

In the November 2002 national elections *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP, the Justice and Development Party), one of the two successors to the four previously formed and later disbanded religiously oriented political parties, captured the majority of seats in Parliament and took control of the government. That development gave rise to consternation on the part of the secularist camp in Turkey, including the military. However, the AKP government, led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (b. 1954), has pronounced itself to be a conservative-democratic, rather than a religiously oriented, government and has acted accordingly. It has continued to pursue economic policies promoted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by bringing to government initiatives a human face, not wavered in its efforts to press the EU on Turkey's admission, and managed to develop an accommodation with the military, if not with the majority of the secular establishment.

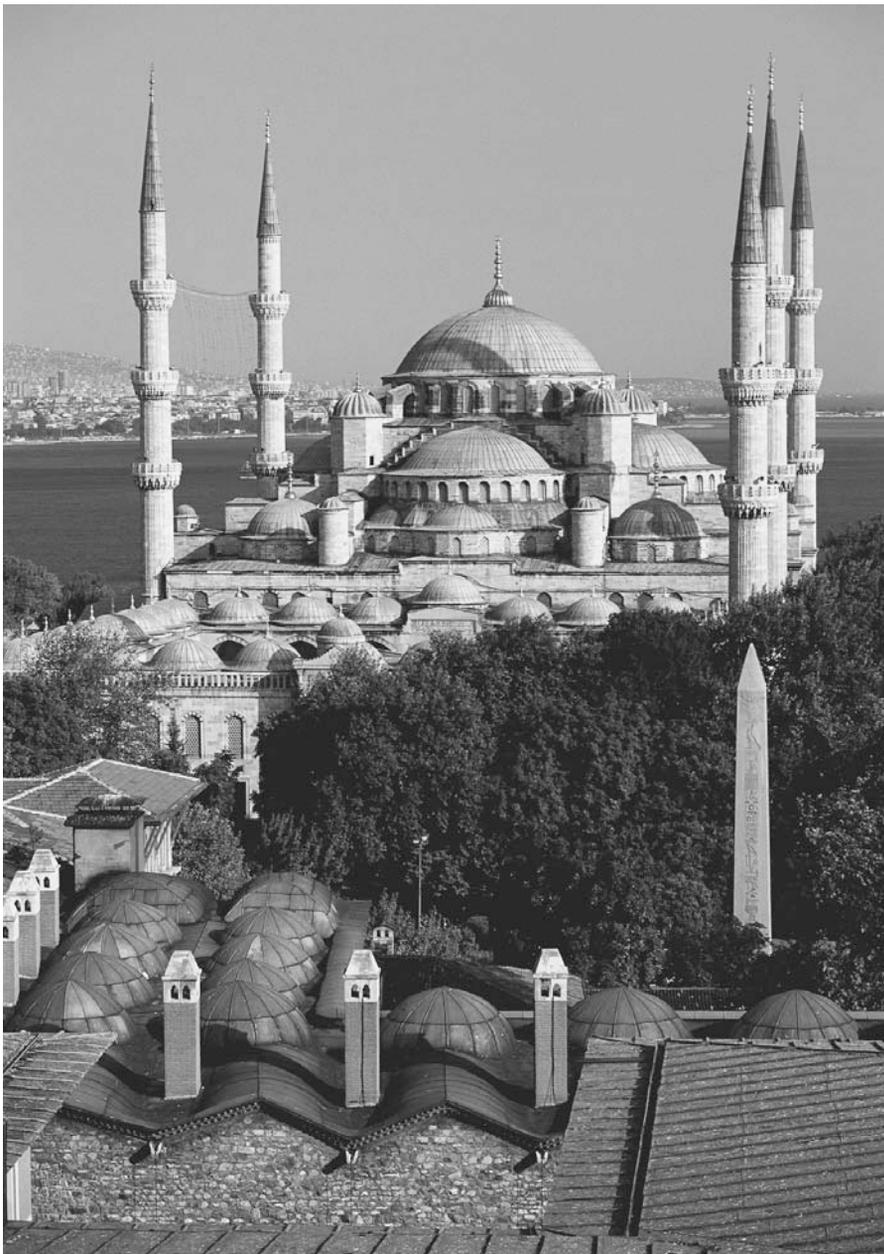
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

At the inception of the Turkish republic the founders attempted to transfer **sovereignty**, which in the Ottoman Empire had belonged exclusively to the dynasty, to the people and thus establish a true republic. According to the 1982 constitution, the republic would function as a “democratic, secular, and social state governed by the **rule of law**, bearing in mind the concept of public peace, national solidarity, and justice, and respecting human rights.” Turkey has a parliamentary system of government. The Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) is a 450-member **unicameral** body. Its members are elected for a five-year term through universal **suffrage**. In addition to its legislative powers, the TGNA elects the president and has the authority to declare war, proclaim martial law, and

ratify international treaties. The president of the republic is the head of state; he or she must ensure the implementation of the constitution and the steady and harmonious functioning of state organs. The president selects a prime minister from the TGNA. Once the president appoints a Council of Ministers, a government program is submitted to the TGNA for a vote of confidence.

Turkey has both ordinary law courts and special administrative tribunals; the latter are based on the French model. Turkey also has a Constitutional Court that, not unlike its counterpart in Germany, considers the constitutional validity of

ratify: to make official or to officially sanction



BLUE MOSQUE IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY. Built by the Sultan Ahmet Khan I from 1609–1616, the Blue Mosque is still used by hundreds of Muslims for daily prayer and worship.

However, Turkey is no longer governed by Shari'a, or Islamic law. (SOURCE: © DANNY LEHMAN/CORBIS)

jurisdiction: the territory or area within which authority may be exercised

compulsory: mandatory, required, or unable to be avoided

plurality: more votes than any other candidate, but less than half of the total number of votes

proportional system: a political system in which legislative seats or offices are awarded based on the proportional number of votes received by a party in an election

coalition: an alliance, partnership, or union of disparate peoples or individuals

socioeconomic: relating to the traits of income, class, and education

laws enacted by the TGNA. This court also has the authority to shut down political parties if they become a focal point of political Islam and/or ethnic separatism. On several occasions the Constitutional Court has used these powers.

Turkey ratified the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1954, recognized the **jurisdiction** of the European Commission of Human Rights in 1987, approved the **compulsory** jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights in 1990, and signed the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in April 2004. Turkey abolished the death penalty by signing Protocol No. 6 to the European Convention on Human Rights in 2003. The European Court of Human Rights has emphasized that the Turkish legal system is sufficiently in line with the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and that it is in the application of domestic law that the Turkish system faces problems. Indeed, in 2003 Turkey's Human Rights Association reported, among other cases, the deaths of 2 suspects while in custody, 6 suspicious deaths, 11 suicides in prisons, 15 types of "executions" not mandated by a court decision, 66 assaults on journalists, 99 assaults on students, and 113 cases of torture in prisons. To remedy the climate responsible for those violations the government has established special training programs to educate the police and other functionaries of law and order.

Since 1946 Turkey has held fifteen national elections. Between 1946 and 1961 the electoral system was **plurality**-based, with multimember constituencies. Except for the 1946 election there have been no major complaints about the fairness and honesty of Turkish elections. In 1999 voter turnout was approximately 80.4 percent, whereas in 2000 it was 46.6 percent in the United States; in 2001, 57.6 percent in the United Kingdom; in 1997, 59.9 percent in France; in 2001, 84.9 percent in Germany; and in 2000, 89.0 percent in Greece. Since 1961 Turkey has implemented several different versions of **proportional representation**. Since the 1970s attempts have been made to limit the number of political parties in the TGNA by adopting versions of proportional representation that favor political parties with the most votes and also a 10 percent electoral threshold. This has facilitated the formation of **coalition** governments when necessary and thus contributed to political stability.

Political parties have a long history in Turkey, harking back to the New Ottoman Society formed in 1865. At times, however, party activity has been completely halted, largely because political parties tended to become representative of various world views and ideologies rather than **socioeconomic** interests, turning in the process into hostile, rather than friendly, adversaries. Party politics also has been affected negatively by personal animosities among political leaders. The fact that until the 1990s interest groups in particular and civil society in general lacked political efficacy did not help the situation. The instabilities of the party system have been an important factor in the recurring political crises that Turkey has experienced. This state of affairs started to change in the 1980s; first Özal and later Ecevit as well as Erdogan tended to pursue politically responsive as well as responsible policies.

A similar change has started to take place vis-à-vis the military. Since 1983 the military has become more and more reluctant to take power into its own hands. In 1997 it acted, along with several civil groups, to topple a coalition government that was believed to be encouraging political Islam. Since 1997, thanks to the development of a more moderate form of Islam as well as nationalism in Turkey, more responsible behavior on the part of civilian politicians, the military's growing awareness that interventions do not serve a useful purpose, and the pressure exerted by the EU, Turkey has evolved into a liberal-democratic model, with the military subordinate by law to the civilian government. Nevertheless, the Turkish military continues to exercise more influence in politics than do its counterparts in advanced democracies.

See also: European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; Parliamentary Systems; Political Parties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmad, Feroz. *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford, UK: One World, 2003.
- Davison, Roderic. *Turkey: A Short History*, 3rd ed., updated Clement H. Dodd. Cambridgeshire, UK: Eothen Press, 1998.
- Hale, William. *Turkish Politics and the Military*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Heper, Metin. *The State Tradition in Turkey*. North Humberston, UK: Eothen Press, 1985.
- Heper, Metin. *Historical Dictionary of Turkey*, 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002.
- Heper, Metin, Ayşe Öncü, and Heinz Kramer, eds. *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 1993.
- Heper, Metin, and Sabri Sayari, eds. *Political Leaders and Democracy in Turkey*. New York: Lexington Books, 2002.
- Kramer, Heinz. *A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Özbudun, Ergun. *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000.
- Rubin, Barry, and Metin Heper, eds. *Political Parties in Turkey*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. *Turkey: America's Forgotten Ally*. New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 1987.
- Sayari, Sabri, and Yılmaz Esmer, eds. *Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- White, Jenny B. *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.
- Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History*, 2nd ed. New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

Metin Heper

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan, situated in Central Asia, is bordered by Kazakhstan to the north, Uzbekistan to the northeast, Afghanistan to the southeast, and Iran to the south. Turkmenistan is landlocked but borders the Caspian Sea. Its area is 488,100 square kilometers (188,400 square miles).

As of 2004 Turkmenistan's population was estimated at 4.9 million. The prominent ethnicities are Turkmen (85%) and Uzbek (5%). The prominent religions are Islam (89%) and the Russian Orthodox church (9%).

Turkmenistan was conquered by the Mongols in the thirteenth century and annexed by Russia in the late nineteenth century. It gained independence in 1916 after a rebellion that lasted until 1919. In 1924 the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic was formed as a component of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Turkmenistan declared full independence in October 1991.

Turkmenistan moved from a communist Soviet republic to an **authoritarian** regime centered on President Saparmurat Niyazov (b. 1940). Niyazov first came to power in 1985 as first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan. He was appointed president in October 1990 and elected president in June 1991 after an uncontested direct election.

authoritarianism: the domination of the state or its leader over individuals