

CHAPTER II

TURKEY AND ERDOGAN ADMINISTRATION

After the World War II and the Cold War happened, the world has been changed and many third world countries are getting their freedom and becoming the nation. The era where the terrorism has appeared massively attack in any public areas in the world. Turkey is becoming one of terrorism victim state, where every year there must be a terror attack haunting the Republic of Turkey. Turkey considers as one of the highest rates of terrorism issue in the world and becomes one of the most struggle states to fight against terrorism. Thus, in this chapter will discuss Turkey's security history and the transition of the political power.

A. Turkey's Politic and Security History

Turkey is known as a vulnerable state, especially in the security issue. The vulnerability of Turkey is proved by the massive terror attack from the past to the present Turkish history. Even in the Ottoman era, before Kemal Pasha takes the lead in Turkey the terror attack already haunted everyone in Turkey. Due to the insecurity in Turkish security, then appeared the militarism term in controlling Turkey which has a value to keep the ideology of secularism by the military. The main pillar of the ideology is military. When we talk about militarism, it is not only literally talking about army but Militarism is a spirit according to Woodrow Wilson. According to a journal which connected with the Woodrow statement Militarism is a set of values that support military activities and enable countries to mobilize for war (Christie, Wagner and Winter 2007). The other term is secularism which is opposing the religion and the religious being afforded privileges which means it separated from religion and state (BBC 2009). All of these systems are applied since the early modern of Turkey under Kemal leadership.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha has begun to consolidate his political position even before the war of independence formally ends with the signing and ratification of the Lausanne Treaty. He has some works, which are: changes in the Law of High Treason; the dissolution of the assembly and the tightly controlled elections; the creation of a new party, the People's Party, and the takeover by the party of the Defense Rights organization. This consolidation process, to gather power in the hands of Mustafa Kemal and an assembly and party under his full control, continued after the arrival of peace (Zürcher 2003).

Turkey's history as a modern nation began only with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. The Ottoman Empire, which had staggered since the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, received a deadly blow in World War I. By the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) the winning Allies reduced the once powerful empire to a small state composed of the northern half of the peninsula Anatolian and zones that neutralized and occupied the narrow Allies in the Straits. Shortly thereafter, a conference was opened in Lausanne to revise the Treaty of Sèvres. The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) sets the boundaries of present-day Turkey, except for the disputed territory of Alexandretta (Iskenderun). Turkey is to exercise full sovereignty over all its territories, except the Strait Zone, which must remain demilitarized. Under a separate deal negotiated in Lausanne in 1923, some 1.5 million Greek people living in Turkey were repatriated to Greece, and about 800,000 Turks living in Greece and Bulgaria were resettled in Turkey.

Turkey officially proclaimed a republic in October 1923, with Kemal as its first president; he was re-elected in 1927, 1931, and 1935. The Caliphate was abolished in 1924, Kemal ruled as a virtual dictator, and his Republican People's Party was the only legitimate party, but that was true for a brief period. During Kemal's 14 years of rule, Turkey underwent a major transformation, transforming the religious, social and cultural base of Turkish society and its political and economic

structure. In 1925, the government intensified its anti-religious policies, abolished religious orders, banned polygamy, and banned the use of traditional violence. In 1926, the Swiss, German, and Italian codes of ethics were adopted and civil marriages were made mandatory. In 1928, Islam ceased to be a state religion and the Latin alphabet was replaced by Arabic script. In 1930, Constantinople, which had been replaced as capital by Ankara in 1923, was renamed Istanbul.

The policy of Kemal's government which is more secularistic to separate between religion and state in an extreme way. Then appeared many protests toward the government and massively attack from the opposition and extremist. Kemal felt Turkey in the fragile situation and insecure with the internal and external kinds of threats, then arise the strict policy from Kemal to arrest and fight anyone who oppose with the government and all of politics and government affair was took over by the military as the government and the highest power. This policy led Turkey into a more authoritarian system under Kemal government. This was same as Indonesian politic in the new order era under Suharto administration which applying the system of authoritarian. Then it comes in the end that Turkish society feels the secularism way which applied by Kemal's government is the best alternative way to keep Turkey in the high level of security. The system of secularism was fully backed up by the military, then for those who betray to the secularism ideology even he is an elite politic, it comes to the coup and took over by the military and will end in jail.

At Kemal's death (1938), Turkey is on its way to becoming a state in the Western model. Kemal tried hard on the economic field, which previously had a dependence on foreign investors and at that time refused to foreign borrowing and turned to the country's own business. Turkey is also active in international relations. Turkey established relations with the League of Nations in 1932, and with other countries such as Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia, etc. In 1960 there was a coup by

the Junta army led by General Cemal Gürsel who demanded Kemalist principle which led to the execution of Menderes and several others. In 1961, a new law governing a bicameral legislature and a strong executive was approved in a referendum, establishing a second Turkish republic. General Gürsel was elected president and İnönü became prime minister in the coalition government. During the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the Turkish government strongly supported the rejection of the President of the U.S. Kennedy to cover the U.S. base in Turkey in exchange for the demolition of the Soviet base in Cuba; Thus, the close relationship of the U.S.-Turkey is reaffirmed.

Between 1975 and 1980, Demirel and Ecevit alternated as minority government leaders while economic and social conditions deteriorated. In 1980, precisely on 12 September, there was a military coup and civil violence that killed more than 2,000 people. General Kenan Evren who reversed it all declared himself the head of government of 14 September and forcibly restored order. A new constitution was approved in 1982, rebuilding a unicameral parliament on condition that Evren would remain head of state until 1989. The constitution also provided military influence over civil and autonomous matters in military affairs. In 1983, the conservative Motherland party won the majority as a whole, and its leader, Turgut Özal, became prime minister. In 1987, martial law has been lifted, except in four Kurdish-dominated provinces in the SE Turkey where a guerrilla campaign by the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) began in the mid-1980s. In 1987, Özal was re-elected.

Turkey continues to carry out periodic attacks against Kurdish guerrilla bases in Turkey and Iraq under Demirel and Tansu Çiller as prime ministers, with huge casualties on both sides. In 1995, Turkey joined in a customs union with the European Union. In 1995 in the parliamentary elections, the Welfare party (the Islamic party) gained a large share (21% of

the votes) (19% of votes) in every other 2nd party of secular-based Motherland and True Path, which later created a coalition of Islamic and secular parties (the Welfare-True Path) that ended the 75-year-old secular government exclusively. However, Erbakan's offer to Libya and Iran, as well as his support for Muslim education and culture, alarmed the secular military, and he was forced to resign in June 1997; Mesut Yilmaz from Motherland's party became the new prime minister. The People's Welfare Party was banned in 1998, and Erbakan was barred from participating in politics for five years. Yilmaz lost a vote of confidence in November 1998, and President Demirel appointed Bülent Ecevit, who now heads the Left party, to form a government. In the late 1990s conflict with Kurdish nationalists also increased; the Kurdish rebellion has cost about 30,000 lives. PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan was arrested in 1999 and sentenced to death for treason. The PKK announced in February 2000 that it would end their attacks, but the arrests of the same month some Kurdish mayors were accused of helping the rebels threaten to revive the unrest.

Two large earthquakes hit Turkey in 1999, killing thousands of people. Greece sent aid to Turkey, and when Turkey did the same after the quake in Greece, it marked the start of a renewed bilateral relationship. At the end of 1999, Turkey was invited to apply for membership in the European Union (EU). The year-long effort in 2000 to bring Turkey's long-term inflation under control began to weaken the weaker banks by the end of the year, causing a decline in the stock market and needed an IMF loan of \$ 7.5 billion in December. Disagreements about the pace of reform between the president, who favored a stronger move, and the prime minister exacerbated the crisis, and when the Turkish lira floated in February 2001, it sank more than 30%. In March and May, as the Turkish economy continued to falter, an agreement was reached with the IMF on additional economic aid and a package of economic reforms. Despite the immediate crisis, economic

hardship continued through 2002; the recession is the worst country since World War II (UMICH n.d.).

The Turkish high court banned the Virtue Party in June 2001, on charges of anti-secular and pro-Islamic activity. The Justice and Development Party were formed as its successor. The parliamentary elections in November 2002 resulted in a landslide victory for the Justice and Development party, which won 34% of the vote and 66% of seats in the national assembly; The Republican People's Party is the only other party that won enough votes to qualify for a representative. Abdullah Gül became prime minister because Justice and Development party leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was banned from appearing in the election. The new parliament, however, issued a constitutional amendment allowing Erdoğan to run the office, and he was elected to parliament in the February 2003 presidential election and became prime minister. In May 2004, the successor of the PKK announced that it was ending a ceasefire because of government attacks against it (Zürcher 2003). Then come to its peak Erdogan becoming the President of Turkey in 2014 due to his high of electability and his good works when he sat in government body as the mayor of Istanbul and the Prime Minister of Turkey.

B. Political Transition in Turkey

Turkey has been charged in a huge political transition along with their history. When Ottoman Empire ruled the region now called as Turkey, they used an Islamism ideology to control the territory. Turkey during Ottoman Empire used the government system of empire which included the religion to the political and state affairs. They used the Islamic teaching as their basic ideology along with more than 600 years of ruling the territory (Shaw and Yapp 2017). The authority reached its ends in 1922 with a huge transition of politics from Islamism brought by Ottoman into Secularism brought by Kemal Pasha Atatürk.

The transition was counted as a big transition because the change was included all the basic principle of state affairs in Turkey including the constitution. Kemal forced the Turkish people loves the secularism way of government because he was good at managing the security and state affair and will fight for those who oppose him. Then, some Turkish people think that the secularism way is the best way to be applied in Turkey, due to they lived under secularism construction and the international relations also getting changed.

Time by time the controller of Turkey has been changed many times and still using secularism and nationalist ideology. Start in the first 21st century when the new party of AKP has established and made some changes. The Turkish people getting in a dilemmatic situation where they confused to choose the better whether it will be good or not to be changed of stakeholder from the military power into the civilian power. They thought, if the change happens, then perhaps the separatist group is getting more uncontrolled and rise their protests then some regions will separate from Turkey, or in the context of global competition Turkey will be defeated by another state. Those kinds of concerns have enveloped the minds of the Turks.

With the confident, AKP appeared and take the lead of the country and make some changes that make Turkey more advanced. Proved when Erdogan become the Prime Minister of Turkey, Erdogan made changes in all fields especially in the economic field of Turkey, where the growth of the economy in Turkey was good under Erdogan Prime Minister. Then it made the Turkish people believe that civilian can lead the country. Erdogan is the most influential person in Turkey as we have seen today even though there are some conflicts and coups happened Erdogan still hold the highest trust of the Turks people. This kind of trust absolutely not appear suddenly but it has been built from the past history of Erdogan and his background of life, which made the Turkish people slowly accept Erdogan as their leader from the civilian. Before it goes

too deep we have to know what kind of Erdoğan's background which led him into the number one influencer in Turkey.

Erdoğan was born in Istanbul Turkey on February, 26th 1954 with his father Ahmet Erdoğan who works as coastguard and sea captain, and his mother Tenzile Erdoğan. He graduated from Kasımpaşa Piyale Elementary School in 1965 and completed his high school education at Hatip Imam Hatip Istanbul in 1973. He married with Emine (Gulbaran) Erdoğan on July 4th, 1978 until present and has two daughters and two sons (BBC, 2017). After completing additional exams for additional courses, Mr. Erdoğan also received a diploma from Eyüp High School. Later, he received a graduation certificate from the Faculty of Economics and Administration of the University of Marmara in 1981.

Since his youth, Erdoğan has chosen to live a social life intertwined with politics. From 1969 to 1982, he was also actively interested in soccer that taught him the importance of teamwork and passion in his youth. In 1976, Mr. Erdoğan was elected as Head of Youth Branch of MSP Beyoğlu and he was also elected Head of MSP İstanbul Youth Branch in the same year. Holding this position until 1980, he then served as a consultant and senior executive in the private sector during 12 September when political parties were down (Presidency of The Republic Turkey, n.d.). Erdoğan's first brush with the law came after the military coup of 1980, while he was working for İstanbul's transport authority (Muslim News n.d.).

In 1984, he was elected the Beyoğlu District Head of the Welfare Party when he came back to political activities. Then, he elected as the İstanbul Provincial Head of Welfare Party in 1985, and in the same year, he became a member of the Central Executive Board of the Welfare Party. In 1994 he was elected as Mayor of Metropolitan İstanbul. Under his rule, many policies made by him in order to make a better of Turkey. One of his policy was lifted a restriction on the public expression of

religion, ending the ban on women wearing Islamic-style headscarves. He also judged the not-corrupt Turkish politicians unlike others of the Turkish politician. Under his official, he was managed successfully in many important issues such as human resources and financial issue. Many other projects are done successfully by Erdogan in solving the problem in Istanbul such as air pollution ended, traffic congestion and transportation deadlock, and Taking very stringent precautions for the correct exertion of the municipal resources and to prevent corruption. Mr. Erdogan paid most of the debts of the İstanbul Municipality which he took over with its 2 billion dollars' debt and him during his tenure achieved investments worth 4 billion dollars. By those achievements he got, he won the confidence of the people.

On December 12, 1997, while addressing the public in Siirt, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan read a poem from a book "The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and the faithful our soldiers." (Muslim News n.d.), which was recommended by the National Education Ministry and published by a state agency, and after that, he was sentenced to imprisonment for reading that poem. Thus, his term as mayor was ended. He was sentenced to 10 months in jail but was freed after four months. (Presidency of The Republic Turkey, n.d.).

After serving 4 months in prison, established the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) on August 14, 2001, with his friends as a result of the insistent demand from the public and the developing democratic process and he was elected Founding General Chair of the AK Party by the Council of Founders. Erdogan, who was not a candidate for parliamentary elections on November 3, 2002, due to a court ruling against him at that time, joined the election on 9 March 2003 at Siirt when the legal barrier was lifted after the necessary legal arrangements had been made. Taking 85% of the votes cast in

the election, he became a representative of Siirt for the 22nd term.

Taking office of the Prime Minister on March 15, 2003, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan implemented a number of very important reforms in the shortest possible time with his aspirations for a brighter and ever-expanding Turkey. The country is making great progress in democratization, transparency, and prevention of corruption. The interest rate on state debt is lowered and the increase in national per capita income increases. The number of dams, housing units, schools, roads, hospitals and power stations has never been built before. All these affirmative developments are described by many foreign observers and Western leaders as the "Silent Revolution".

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, as AK Party's General Chairman, won a landslide victory in parliamentary elections held on 22 July 2007 and formed the 60th government of the Republic of Turkey by winning 46.6% of the vote and receiving full confidence. In 2011, Erdogan who won 49% of the vote, rose at the end of parliamentary elections held on 12 June 2011 and formed the 61st government.

Elected the 12th President on August 10, 2014, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is also the first President of the Republic of Turkey elected by popular vote. He spent 11 years as Turkish prime minister before becoming the country's first elected president in August 2014. In July 2016, the AKP government survived an attempted coup that showed clashes on streets in Istanbul and Ankara that killed 256 people. The authorities then arrested thousands of soldiers and judges on suspicion of involvement in an attempt that President Erdogan said was inspired by his exiled opponent Fethullah Gulen. A referendum in April 2017 slightly switched to a presidential government system, which would significantly increase Erdogan's power.

Critics say that such a move could usher in an authoritarian government and reach full power (BBC 2017).

C. Security Politics of Turkey in Erdogan Administration

Turkey or officially called The Republic of Turkey has a type of government which is republican parliamentary. President as head of State and Prime Minister as the head of government. Since the 2007 constitutional amendment, the Turkish President was elected by the Parliament (The Grand National Assembly / TGNA). The elected president then appoints the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister then drafted the Council of Ministers, with an arrangement approved by the President. The President cannot dismiss the Minister without a proposal from the Prime Minister. It is the Prime Minister who runs the daily government in Turkey. The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are not accountable to the President but are accountable to Parliament. The Turkish government system as like as United States system includes executive, judicial, and legislative branches. Executive includes Presidents (the chief of the state), Prime Minister (as the chief of parliamentary) and Council of Ministers. Judicial includes the Turkish judicial system uses multiple levels of courts in the United States. Legislative includes Representatives to the 550-seat council are elected every 5 years.

The security of Turkey has become an important issue to be aware in Turkey since the earlier of Turkish modern era. As what has been elaborated in the previous point that Turkey has a big problem in security field especially in terrorism issue. There have been many ways to be applied by the government in order to minimalize the security issue in Turkey, especially in terrorism issue. By creating many policies, Erdogan has shown his big intention to control security issue and fight against terrorism in order to stabilize the security issue in Turkey.

One of the controversial policy of Erdogan relating to the security issue was the referendum of the government system of Turkey. On April 16th, 2017, as many as 80 million of Turkish citizen gave their vote at Turkish referendum. The referendum will change the government system of Turkey from the parliamentary system into the presidential system. The result of the referendum was won by Erdogan side which the presidential system is the most popular vote by 51,41% from 99,97% of votes that have been counted. Which means most of the Turkish people want the change in the government system and want to taste the different style of government.

With the result of the referendum, then there are some things to be changed in the new Turkish constitution. The draft constitution stipulates the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections to be held on 3 November 2019; The President has a five-year term with a maximum of two periods; The President will be able to appoint high-ranking officials directly, including cabinet ministers; The President will also be able to appoint one or several vice presidents. The next point will be the post of prime minister, currently held by Binali Yildirim, will be removed; The president has the authority to intervene in the judiciary, which according to President Erdogan was influenced by Fethullah Gulen, the cleric living in the United States, who was accused of being behind the coup of July 2016; And the President will set a state of emergency or not (Rohim 2017).

This referendum has a significant influence on the security issue in Turkey. As president Recep Tayyip Erdogan said relating to the referendum “The constitutional reform will prevent the split of the parliamentary coalition as it did in the past. It is also needed when Turkey faces an unfavorable security situation and a series of bombings by Islamic militants of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Kurdish” (Shamil 2017). Turkey under the leadership of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is undergoing a process of major political transformation. The

second major political transformation after the Turkish republic was founded Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923, carrying the creeds of democratic ideology and secularism.

Another Erdogan policy is relating to the failure of the coup in Erdogan administration. The 20th century Turkey has experienced five military coups - in 1960, 1971, 1980, 1997, and the last in Erdogan era in July 2016. All in response to politicians who overstepped their boundaries. The most recent is sometimes described as a postmodern coup. When the public became concerned about the prime minister's non-secular practice, Turkey's first Islamic prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, was pressed to retreat and not be forcibly removed. outside the office when the public is concerned about its less secular practices. When Erdogan becoming the president of Turkey, the coup happened where the actor of the coup was not the civilian, but mostly military and a group of people where it was judged by Erdogan as the Gulen followers. Where the Erdogan government was faced with the tendency that the Gulen institution which is a non-governmental institution began to emerge predominantly through Gulen's followers who occupy the important positions in various government institutions, such as judiciary and police institutions. The existence of Gulen's followers in the judicial and police institutions then give a challenge to the Turkish government that is currently controlled by the AKP. The perspective of Turkish government on Gulen follower was becoming the threat to the government which considered as an effort to oversee and delegitimize the AKP. Meanwhile, from a reverse perspective, the Gulen institution sees that the Turkish government under the AKP is a government that has an authoritarian tendency, corrupt and undemocratic, then it needs to be watched, even to be replaced for the continuity of the democratization process in Turkey.

The occurrence of a failed military coup in Turkey in July 2016 made Erdogan issue a policy that the Gülenisme or

Hizmet group was a forbidden group, and all those pro-Gülen and Gülen-affiliated were under strict guard, even the Gülen group was claimed as a terrorist group by Erdogan. In addition, Erdogan's policy has serious implications for the stability of Turkey's foreign policy relations with other countries following Erdogan's policy of banning all Gülen organization activities in the world, one with America. This can be seen from the shift of Turkey's position in the Syrian conflict, which was originally before the 2016 coup, Turkey along with the United States supported the opposition group in Syria. However, the impartiality of America and NATO in the settlement of the failed coup case masterminded by Gülen, caused Turkey to reverse direction to Russia and more discussions about conflict resolution in Syria which is the enemy of America and NATO. And this situation makes a rift on bilateral relations between the two countries (Jatmika and Siregar 2017). Beside of the external effect, the Erdogan policy on claiming the Gülen group as a terrorist group has a good effect toward the stabilization of security issue at the time. Everyone sees Erdogan has big power to control the state stability, then it comes to the stabilization of security issue in Turkey after the failed coup happened.