

TRANSITION FROM SINGLE - PARTY
TO MULTI - PARTY POLITICS
IN TURKEY
(1945 - 1950)

A Thesis

Submitted to the Department of
Political Science
and
Public Administration
of

Bilkent University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Demir Bayramgil - Tan
September 1980

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tarafından hazırlanmıştır.

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

Prof.Dr. Metin Heper



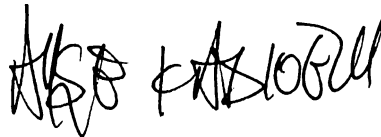
I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

Dr. Jeremy Salt



I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at analyzing the transition to multi-party politics which has been realized under very difficult conditions.

This transition from single-party to a multi-party political system can also be defined as a study of the transition to democracy in Turkey. The period under scrutiny is 1945-1950. Also the external and internal forces which were important in the realization of this process, the setting up of the Democratic Party, and its founders, the political atmosphere of the time, and the triumph of the DP in 1950 are analyzed.

In short it can be said that the subject matter of this study is the transition to democracy in Turkey.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma çok zor şartlar altında gerçekleştirilen tek partili siyasal hayattan çok partili siyasal hayata geçişi incelemeyi amaç edinmiştir.

Tek partili siyasal hayattan, çok partili siyasal hayata geçiş süreci aynı zamanda Türkiye’de demokrasiye geçiş olarak tanımlanabilir. Çalışmada ele alınan zaman dilimi 1945 ile 1950 arasındır. Ayrıca bu geçiş sürecini etkileyen iç ve dış faktörler, Demokrat Partinin kuruluşu ve kurucuları, zamanın siyasi atmosferi ve Demokrat Partinin 1950 de seçimleri kazanması da incelenmiştir. Kısacası, bu çalışmanın temel konusu olarak, Türkiye’de demokrasiye geçiş incelenmiştir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge the contributions of Prof. Metin Heper who read and expressed his valuable opinions about the earlier draft. I also must express my deep obligation to Dr. Jeremy Salt who has spent a lot of time reading and criticizing this study.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Any study of the transition from a single-party to a multi-party political system can also be defined as a study of the transition to democracy in Turkey. This transition to multi-party political life has been realized under very difficult conditions.

During the single-party period there was a 'National Chief', Ismet İnönü, who was at the same time the 'Unchangeable Chairman' of the Republican People's Party. At that time some qualities were attributed to İnönü that a human being could not have. It was argued that he had all the positive qualities in the World.

How did İnönü hold these two positions? First of all, İnönü came into the RPP's General Chairmanship without an election. The idea that he was the representative of all the nation did not depend on an election or a referendum. It was also assumed that he was an unchangeable chairman, and that in future he could not be removed from his position. Therefore the institution of the "National Chief" became an anti-democratic institution.¹ For this reason, the transition from single-party regime with a "National Chief" to multi-party political system was very important and one of

the biggest steps that could be taken in the transition to democracy in Turkey.

This study aims at analyzing the transition from single-party to multi-party politics, the external and internal forces which were important in the realization of this process; the setting up of the Democratic Party, and its founders, the political atmosphere of the time, and the triumph of the DP in 1950. In short, the transition to democracy in Turkey is analyzed.

The period under scrutiny is 1945-1950. In the first chapter, the developments in the year 1939 are studied - in view of the importance of İnönü's speech at Istanbul University in that year. Also studied are the process of transition to multi-party politics some important changes in the election law, the 1939 National Elections. Therefore, in the first chapter the year 1939 is analyzed.

The seeds of today's political structure were sown at that time. For this reason, it is very important to analyze the reasons, and the main actors of this transition. The changes in the political arena and how they are realized have to be understood well.

Political socialization is a very important element in setting up democracy. If the nation is aware of the value of the democracy, and reaches that consciousness, then democracy continues to exist without any disturbances. However, to explain everything by only depending on political culture is false for that culture does not crystallize in a vacuum.²

As it is argued by Mango Turkish politics can be best understood in terms of the cleavage between populists or democrats on one hand and bureaucrats on the other.

If the civil society has the capacity to create consensus progressively as a resolution of conflicts about fundamental claims; in such a society democracy emerges as a creation of civil society. However, if the civil society does not have the capacity to create such a consensus, then the state emerges as autonomous, sovereign and above the civil society.³ Democracy has been imposed upon the Turkish nation from above, for this reason the state has always been above civil society.

The transition to democracy in Turkey was undertaken first of all because democracy was taken as an end in itself; i.e. to find out what was best for the country

For these reasons, the transition to multi-party politics in Turkey began as an elite conflict, i.e. between the state and the political elites on substantive norms.⁴

How has the transition to multi-party politics been realized? The nature of the external and internal forces of this transition is analyzed in the second chapter. In this second chapter President İnönü's speeches are analyzed, but an adequate explanation of the transition cannot be sought simply by reference to İnönü's efforts. There is another important factor; the West's pressures on Turkey. The Second World War had just ended when Turkey moved towards a multi-party political system. And a new international balance of power had been established between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Until that time Turkey's main aim had been to take sides with the European powers against any unfriendly attacks coming from outside the country. With the end of the Second World War and the new balance of power, this policy had to change. The Soviet Union was viewed as a danger to Turkey, because Soviets gave a memorandum to Turkey; Soviets announced that they had cancelled the Peace and Nonaggression Agreement with Turkey which was signed in 1925. And they demanded to have control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. For this reason Turkey started to turn its face towards the U.S.

But foreign pressures on Turkey cannot be accepted as the only reason of this transition. There were also some internal developments. There existed an opposition group within the Republican People's Party which day by day started to make its voice louder. This group can be classified as the anti-state elites who saw the gaining of political rights and liberties as their basic aim, and argued for more democracy. In conclusion, both of these outside and internal developments should be analyzed.

In chapter three the establishment of the Democratic Party is analyzed. In 1945 some important movements within the RPP took place. For example, some of the deputies started to show their disagreements towards the laws by using their votes against the proposals. This development can be accepted as a sign of the end of the single-party period.

An opposition group developed within the RPP's Assembly Group. Another important sign was İnönü's speech on 19th of May 1945 which emphasized the importance of the setting up a new party.

In the Assembly during discussions on the budget and land reform, a strong opposition showed itself. It proved very clearly that Turkey had to transform its

politics to multi-party politics. This opposition group later on set up the Democratic Party.

Of course, this transition was not realized very smoothly. There was a group within the Assembly and RPP whose main characteristic was intolerance of the opposition, and the tendency to see power as absolute. However, this group could not obstruct the transition to multi-party politics.

The opposition group in the Assembly made a proposal to the Government, but it was not accepted. In this proposal there was the signature of four persons; later these four were to be the founders of the D.P. Some of the signers of this proposal were expelled from the RPP, and others resigned.

This chapter continues with the setting up of the new party on January 7, 1946, discusses the changes in the political life, and ends by interpreting the results of the 1946 elections.

Chapter four starts with the new Government which was set up after the elections. Then it analyzes changes in the governments. The First Great Congress of the DP and the RPP's last Congress while in government are discussed in this

chapter. Attention is also paid to divisions within both of the parties which appeared during their Congresses.

The relationship between the parties reached the point of breakdown because of the strong political pressures on the DP and the authoritarian and restrictive attitudes of Prime Minister Peker and his Government towards the DP. At that time İnönü interfered and in order to avoid any break in realizing the transition to multi-party politics, took the role of a mediator. After meetings with both sides he made the famous July 12, 1945 Declaration. In this declaration İnönü said that the DP was a legal and legitimate opposition party. He guaranteed that from now on there would be no more unfair pressure on the DP. And he pointed out that the opposition party as well as the governing party should be able to work within legal boundaries, with equal rights, indicating that in his eyes the two parties were equal.

In this chapter, finally, the 1950 National Elections is analyzed. At the end the DP took power from the RPP, bringing to an end the transition to multi-party politics.

Among the most important aspects of political life were the divisions that showed themselves within the parties. The main division existed between the moderates and the supporters of the application of rigid policies. Starting from its establishment the DP was accused of being a 'Collusion Party'. This image existed because the DP was set up with the permission of İnönü. Because of the political atmosphere, this was necessary at that time. If the founders of the DP had not accepted the advices of İnönü, the party could not have been set up. And the DP continued to take the advices of İnönü about its political problems. In order to escape from the breaking down of the transition to multi-party politics, İnönü usually took its place on the side of the DP; the July 12 Declaration can be shown as an example. This attitude was strongly criticized by the opposition group within the DP as well as the RPP which favored the application of rigid policies. The criticisms of this group constituted the main reason for division within both of the parties. The parties approached this division in a different way, and solved the problem in their own way, usually in their Congresses.

In the concluding part a link between today's problems and the transition period is established.

With the change in power, the DP being more liberal and against all of the anti-democratic laws, it was expected that democracy in the country would develop much more quickly. It is argued, however, that although the DP was supporting these democratic and liberal principles, it fell into the same mistakes as the RPP. The party thought it alone represented the 'national will'. It did not ask others 'what is best for the country?', 'what is national will?'. Therefore, it can be said that the replacement of 'state-centred' politics by 'party-centred' politics did not go beyond more than a change in personalities.

Political party should reflect different interests on the one hand, but on the other hand must reconcile different interests and views in the long-term interests of the community. A political party should be both responsible and responsive towards the citizens.

However, the importance of the DP's triumph cannot be denied, because it ended a period, i.e. single-party period and, in this way, the transition to multi-party politics in Turkey was realized.

Chapter Two

THE 'NATIONAL CHIEF' PERIOD (1939-1946)

Inönü's Speech at Istanbul University

The study of the 'National Chief' period is necessary for a better understanding of the new political structure of Turkey which started after the Second World War; i.e. the multi-party political system. It is important to analyze the developments in internal politics at that time.

Inönü's speeches, especially the speech of the 'National Chief' and the 'President' at Istanbul University in March 1939 given at length below, are regarded as the first and the most important sign of the transition to multi-party politics. According to the supporters of this idea Inönü, when he first became President, decided to move Turkey to the multi-party politics. But after a very short period of time the Second World War erupted. To avoid division and avert any danger of assault coming from hostile countries, and with the aim of creating a single decision-making body, he postponed the idea of transition to a later time. In order to support this interpretation usually Inönü's speech at Istanbul University is given as the most important evidence.¹

There are other arguments opposed to this view. The supporters of this opposite argument argue that this interpretation does not explain the meanings of 'National Chief' and 'Unchangeable General Chairman'; they strongly stress that these titles were accepted three months before his speech at Istanbul University. It is also argued that such an undertaking was opposed to İnönü's understanding of government, bureaucracy, party and need for control in the Great National Assembly. They argue that from the text of the speech nothing about this interpretation and meaning can be gathered.²

The titles of 'National Chief' and 'Unchangeable General Chairman' which were given to İnönü at the First Great Congress of the RPP were, after the passage of eight years and under new conditions, officially abolished on May 10 1946, during the Second Great Congress of RPP. In this sense it can be said that the 'National Chief' period in Turkey formally ended in the spring of 1946.

Political developments in the country would be closely connected with this new 'transition period'. It is possible to say that this transition started at the beginning of 1945. It should be mentioned that at the beginning it was a very slow process but later it proceeded very fast, continuing until the year 1950 and bringing an end to single-party

political life. The period between 1938-1945 is defined as the 'Single - Party National Chief Period' while the period between 1945 to 1950 can be described as the 'Multi-Party Regime With National Chief'.³

After these comments on İnönü's speech at Istanbul University it becomes necessary to have a look at this speech

(...) The Turkish nation is away from any discord; there is unity and solidarity throughout the country (...) We have a political generation of forty to fifty years old, and these educated, mature people are protecting the new generation from the poisons of politics; they are in a position to show them the most appropriate patterns at social behaviour and are also able to train the young generation in that way. What I have seen in both our press and politicians is that they are giving very much hope; to say this in front of my citizens is a real pleasure for me.

(...) The Republican People's Party from now on becomes a political family which encompasses all interests of all the citizens. Citizens will find every kind of service and the possibility of progress within the big party organization. This

aim of the party will show itself much more in the future. First of all, in People's Houses, in the cultural domestic areas of the country, the citizens who were able to give service in these areas will be asked for their service. Then within the party organization our citizens could find great services for development and political socialization in the country. I can say that the candidates for deputy in the next elections will easily prove themselves in four years in these People's Houses and in the party organization. My citizens will know that the candidates will be nominated by the higher committee of the Party and this is something very normal. And our traditions is like that. However, we are going to increase the contacts between these candidates and the public. The relationship between the Presidency and the Party Organization will also be closer.

All of the main elements of democracy could be realized in our political life. If the nation did not believe that this could be realized and if they did not have influence over the government it could not be said that there is democracy. For this reason, the workings of the

Grand National Assembly (GNA) would be in such a way that there would be no hesitation. (...) GNA would represent and looks after the interest of the nation (...) We are of the opinion that democracy is the only applicable regime to our nation's will and structure. The most difficult task is to not give way to anarchy and force. Because both anarchy and the application of force are diseases which can easily spread in democracy. And they are able to seriously damage the system. To oppose these diseases, the educated children of the country should be mature and should be thinking only of their country. The consciousness and the structure of the GNA which sees the higher interest of the country and to save the country is the primary and the biggest guarantee. As you see, there are very important and precious rules in order to have and develop democracy.⁴

İnönü's speech first of all emphasizes the importance of the young generation. Then it singles out university youth, and later points out the importance of them having direct relations with the public. This speech emphasizes the party and the GNA. The Republican People's Party, in its last years, became a party which was not independent from the government. It became a useless tool of the state and the

government. It had no independent function, and lost prestige and authority in the public eye. Being a member of the party became only a formality. Consequently, the party became an organization which accepted and supported all of the decisions taken by the government without questioning, even those about itself.⁵ The RPP needed to be reorganized and to act in a different way. And İnönü took some steps in order to maintain his prestige and authority over the public. In the selection of the members of the party, having close relationship with the public gained importance, so that the party and its programs could be fully understood. And the party could secure support of the public. In order to give real service to the country access to the Assembly could be opened to the educated people.

İnönü argued that deputies should have much closer relationships with the public. With this aim it was decided that after the name of the deputies were consulted in the party, they would be submitted to the voters.

İnönü also mentioned that the GNA should carry out its duties independently, so that the deputies who were in contact with public would be much more influential in the Assembly. People should be organized so that the government listens to them. Of course, all these developments should

be realized without leading to anarchy; solidarity should continue to exist throughout the country.

It can be said that in İnönü's speech there is no clue to the transition to multi-party system and the end of the single-party regime. What is implied is a change within the RPP and also in the GNA⁶. At the same time it can be said that the changes and developments that İnönü is talking about herald further changes towards democracy.

The 1939 National Elections

İnönü's speech at Istanbul University strengthened his authority and power over the government and party. After the announcement of important changes within the Party, it was understood that after a short period of time there would be new elections.⁷

At the time the news about the elections could be very frequently seen in the press, which announced that the RPP would field candidates from all of the provinces, although in some places would be left for the independent deputies.

The election system was inherited from Ottoman times. In the elections the list of candidates for the first round elections were first given. This list was announced on March 13, 1939. The election of those candidates started on March 15 and ended on the night of the March 21.

The General Secretary of the RPP and the representative of the Chairman made a speech during the campaign in which they first of all stressed the importance of the elections and announced that for the first time in the history of the party, they invite the second degree candidates and hear their opinions about the Party's deputy candidates. This was a very important step in the name of democracy. This invitation was also the first in the history of the Republic, and its importance cannot be denied. There is no article about this invitation in the statute of the RPP. It was a direct result of İnönü's speech at Istanbul University. This event can be accepted as a starting point for the coming reforms. Another important change took place within the RPP when the positions of General Secretary of the RPP and the Ministry of Interior Affairs were separated.⁸

The 1939 National Elections was held on March 26; 429 deputies were elected. There were four independent deputies; their names were not unfamiliar because they had also been independent deputies in the Fifth GNA.⁹

These changes were very important and can be considered as the signs of further changes. However, these internal changes in the political life cannot be conceptualized as the only reason for transition to multi-party politics. Neither can İnönü's efforts alone explain this transition.

The transition to multi-party politics was realized when the Second World War had just ended. Thus some questions should be answered related to the transition to multi-party politics, and the World situation at the time. Did the ending of the Second World War have any effect on the transition to multi-party politics? If so where did this influence come from? Even if there were no outside pressure, did international political conditions necessitate such a transformation? Or was it because that with the end of War there was no necessity for restrictions in the country? Those questions can be answered by analyzing the World after the war.¹⁰

The global situation in 1945 was dominated by the establishment of a new balance of power in the World, and in Europe. The Europe-centred multi-polar balance of power gave way to a bi-polar balance of power centred outside of Europe.

The Second World War ended in May 1945 with the surrender of Germany; large parts of Europe were de facto

occupied. In the West the U.S. and British Armies and in the East the Soviet Army symbolized the new balance of power in Europe. After the war, the European states were not in a position to continue the Europe-centred balance of power they had held until then. In international politics the balance of power from then on would be established between the Soviet Union and the U.S. The period of setting-up of a new balance of power would usher in the 'cold war'. In this new balance there were only two 'great' powers, i.e. the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The Effects of War on Foreign Policy

Starting in 1945 the new and rapid changes in the balance of power in international politics had taken place. Turkey had sought to balance its political stance during the war, but this became impossible because of changes in the international outlook afterwards. The foreign policy which was followed during the war years was to remain close to the allies, but to keep out of the war until it ended.

In March 1945 the Soviet Union had cancelled the Peace and Nonaggression Agreement with Turkey, which was signed in 1925. And after a passage of short time Soviet demands for control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, resulted in a breakdown in the relationships with this country. For this

reason, Turkey tried to establish closer ties with the Western Allies.

On August 14, 1941 President Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister of England Winston Churchill issued the Atlantic Declaration. In this declaration the two leaders affirmed that every nation had the right to choose the regime it wanted, and that the U.S. and Britain would support these nations.¹¹

After this declaration the 27 States which were in the War with these Allies come together in White House and announced that they were adopting the principles of the Atlantic Declaration. They also announced that they regarded these principles as the aims of the War. They then issued the 'United Nations Declaration'.¹²

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin come together in Yalta from February 3-11, 1945 and decided that the United Nations Conference would be held in San Francisco on April 25, 1945; they declared that those states which wanted to acquire the right to participate should declare war on Japan and Germany by March 1, 1945.¹³

In order to take its place on the side of Western Allies, Turkey declared war on Germany and Japan on February 23, 1945; and on March 5 was invited to join founders of the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference.

The reason for the Second World War was the aggressive foreign policies of the totalitarian regimes and Germany's racism. This resulted in the expectation of democracy in all countries in the United Nations. In the war's terminology 'democratization' existed, and the Western Allies were against states which did not have a democratic structure. They frequently announced that some precautions should be taken for more democracy in these countries. Consequently, it can be said that at the end of the Second World War, the U.S. and Britain as well as the other Western countries were strongly opposed to antidemocratic regimes.

At that time in Turkey single-party political structure existed and individual rights and liberties - to the extent brought on by the war emergency - were almost totally restricted. In short it cannot be said that there was not a democratic regime in our country.¹⁴ It was clear that if Turkey wanted to take its place in the Western World it first had to move to a democratic regime. From this perspective, the importance and the effects of foreign political

conditions on the transition to multi-party politics cannot be denied.

It should be mentioned that this was not the only factor in realizing this transition. Turkey was left alone to face the Soviet Union, and some supporters were quickly needed particularly as the Soviet Union had cancelled the Peace and Nonaggression Agreement on the grounds that it was not appropriate in the new conditions which existed after the war. When its new terms were asked the USSR indicated that there should be a change in the Montreux Agreement - that the Soviet Union should have the right to control the Bosphorus and Dardanelles - and that there should be a change in the Eastern border in favour of the Soviets. This created a mood of crisis. The Soviet Union was seen as a danger to Turkey's North-Eastern border.¹⁵

What was the attitude of the RPP towards these developments? The press which was the spokesman of the RPP continuously repeated that Turkey was governed by a democratic system and for this reason its place was in the West. Throughout the War Turkey had helped her Western Allies. And if there were some defects in its democracy, these would be removed as soon as possible. This attitude was taken by İnönü, the Prime Minister Saraçoğlu and the persons who are in the most important positions.

The important thing is to understand what the RPP thought about the situation. For example an important member of the RPP, Sadi Irmak who became Minister of Labour in the Peker Government, wrote in Ideal, the publication of the People's Houses:

The 'National Chief' of the Turkish nation is not a dictator who drags the nation for his own personal interests. Our belief in individual rights, and honorable, populist nationalism, even before war started, puts us within the ranks of the democratic countries. We did not abandon this position of ours even during the most popular time of totalitarianism. We rejected all bargaining. The aggressors who see our determination and the stability of our decisions, stopped at our borders. History will record our direct and indirect aid to the Western Allies. We can await the judgement of the history with the dignity of our nation.

We are standing on our feet as a nation that is respecting all individual rights and liberties inside while working for the peace of the world outside and respecting all political contracts. For this reason our friendship is very much valued. Our position in democratic life can only be defined by the words 'esteemed' and 'honored'.¹⁶

Speeches with similar contents by the Republicans were made in the GNA and in the press at the time.

Turkey was invited to the San Francisco Conference but this was not enough for the establishment of closer relationships. Turkey's loneliness continued - situation which ended with the declaration of the 'Truman Doctrine'. Turkish - American relationships developed under new conditions.¹⁷

In conclusion, it can be said that at that time Turkey was faced with very serious problems. In order to take part on the Western side, it had to declare war on Germany and Japan. Then it became one of the founding members of the United Nations. But inside the country democracy in Turkey at that time was called 'San Francisco Marked' by a writer of 'Cumhuriyet' newspaper; Nadir Nadi who wrote: 'Last year a newspaper which had a very light cough was closed immediately. Now why is there no action towards the ones which are shouting?'¹⁸ Later Nadi observed that this change was superficial and was realized only to please foreign countries. Leaving aside it was Nadi's thoughts obvious that it was very difficult for Turkey to prevent World's conditions from influencing the transition to multi-party political life.¹⁹ The view of Haluk Ülman and Oral Sander is that Turkey's transition to multi-party politics in

1945 was to attain American support against any danger coming from Soviet Union.²⁰

All in all in 1945 both foreign influence and developments in the country enabled Turkey's transition to multi-party political life.

Chapter Three

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Developments in Internal Political Life

The new balance of power in the international politics not only influenced Turkey's foreign policy but its internal political developments. The triumph of the Allies symbolized the triumph of liberal - democratic over the authoritarian single - party regimes. Now throughout Europe there would be liberal democracies based on multi-polar systems and free-elections.

In 1945 the developments in the domestic politics accelerated. The newspapers Tan, Vatan, Tasvir'i Efkâr, closed before the San Francisco Conference, again started publishing on March 22. This was a sign of liberal understanding towards the press. The delegation which attended the San Francisco Conference declared that there would be a transition to multi-party politics in the country.¹

At that time there were also important changes in the GNA. The developments within the RPP's group in the GNA are

explained in Faik Ahmet Barutçu's memoirs. The deputy of Bursa Muhittin Baha Pars demanded in the Assembly that excluding important foreign issues, all of the discussions should be opened to the public and all of the minutes of the meeting should be given to the newspapers. This led to a vigorous debate in the Assembly. Several deputies spoke. Hikmet Bayur said that the meetings in the Assembly were not reported in the press and argued that even the publication of news that journalists already know was banned by the government; only reports given by the Anatolia News Agency could be published in the newspapers. He accused the government of powerlessness and unskillfulness. One outcome of these discussions was very important; starting from that time on, all of the Assembly meetings were reported daily in the newspapers. This event was identified by Barutçu as revealing the existence of a 'faction' within the party.²

As can be seen, there was growing opposition both in the party and in the Assembly. The government could not do anything about it because it had lost control. A new atmosphere was being created, as could be understood from İnönü's speech on May 19, 1945. In this speech İnönü said 'democracy in Turkey will continue to develop'.³

Later on this speech was seen as the first step towards the transition to multi-party political life; in it İnönü said that in the political and intellectual life of the country democratic principles would become stronger.

After this speech, at a meeting in Çankaya, İnönü expressed more openly his ideas to introduce more democracy in the country. He said that it was a mistake in the single-party period to stop the activities of the Progressive Republican Party and the Free Party and to close them down. He accepted that this mistake was his and Atatürk's. İnönü's words were very promising with regard to the establishment of a more democratic regime in the future.⁴

He said that the system that Turkey had had until then depended on a single person. Such governments started very brightly, and even continued to shine in a short period of time. But when the person at the top left the scene, nobody knew what to do. Single-party regimes fell down either because they could not make a transition to a more democratic regime or they could not make this passage at the right time. 'I can spend my life with single-party regime but I am thinking of the end. I am thinking of the times after me. For this reason we have to start working without losing time'.⁵

At the time discussions about land reform in the GNA has revealed the existence of an opposition and this opposition started to make itself felt very strongly.

The reform project of the government was very important to the opposition group because with that reform in the places where the land was not enough for the peasants and who did not have necessary amount of land for production, the lands of the richest farmers up to 50 arch land were going to be expropriated and nationalized. This would be applied to the farmers who owned about 5000 arch land. Those lands which were expropriated were not to be given its real price but in proportion to the tax of the land.

Land owners in the Assembly, especially Adnan Menderes, were strongly opposed to this reform, and criticized it because it would damage their own interests.

During these meetings the budget law was also presented to the Assembly. Hikmet Bayur, a strong figure in the RPP and one of the leaders of the opposition group within the party, harshly criticized the budget and the government. He said, 'people of our country suffer from poverty and it is only the result of the incapability of this government.' He continued that the government could not take successful measures, and that all of the measures it had taken were

misleading and wrong.⁽⁶ⁱ⁾

Adnan Menderes made a more moderate criticism, saying that he did not regard the economic situation with much optimism. He criticized the State's debts, revealed in the budget deficit, expensive living standards, the position of the fixed-salary workers (especially government officials), profiteering, black-market, and also the unjust taxation.⁽⁶ⁱⁱ⁾

Emin Sazak and Refik Koraltan, following Menderes, made strong criticisms too. These deputies who made such strong criticism of the government later became founding fathers of the opposition party.

Of the 373 deputies in the Assembly, 368 voted for the budget and five against. Those who voted against were İzmir Deputy Celâl Bayar, Aydın Deputy Adnan Menderes, İçel Deputy Refik Koraltan, Kars Deputy Fuat Köprülü and Eskişehir Deputy Emin Sazak.

After the voting Prime Minister Saraçoğlu came to the rostrum. Criticisms of the government continued, which Saraçoğlu answered in a very harsh way, accompanied by personal invectives. Then the voting for budget law was repeated as the vote of confidence. This time the number of

negative votes increased to seven, the other two votes coming from Manisa Deputy Hikmet Bayur and Kütahya Deputy Recep Peker. Peker announced that he had given vote against because he thought it necessary to make some real changes in the government.⁷ These developments showed very clearly that Turkey, like the other Western democratic countries, had the necessary conditions for a transition to a democratic regime.

On June 7, 1945 the opposition group within the RPP (Celâl Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan) gave a signed proposal to the head of the RPP's Assembly group. This proposal declared that from the beginning the main and basic principal of the Republic of Turkey and the RPP was belief in basic principles of democracy and awareness of the fact that only when these principles were totally applied would the Turkish nation be satisfied. 'Most of the members of our party believe,' the four declared; 'that to realize this goal our party should adopt these measures'.

The measures included the elimination of the anti-democratic articles from the party's and state's laws, the right to have the real possibility of control and supervision by the Assembly over the government, and the calling of free-elections. They demanded political liberalism within

the party, and country.⁸

At the time the creation of a strong opposition within the RPP which could make changes in the administration of the party was seen as the main goal by İnönü and the leaders of the Party.⁹ The proposal of Bayar and his three colleagues was rejected at the instigation of İnönü, but this can be explained as an attempt to force the opposition group within the party to depart and set up a real opposition party. Thus the tendency of political liberalisation which started in spring of 1945 showed itself within the party only to a small extent.

In the autumn the opposition was faced with new political developments. The National Development Party was established on the July 18 by Nuri Demirağ, a millionaire. The party had the honor of being the first opposition party, and its creation marked the end of the single-party system. However, the party was not taken seriously either by the government party or the opposition group within it.

At that time the opposition within the RPP was taken much more seriously and the idea of setting up a new opposition party by splitting from the RPP became widespread. The administrators of the RPP and İnönü wanted

the establishment of a new party by the old political cadre and supported the opposition within the RPP to set up a new party.

On the other hand, there were no movements towards liberalism within the RPP. This can be understood from the rejection of the proposal signed by four famous names. Although it is argued that this rejection was just to support the opposition within the RPP at that time the opposition had not yet decided on setting up a new party. The new party was established after the rejection of this proposal but not for some time.

As a result of the harsh words within the party, there were discussions outside and press criticism of the government. Newspapers such as 'Vatan', and 'Tan' stressed democracy and democratic trends in the international politics. They argued that in order to be on the same level as the Allies, there had to be political liberalism. It could not be denied that Turkey's political life was very much influenced by these external developments. On June 26 the GNA ratified the United Nations Charter.¹⁰ Relations with Soviet Union remained tense but the relationships with the U.S. continued to grow and influence internal politics.

The refusal of the proposal within the RPP did not silence the opposition. On the contrary, on August 15, 1945, during GNA debate on the United Nations' Charter, Menderes spoke of political freedoms and individual rights and liberties guaranteed by the U.N.'s Charter. He argued that Turkey, having signed this document, should establish nation's sovereignty and democracy inside the country as soon as possible. Menderes argued that the Constitution was spiritually based on democracy and nation's sovereignty, and was in harmony with the U.N.'s Charter. Therefore, he demanded to abolish inconsistencies between the written Constitution and its application.

On the other hand, the opposition within the party, following the refusal of the proposal, started to criticize the RPP government in newspapers such as Tan and Vatan. These two newspapers were the supporters of liberal thinking. They continuously demanded the control of the government by the nation, guarantees of basic individual rights and liberties and the abolition of anti-democratic laws. As a result the RPP government started to criticize this opposition within the party and finally expelled them. On September 21, Menderes and Köprülü were expelled from the party. Following this Bayar resigned from the membership in the Assembly, but he did not resign from the party. Then Refik Koraltan was also expelled.¹¹

On November 1 1945, in his opening speech of the GNA, İnönü encouraged the establishment of a new party.

At the same time, he promised that the 1947 elections would, direct election based on secret vote and said changes would be made in laws which were also against the Constitution.¹²

On the first day of December, Bayar announced that he was going to establish a new party. This was followed by his resignation from the RPP on December 3. On the next day İnönü met Bayar, for talks in which it is thought that they agreed on the establishment of the new party.¹³

As can be understood from these developments, İnönü wanted the transition to take place over a long period of time step by step. He also wanted to control the time of the transition, the transition period, and the style of the transition.

Establishment of the DP

The Democractic Party was officially set up on January 7 1946. Its founders were Celâl Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü, and Refik Koraltan. On the same day the program

and statute of the party were announced. The program of the Party was written around two main themes. The primary political aim of the party was the realization of the growth of democracy in the country. Emphasis was placed on individual rights and liberties, the right to establish associations, and direct election. The party also stressed the necessity of providing the security for the elections. In economic life, the private enterprise and capital were accentuated. The party did not take laicism as atheism, but stressed that religious freedom was as important as other freedoms.¹⁴ In reality, there was no great difference between the programs of the DP and the RPP.

At the beginning the RPP positively welcomed the establishment of the DP. One reason was that as the important opposition group within the party had left, the party could easily get rid of other 'troublemakers'. For example, Hikmet Bayur was expelled from the party because of his speech in the Assembly in which he criticized the party; He said that the Assembly did not function properly and fulfil its duty of controlling the government.

While the DP was trying to organize itself throughout the country the DP's Assembly group was given a room in the Assembly. This room had previously been used by the RPP's Independent Group, after the establishment of the DP this

group was disbanded.¹⁵

One of the biggest problem of the DP at the time was the need to correct the tendency to see the party as a 'Collusion Party' and to explain to the public that the DP was different from the RPP which was very difficult for them.

When the Assembly adjourned in February the DP was again accused of being a 'Collusion Party' by the public. In Izmir the DP's head of the province Ekrem Hayri Üstündağ, made a speech explaining that the DP was not a 'Collusion Party'; due to the six principles of the Constitution, all the parties were similar to each other. The Board of Directors of the DP put forward the idea to separate the powers of Presidency and the General Chairmanship of the RPP. And in this way the strong pressures on the DP about the question of being a 'Collusion Party' were turned to another direction.¹⁶

When the DP started to organize very quickly in many provinces the attitudes of the RPP towards the Democratic Party changed. The new party started to complain about the government pressures on the party.¹⁷

While the DP was developing very rapidly throughout the country, the Republicans were taking some democratic steps. For example, on April 21, 1946 the RPP announced that in four provinces namely, Istanbul, Niğde, Kütahya and Seyhan, the Republicans were not going to field a candidate and the voters were free to give their vote to the person they wanted. However, nobody was interested in this change. The elections started on April 21 and ended on April 24. In these four provinces the Republicans (again) won the elections, which were followed by the extraordinary Congress of the RPP.¹⁸

The Extraordinary Congress of the RPP

The Extraordinary Congress of the RPP met on May 10, 1946 in Ankara, in the GNA's General Council Room. At that time in the GNA, there were five Democrats (Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan, Fuat Köprülü, Cemal Tunca, and Emin Sazak), and one independent deputy (Hikmet Bayur), the GNA's General Council Room were used by them as well as by the RPP.¹⁹

At the opening of the Congress İnönü made a speech stressing the importance of the electoral system, which would be changed to single-member district system, the

importance of free elections and the secret ballot. İnönü also expressed his opinions on the separation of the Presidency and the Chairmanship of the RPP, both of which he held, saying he believed there was no necessity to separate the two positions. A change was made to the statute granting life tenure to the chairman of the RPP, and it was accepted that every four years there would be an election for the chairmanship of the party.

Two further important decisions were taken at the Congress: the prohibition on the establishment of associations based on class was abolished and the single-member district electoral system was accepted.

At the end of the Congress İnönü was elected to the General Chairmanship of the RPP. Prime Minister Saraçoğlu became his deputy chairman and Nafi Atıf Kansu was chosen as the Party's Secretary General.

Before the Congress the RPP's Assembly group had decided to hold the elections earlier, a decision which was strongly criticized both by the DP and the National Development Party. The opposition parties, especially the DP, argued that this decision was taken to prevent the strengthening of the opposition. For this reason, the DP did not join in the April 21 deputy elections in four provinces

and the May 26 Municipality elections. The DP strongly insisted on the change of election system to direct elections and the need to ensure the security of the elections.

The RPP took some measures governing elections. It was decided in the Congress that the National Elections, which were to be held on June 5 would be based on the single-member district system. On the other hand, the majority system was not changed.

The demands of the opposition such as the principal of secret-ballot, open-counting and control of the elections by the judiciary were not accepted. On the other hand, with the acceptance of a change in the law of associations, the establishment of worker organizations became possible. Furthermore, a law establishing the autonomy of universities was accepted and the Article 50 of the Press Law, giving the government the power to close newspapers and magazines, was abolished.²⁰

As before the Municipality elections were held with the indirect election system. Voting started on May 26 1946 and objections about electoral abuse of were soon made. The National Development Party withdrew from the elections in protest the same day.²¹

The '1946 Elections'

The 1946 National elections were held without judiciary control, with the principal of open-vote, closed-counting and according to plurality system. This election has great significance in Turkish history because of the importance of the year 1946 in the transition to multi-party politics. However this election is called '1946 Elections' because of the negative characteristics it carries.

In this period the members of the DP were called the 'Fortysix Democrats' because of their performance against all difficulties and struggle to bring democracy to Turkey.²²

The DP's headquarters had great difficulty in taking the decision whether to participate or not to participate in the 1946 elections. Because the DP did not complete organizing itself all around the country yet. Especially in the eastern provinces people were afraid of the elections and of giving their vote to the DP. There was strong administrative and political pressure on the DP.

On the other hand the public wanted the DP to participate in the elections, and bring to an end the single-party regime. For this reason, the public forced the

DP to participate in the elections by demonstrating in front of Party's buildings and organizing meetings. As a result the Board of Directors of the DP called all the heads of the provinces to Ankara, and together they decided to participate in the elections, as announced by Celâl Bayar on June 18, 1946. Then the election propaganda of the DP started. The DP used its meetings and rallies to spread political propaganda. The DP was organizing these meetings for the first time in the political life of the country, and set an example of new kinds of political struggles.²³

The important points that DP stressed during the campaign were the following:

1. To ensure the security of the elections and the importance of judiciary control.
2. The government and the bureaucracy should be neutral and should not intervene in the elections, should not restrain people, and should prevent fraud and irregularity in the elections.
3. To change all of the anti-democratic laws, and change the majority system.
4. The separation of the office of President and the office of the RPP's Chairman. The same person should not have the two responsibilities at the same time; the assurance of all basic individual rights and liberties should be made.

The DP frequently criticized the single-party regime, its restrictions and difficulties and also the inadequacy of the statist economy.

In response to the DP's criticisms the RPP accused the DP of promoting communism. However, it is obvious that the DP's members could not be accused of being communist.²⁴

When Marshal Fevzi Çakmak became a candidate for the DP, his popularity and public standing increased confidence in the DP.²⁵

The DP did not stand candidates in 16 provinces (namely, Ağrı, Bingöl, Bitlis, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Gümüşhane, Hakkari, Kars, Kırşehir, Malatya, Mardin, Muş, Niğde, Rize, Siirt, Van). At the same time some of DP candidates appeared in more than one list. For example, independent Fevzi Çakmak stood for four provinces (Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Erzurum), Chairman Celâl Bayar for three (Istanbul, İzmir, Bursa), Adnan Menderes for three (Kütahya, Aydın, Manisa), Fuat Köprülü for three (Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir), Refik Koraltan for three (Istanbul, İçel, Hatay), Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk for three (Sinop, İstanbul, Kastamonu), Emin Sazak for two (Ankara, Eskişehir), Refik Şevket Ince for two (Kastamonu and Manisa), and finally Cemal Tunca for two (Afyon and Manisa).

The 1946 National Elections were held on July 21. At first it was calculated that the RPP had won 395 seats and the DP only 66, with four independents. The final figures, however, were the RPP 405 seats; the DP 54 seats; and independents 8.²⁶

The DP did not accept these results, arguing that it had won 279 seats with 186 for the RPP. DP groups in every province started to protest the results, and there was strong public support for the DP that the 1946 elections were not held justly. The DP argued that fraud had taken place in the elections and wanted to get them repeated everywhere, even in places where they had won.

Although all the claims of the DP cannot be accepted as true; it was certain that some abuse of the elections had taken place. For this reason the 1946 elections were known as 'the rigged elections'.²⁷

The newspapers were all talking about the results of the elections and criticizing the RPP. Then İnönü made a speech in which he said that the elections had been completed. He said this was a new period for Turkey and Turkish nation. At the same time the Martial Law Authorities announced that any publication which made the citizens suspicious of the results of the election would be banned.

Next, the newspapers 'Yeni Sabah' and 'Gerçek' were closed indefinitely.²⁸

At many places citizens were protesting the results, (Martial Law covered only six provinces). In such provinces as Ankara and Izmir, the newspapers were writing whatever they wanted. The newspapers on the side of the RPP criticized the DP's propaganda and its protests about the election.

At that time DP applied to the Prime Ministry to abolish the Martial Law prohibitions on the press. But the answer of the Prime Ministry was very short and certain; 'the Martial Law Authorities are free to exercise their legal rights'.²⁹

The opening of the eighth period of the GNA and setting up of the Recep Peker Government began in such a situation.

Chapter Four

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

This chapter covers the period starting from the eighth term of the GNA until the 1950 National Elections and its results.

The Recep Peker Government

The eighth period of the GNA began on the August 5, 1946. On the first day, the RPP deputies presented İsmet İnönü as their candidate for the Presidency; the candidate for the DP was the aging Marshal Fevzi Çakmak. For the Chairmanship of the GNA RPP nominated Kazım Karabekir as their candidate; he won with 379 votes.

In the Assembly the deputies of the RPP sat on the left side of the chamber, while the DP's deputies sat on the right. The reason for this was that the RPP saw itself as a revolutionary and leftist party, and therefore should sit on the left.¹

When President İnönü came to the Assembly to take the right side of the room remained silent. This was the first time in the history of the GNA that a group had not stood up to cheer when the President was sworn-in. The Assembly Group of the DP had decided to take this action before hand.

Toker, in his book, asks Bayar the meaning of this action. He asked: 'Is this a sign of disclaiming the President?' Bayar's answer was definitely 'No'. He continued: 'We think that the 'national will' is represented by the GNA and its standing up in front of anybody is not possible. We think that we are the representatives of the real 'national will'.² However, after 1950 when Celâl Bayar was elected to the Presidency, and when he came to the Assembly, this time the RPP's deputies did not stand up and cheer.

The new Assembly was not legal in the eyes of the DP. According to them the elections were not held honestly. However, the DP took its place in the Assembly, because it wanted to make itself the legal opposition party.

Inönü gave the duty of forming the new government to Recep Peker. The appointment of Peker as Prime Minister increased tension between the parties, as Peker was known as a very authoritarian and rigid person.³

With the opening of the Assembly the DP showed its objections and protests about the elections. In order to analyze these protests, a commission was set up, but this commission did not find any one of these objections valid.

The next day the DP's Assembly group met, and Celal Bayar was elected to the Chairmanship of the group. Fuat Köprülü was elected as Bayar's assistant. The members of DP the Board of Directors of the DP group were Adnan Menderes, Emin Sazak, Yusuf Kemal Tengirşent, Fuat Hulusi Demirelli, Ahmet Tahtakılıç and Saim Ergenekon.⁴

Peker wanted to make a change in the Press Law. The DP argued that if this change was allowed the Peker Government would employ strong pressures against the opposition. However, the press law was changed with the votes of the RPP. At that time an important change was realized within the RPP. The Secretary General of the RPP Nafi Atıf Kansu was replaced by Hilmi Uran. Uran was the leader of the moderate group in the party.

In December, during the budget discussions in the Assembly, the tension reached its peak. Adnan Menderes harshly criticized the Peker Government. The most important part of these criticisms was about the September 7 Decisions. The background to these decisions was the economic depression prevailing in Turkey at that time. Peker's government took some important measures to make life much more easy for the Peker group. These measures known as the September 7 Decisions, were the following:

1. There would be a large amount of foreign exchange for imports.

2. For this reason all of the restrictions on the goods and commodities which could be imported by foreign exchange were abolished.

3. The controls on quality, quantity and price undertaken by the Import Corporation were also abolished.

4. The letter of credits could be used for other goods and commodities which were on the list of import goods.

5. The import demands would be dealt with as quickly as possible by the Ministry.

6. The implementation of the orders would be left to the importers.

7. Those interested could obtain the necessary information from the Ministry and application offices in Istanbul, Izmir, and Mersin.⁵

The application of these measures resulted in a total failure. With the increase of imports some hidden commodities came into existence, the orders of goods imported with foreign exchange exceeded demand, and not enough customers could be found to buy them. When the import and export of the country could not be balanced the value of Turkish lira fell.

The September 7 Decisions were criticized because they gave way to black-market. Gold sales increased rapidly and all prices increased.

When Peker replied to criticisms of Adnan Menderes by implying that he was a psychopath, the DP group left the Assembly in protest. This boycott continued for nine days, endangering the development of the new political system. Finally, İnönü interfered and invited Celal Bayar to Çankaya. The Democrats wanted a guarantee that this kind of thing would not happen again; at last, both parties agreed and the DP group resumed its place in the Assembly on December 27.⁶

The First Great Congress of the DP

The DP's First Great Congress was held on January 7, 1947 in Ankara. Celal Bayar mentioned the malfunctioning and the damages done by the single party regime. He argued that the nation utilising the power and the rights given to it by the Constitution to control the state had established the Democratic Party. He continued his speech by stressing the following points:

At the beginning the government's approach to the DP was positive but when the DP started to grow very rapidly, it changed its attitude; after this the pressures on the DP increased. The RPP took the date of elections forward and called an election which was full of irregularities. Now, with the help of Martial Law, they were trying to increase the pressure on the opposition.

In his speech Bayar mentioned his immediate demands; the anti-democratic laws restricting individual rights and liberties should be changed; the office of Presidency and the office of Chairmanship of RPP should be separated, because the President cannot be neutral as he is at the same time the Chairman of the party.

In the Congress, in order to discuss these two main points and to reach a conclusion, a commission was set up. However, during the workings of this commission, the existence of two different groups within the Party was immediately understood. The moderates who supported the DP's policy towards RPP which had been followed till now constituted one side. The other side criticized the application of the moderate opposition by the party administrators and demanded stronger attitude towards the government, and the RPP.

At the end an agreement was reached in the Congress between these two points of view. These two sides issued a declaration called 'Liberation Pact' or the 'Liberation Oath'. In this document it was stated that laws contrary to the Constitution had to be changed, and some democratic changes had to be made to the election law, and for the sake of neutrality of the President, the offices of President and the Chairman of the RPP had to be separated. There should be a good government mechanism which functions efficiently and effectively. In this document it is claimed that if these are not realized, the DP deputies in the Assembly would withdraw. This commission gave the power to the party headquarters to decide whether they are going to leave the Assembly or not. When the Congress ended, the DP's Assembly group met (on January 14 1947) and elected Celal Bayar as the Chairman of DP.

After the DP Congress, the RPP convened the 'Forties Commission', held a secret meeting, finally dispersed without making any declaration. Now the RPP understood that it would have to listen to the public and its voices. For this reason, the party abolished the law which forced women to work in the construction of village schools.⁷

The July 12 Declaration

The period starting from the July 21, 1946 National Elections to the July 12, 1947 Declaration can be described as the most critical period in the transition to multi-party politics. In this period the political struggle between these two parties and the accusations coming from both sides reached a peak. The Peker Government accused the DP of acting illegally and provoking the public to revolt, and Bayar accused Peker of applying strong pressures on the DP and continuing the single-party traditions. The discussions were endless and it seemed impossible to reach an agreement. The relationship between the parties reached to the point of breaking; İnönü, in order to solve the problem, took on the role of the mediator.

How had these two parties reached this point? The RPP had not taken into account the demands of DP concerning elections and other changes to the law. If it had paid some attention to this before, the relations between these parties might not have reached breaking point. A critical point in the deterioration of relations between the parties was reached when the RPP called Village Headman Elections, ignoring the DP's demands for electoral reform. The elections were held in a tense atmosphere in February. The participation was very low either because the public was

afraid of the RPP or wanted to protest the elections. There were some bloody events in some distant villages. The most serious one occurred in the village of Aslanköy; there the DP's candidate had won the election, but the Governor of the Province refused to accept the results, and ordered new elections. These were held but the result did not change. The second result too, was not accepted by the Governor. He sent a gendarme to the village and insisted on third elections in front of the gendarme. When the gendarme came to the village and asked for ballot-box, the villagers refused to give it to him arguing that if there was going to be a new election a new ballot box was needed. They started to fight with the gendarme who returned to the Governor. This time the Governor sent a battalion of soldiers to the village. By this time the DP had learned what had happened and had sent a lawyer to advise the villagers not to show any sign of aggression. The elections were then repeated in front of the soldiers and this time the RPP's candidate won. About 90 people were charged in connection with the protests but were acquitted because the commander of the battalion said that when he reached the village the villagers had shown no signs of aggression.⁸

Bayar protested against the outcome of election. But the Prime Minister replied that the election had been held honestly and in the proper manner.⁹

At that time Government announced that in four provinces (Istanbul, Tekirdağ, Balıkesir and Kastamonu) the by-elections for deputies would be held in April. The RPP earnestly wanted the DP to participate in these elections. During this pre-election period Bayar and some of the members of the DP went to İzmir. There was a demonstration in their favor. The police tried to scatter the crowd, and when the people did not move they arrested some of them. After this event Bayar announced that until the security of elections and a neutral administration were guaranteed, and their principles of the 'Liberation Pact' realized, they would not participate in the elections.¹⁰ This decision of the DP made RPP members and President İnönü very angry.

After this event, the Government's decision to extend Martial Law in six provinces came before the Assembly. The DP was strongly opposed to this proposal, supported by the independent deputies. It was argued that the Martial Law only worked for closing down the newspapers. At that time some newspapers which published the speech of Adnan Menderes were closed indefinitely.¹¹ Prime Minister Peker defended Martial Law, arguing that it had to be extended against foreign danger. Finally, the Martial Law was extended for another six months on the votes of the RPP.¹²

These events constituted the main reasons for the breaking down of the relationship between the parties. After that İnönü again came on the scene as a mediator.¹³

While these events were taking place a Parliamentary Committee went to England. There were two deputies of the DP, (Fuat Köprülü and Enis Akaygen). During the travel Nihat Erim and Fuat Köprülü held talks, and when they returned to the country Erim relayed the substance of these conversations to İnönü. Then İnönü invited these two deputies to Çankaya. Later on Bayar and Köprülü were invited by İnönü to Çankaya.¹⁴

After the President had spoken with Bayar and Köprülü, he decided to bring together the two party leaders. Separate meetings were also held with Bayar and Peker. However, these meetings disturbed Peker.

The role that İnönü played as mediator was very important in the development of multi-party politics. It reduced the political tension that existed between the parties and with this aim in mind İnönü made his July 12 Declaration. In this speech İnönü explained his talks with the opposition and the governing leaders, and his efforts to establish a dialogue between them. Finally he expressed his opinions about these encounters.

On July 7, İnönü had talked to Celal Bayar. In this conversation Bayar complained about the strong pressures the government had brought to bear on the DP. Peker would not accept these complaints and argued that because of the DP's provocations, the Government had sometimes been faced with difficult situations. On June 14 İnönü had invited Bayar and Peker to meet him at Çankaya. At this meeting Bayar rejected accusations made by Peker that he had been using illegal and 'revolutionary' methods. Peker acted in the same way, defended himself against Bayar, and they could not reach an agreement. On June 17 İnönü again talked with Bayar. Bayar was pleased with the outcome of these talks, but repeated his claims about the pressure on his party. After that meeting İnönü met with Peker two times. And Peker in his speech with İnönü told him that he was hopeful of an improvement of relationships between two parties after the opening of the Assembly. But in a speech on June 24 Bayar said he was not very optimistic about this. After that İnönü spoke of the polemics between Peker and Bayar and said the problem had become knotted.

İnönü wanted to solve this by himself and kept trying to establish a point of agreement between the two parties. However, the two sides did not give up their claims. Then İnönü told Bayar that if he gave up the claim that there was strong pressure on the DP, it would not happen anymore

and it would be guaranteed by him. In the same way concerning the claim of Peker that Bayar and the DP were using some illegal methods and were looking for illegal goals, if Peker took that claim back, such an act would not be repeated by the DP and this would be guaranteed by İnönü. In this way İnönü became an arbitrator between the opposition and governing parties. And in a tactful way İnönü mentioned that the both sides had valid claims and both had made unjust claims too.

İnönü said there was no benefit in searching for who was right and who was not. He stressed that the opposition party as well as the governing party should work within legal boundaries, with equal conditions, and rights, indicating that in his eyes the two parties were equal.

In this declaration İnönü said that the DP was a legal and legitimate opposition party. He guaranteed that from now on there would be no unfair pressure on the DP. Indirectly he indicated that until now there had been such a pressure and his attitude was seen as favoring the DP.

Progress and stability in political life could be possible only with this declaration. This declaration opened a new era in the relationship between the RPP and the DP, but

later result could not prevent new divisions within the RPP as well as the DP.¹⁵

Factionalism Within the RPP and the 35s

The July 12 Declaration brought to the surface the already existing clashes within the RPP. The group behind Peker defended the application of a strong policy towards the opposition. The other side argued for the necessity of applying moderate policies. Peker's authoritarian actions continuously contradicted İnönü's moderate line. Peker could not accept the new political understanding manifested in the July 12 Declaration. When İnönü indirectly supported the DP in this Declaration, Peker was disturbed. In this way İnönü, the President and the Chairman of the RPP, and the Prime Minister began to fall out.

İnönü thought a more liberal and moderate policy should be applied to the opposition and tried to bring his Party's members to this way of thinking. But Peker argued that the single-party regime's traditions should be maintained. After a short period of time, the opposition between Peker and İnönü could not be hidden. Peker, having confidence that the party was behind him, started to oppose and contradict İnönü in an open way. He argued that according to the Constitution İnönü as a President could not interfere

in the government's policies in such a situation the Assembly would oppose İnönü. According to Peker the idea of arbitrating between the parties was anti-democratic. The arbitrator could only be the nation, at the election time. For this reason the President should remain outside and above his party. The July 12 Declaration was only an advice given to the two parties, but it was not binding on the Government. Although opposing İnönü in a very open way, Peker finally said he saw no reason to resign.

Peker and his group were strongly criticised by the moderate group within the RPP and the DP. İnönü at first indirectly but later in an open way, supported the moderate group within the RPP called the 'Youth Group'.

When Peker was given the Prime Ministry the position of RPP's Deputy Chairman, held by former Prime Minister Saraçoğlu, was kept separate. Later Peker wanted to combine the two offices but İnönü refused.

At that time whether Peker would stay in his position as Prime Minister or not became a sign of whether the multi-party political life would continue or not. Although there was the July 12 declaration no change had taken place in the attitudes of the Peker Government. Therefore, the DP continuously criticised Peker.

In order to strengthen his position within the party Peker, at the meeting of the RPP's Assembly group on August 26, 1947, claimed that there were no difficulties between himself and İnönü. He sought a vote of confidence for his government from the party. The group within the RPP known as the 35s voted against Peker's Government. Therefore the opposition to Peker within the Party became known as the 'Thirtyfives', a number which was going to increase in a very short period of time.

On September 4, because of the criticisms coming from outside and inside the party, Peker sought to make some changes in the government. Although he had been given the power to do that he could no longer stay in office and resigned on September 9, 1947. With his resignation it was understood that the multi-party system would continue.

As a further consequence of his resignation the 'Thirtyfives' within the party gained more power, and this liberal group, with the support of İnönü, started to influence the party administration. Peker also left his position on the Party's Board of Directors. The chief-editor of the newspaper 'Ulus' Falih Rıfkı Atay left his place to Nihat Erim, known to be one of the leaders of the liberal group within the RPP.¹⁶

The new government was formed by Hasan Saka, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Saraçoğlu and Peker Governments.¹⁷ Both the RPP and the opposition group in the Assembly were pleased of this change.

Compared to Peker Government, this new Government seemed to be much more liberal. In its program the establishment of political confidence was the most important goal. The program emphasized that the government and the opposition would be treated equally, leading to an improvement in relations between the parties.

The Government of Hasan Saka took the vote of confidence after a democratic voting. According to some people, the government was the first since the foundation of the Republic which completely depended on the Assembly.¹⁸

The Seventh Great Congress of the RPP

The RPP's Seventh Great Congress was held on November 7, 1947 in Ankara. This was to be the last Congress of the RPP as a governing party. In this Congress important decisions were taken both for the political development of the country and for the RPP.

The supporters of Peker during the congress again clashed with İnönü and took the position of opposition. Their aim was to win the struggle against İnönü within the party. İnönü and Peker explained the reasons for their disagreement but at the end of the Congress İnönü was again elected to the General Chairmanship; Hilmi Uran who had strong support from İnönü was elected to the position of Deputy Chairman. Peker and his group lost the elections totally and their political influence.

According to the instructions that İnönü gave in his opening speech the positions of Presidency and the Chairmanship of the Party would be arranged much more democratically. As it can be remembered this was the main point of the criticisms raised by the DP. According to the new arrangements, during İnönü's Presidency somebody chosen by the Congress would hold İnönü's position of the Chairman of the Party as the Representative of the Chairman of the Party. With this aim the Party's statute was changed. Although the functions of the Presidency and the Chairmanship of the Party were not totally separated, as argued by the DP, a certain division was created between them. However, it is difficult to say that during this period this arrangement was totally applied. İnönü still had the power and authority over the party members. On the other hand, there were also some

some new arrangements. Party committees were to be decided through elections rather than through the earlier method of appointment. Another important change was made on nominating the deputy candidates; according to the new arrangement about 70 per cent of the deputy candidates were going to be from the local organizations. Until that time the RPP's deputies in the Assembly who were also in the group of the party administration constituted the exact majority in the RPP's Congress. This position gave certain authority to the Assembly group on the party administration. By this new arrangement, the majority of the members of the Congress would be from the local organizations of the Party. By these changes the RPP's tradition of administration from up to down changed, and the wishes of the downside would be much more effective.

The RPP's Seventh Great Congress was very important because of the new political arrangements made within the party. In this Congress changes were made to the RPP's traditional bureaucratic, authoritarian structure. The political mechanism within the party was arranged to conform to multi-party politics. In this period the RPP tried to reorganize itself. The decision-making mechanisms within the party were broadened, and made much more flexible; giving an active role to the party organization in the decision-making

process was an important aspect of this restructuring.¹⁹

The first government of Hasan Saka was soon criticized by the DP for not being liberal enough. The government resigned on June 8 1948, and the next day the second Saka Government was set up.²⁰

In this new government there were very few new names, although there were changes of portfolios. New names known to be liberals also took places in the government. With these changes it was thought that the DP's criticisms of etatism and the government's economic policy would be softened. However, the DP was not pleased with this government too.

The most important changes at this time were made to the election law. The principles of the secret-ballot and open-counting were accepted. However, the DP still insisted that the security of elections was in doubt, and wanted elections to be held under the control of the judiciary. The criticisms did not stop, and damaged the government everyday. The second Saka Government had to resign too.

The Division Within the DP and the Rise of the 'Nation Party'

Since the DP's foundation, there had seen some separate groups within the party. The reasons for the formation of these groups were differences over tactics in opposing the governing RPP. The main dispute was between the founders of the DP and DP's local organizations.

The founders of the DP had sought İnönü's permission to set up this new party, and for this reason the DP had to face the problem of proving that it was not a 'Collusion Party' a point made above. The founders of the DP in this sensitive period of transition to multi-party politics favored the application of moderate and balanced politics towards the RPP. However, in the local organizations, with the excitement of fast development and expansion, the general tendency was to apply rigid and harsh politics towards the government. These different ideas within the DP first of all had shown themselves in the first Great Congress. Founders of the party made great efforts in order to ensure that moderate decisions were taken.

After the July 12 Declaration these disagreements showed themselves very clearly. The group favoring a harsh and rigid stand accused the founders of the DP of making an agreement with İnönü and argued that they were turning the DP into a 'Collusion Party'.

The existence of different groups within the Party was reflected in the party administration in a very short period of time. While the supporters of a hard line were in a majority in the DP's Assembly group, in DP's General Board of Directors the moderate side prevailed. This resulted in a struggle between these two bodies.

In a very short period of time, this struggle, resulted in a division within the party. The DP's Assembly group established control over the opposition within the party, and the General Board of Directors accused some deputies of acting against party discipline, and expelled them from the party. In the process some deputies in the Board of Directors supporting the opposition group within the party left the Board, and they were also expelled from the party.

After these expulsions the number of the DP's members in the GNA decreased. The deputies who left the party and those who resigned were no fewer than the deputies who

stayed in the party. In May thirteen independent deputies set up the 'Independent Democrats Group' in the GNA. Thus by the middle of 1948 the DP was faced with the danger of breaking into two parts.

The division lasted until the DP's Second Great Congress, which is the final decision body. As a result of political differences aired at the Congress a new party was set up afterwards by DP dissidents. Some of the deputies who were expelled from the DP and others who resigned came together and set up the 'Nation Party' on July 20, 1948. The founders of the new party included Fevzi Çakmak, Hikmet Bayur, Kenan Öner, Osman Bölükbaşı, and Sadık Aldoğan.

The 'Nation Party' accused the DP of being a 'Collusion Party' because of its moderate line towards the government. In response to the DP's arguments that they had split the party, they argued that the DP was not a good opposition party. In reality, the 'Nation Party' was not very different from the DP, being the creation of the DP hardliners.

The Second Great Congress of the DP

The DP's second Great Congress was held on June 20, 1949. There were two important functions of this Congress. First of all, the disagreements within the party and the question of the expulsions were put on the agenda. Secondly, the policy to be followed at the new elections was to be decided.

The DP's Chairman Celal Bayar in his speech at the Congress explained and defended the bases of the party's moderate policies. Regarding other matters the return of the expelled members to the party was rejected, and the founders of the DP were supported. In this way the opposition within the party totally lost its struggle against the centre's policy.

The next important subject was the negotiations on the 'Main Trial Report'; a commission was established in the Congress and in this report of the Commission, changes in the election law according to the DP's demands, the maintenance of security of elections and the holding of elections under the judicial control were all demanded. If these unchangeable demands were not realized, and the elections were held similar to the 1946 elections, the citizens' right of necessary defence should be used.²¹

In the elections Celal Bayar was again chosen as DP's chairman. The definite defeat of the opposition within the party show that the party headquarters' policy applied until that time had been confirmed.

The Şemsettin Günaltay Government:

When the second Hasan Saka Government resigned on January 14 1949, the duty of setting up a new government was given to Şemsettin Günaltay.²²

The situation was very interesting because this new government was not very much different from the second Hasan Saka Government. Out of 15 Ministers, 11 of them were ministers in the second Hasan Saka Government. Again personalities become important and it was still believed that by changing the Prime Minister and some of the Ministers all problems could be solved. The leaders of the RPP did not see the necessity of creating a new social order based on democratic principles, which was felt in the country.

During this period the opposition and the government established closer relationships. The government took into consideration the demands of the opposition, especially about the election law. This resulted in a decrease in tension

between the parties. On the other hand, another important criticism of the DP about the separation of the office of Presidency and the RPP's Chairmanship was ignored.

The most important step of the Günaltay Government was the preparation of a new election law. This was accepted by the GNA on February 16, 1950. Single-member district, and a general, equal and closed election system was accepted, as well as the representation on the ballot box commissions. Secret-ballot, open-counting, and judicial control were accepted as basic principles of this new elections law. Although there were strong objections from the opposition the majority system was accepted.

Following the acceptance of this new election system 8th period of GNA dispersed itself on March 24. The date of the new elections was announced as May 14, 1950.²³

The 1950 National Elections

For the first time, a democratic election was realized in the 1950 elections. The DP and RPP participated in the elections in all the provinces; Nation Party participated only in 22 provinces and the National Development Party only in Istanbul.

The Result of the 1950 Elections:

Participation Rate : 90 per cent

Total Number of Voters : 8,905,743

Total Number of Voters who participated: 7,953,055

Total Number of Deputies: 487

| <u>Parties</u> | <u>N.of Votes</u> | <u>Voter Rate(%)</u> | <u>N.of Deputy</u> | <u>Deputy Rate(%)</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| DP | 4,242,833 | 53,3 | 408 | 83,6 |
| RPP | 3,165,095 | 39,8 | 69 | 14,4 |
| NP | 240,209 | 3,0 | 1 | 0,2 |
| Independent | 267,955 | 3,9 | 9 | 1,8 |

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With the 1950 elections the party in power changed, completing the period of transition to multi-party politics.

This result was better than the DP's expectations. Kemal H. Karpat in his Turkey's Politics argues that if the elections had been held in 1947 or 1948, the result would have been even worse for the RPP, which would have won only what it received in 1950. But with the liberal politics pursued by the RPP the party's prestige had increased by 1950 and it picked up votes it might have lost before.²⁵

This triumph of the DP was defined by some people as a bloodless revolution or white revolution. However, the position of the Assembly did not change; the change lay in the personalities in the government. Although it should be accepted as a development in Turkish political life, the DP, after a passage of very short period of time, forgot its promises and similar problems continued to exist.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSION

With the elections held on May 14 the transition to multi-party politics which began in 1945 came to a definite end in 1950

The DP, at last, had reached its main and final goal and took power from the RPP. It now had to make good its earlier promises.

It is necessary to understand the reasons of DP's coming to power to answer the question of 'how and why the RPP failed so badly'? One of the most important reason for the DP's existence was the widespread opposition which developed against the RPP. This opposition had mainly two sources; (1) the political elites who were against the state elites and wanted to take power; (2) widespread weariness of the nation. During the war the import of some of goods was restricted, and black-market became widespread. As a result of this some of the landlords became rich. Efforts of the RPP to introduce land reform disturbed them, turning them against the party. On the other hand, most of the citizens were in a very difficult position with poverty and deprivation, which was very widespread. During the War there were shortages of essential goods. Villagers suffered from the strong pressures

of gendarmarie over them, and the living standards of the officials were rather low. Other than these groups, some others, especially the religious groups were against the RPP, which they regarded as an 'atheist' party. The establishment of the DP could not only be explained by these factors. The basic aim of the state elites, - depending on the responsibility which was left to them by Atatürk, of modernizing Turkey by emulating the Western 'superstructure' and to attain unity and territorial integrity throughout the country, could only be realized by the transition to multi-party politics. In addition to this, the special position of İnönü should be mentioned. İnönü made great efforts to establish a multi-party political system. Other than these internal reasons, there were also outside factors as mentioned before; the USA's support for liberalization in Turkey was a fact which cannot be denied. The DP was born out of the combination of these internal and external factors. 1

What were the reasons for the DP's success in overcoming opposition on the part of the state elites and coming to power? At that time the most important danger to unity and integrity of the country was seen as religious fundamentalism and communism. When Celal Bayar went to İnönü with the idea of establishing a new opposition party, he affirmed that there was no article in the program of the party against secular Turkish state. It was clear that the DP

was not a communist party. Thus, İnönü gave his permission for the establishment of this new party.

The DP always supported the foreign policy of the RPP, and there was no big difference in their understanding of foreign relations. The DP always backed the Government, in its struggles against communism, and made a special effort not to become too close to the religious groups. For example, in the events which took place after the death of Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, the party leaders said that the DP stood against all kinds of reactionary religious movements. Finally, starting from the day it was established the DP tried to persuade everybody that it was not a 'Collusion Party' but continued its opposition without being against major ideals of the RPP.²

The DP always emphasized the notion of 'national will' of which it saw itself as the true representative of. The party argued that the emphasis should not be on the values of the center but on the 'national will'. This emphasis on the 'national will' did not necessarily lead to the democratic will of the Government. Because the DP argued that only it understood the meaning of 'national will'. As a consequence, the party contradicted its own views on democracy. With the DP's taking power from the RPP the statist

conception of the RPP was replaced by that of the political party.

As was suggested by Metin Heper, in Turkey the primary conflict has always been between the 'state logic' and the 'political logic'.³ This conflict took its form starting from the establishment of the DP. The RPP represented the 'state logic' while the DP took the position of an anti-state elite. This conflict still continues and whenever the state elites conclude that the 'political logic' threatens the 'state logic', military interventions take place.⁴ And military interventions constitute the major threats to the Turkish democracy.

The DP reached the point of winning the elections, but the problem lay beyond just winning these elections. Of course, in order to make the transition to multiparty politics, winning was necessary. However, the most important thing was what the DP brought to the political scene. The founders of DP were referred to as liberals and democrats. They criticized the state notion of the RPP because it did not reflect the demands of the citizens. This argument was justified because the RPP fixed its policies on decisions taken at meetings of the RPP's Assembly group or of the party members. Until the 1940's even the opinions of the local party centres did not count, the leaders of the party

finalized the policies of the Government. There were no intermediary structures between the party and the public.

When the DP took the power, the state-based polity was replaced by 'politics-based polity' but neither of these arrangements was democratic.⁵ Change had taken place only in personalities and governments. As the citizens could not express their own will through intermediary structures, one could not talk about democracy.

In conclusion, it can be said that with the coming of the DP to power no extensive change were realized. Personalities in the important position changed but not the system itself. However, the democratic attempts of DP cannot be denied, and can be seen as one of the most important steps towards democracy in Turkey.

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26. p. 65., 1947
Assembly Album.

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| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| The Prime Minister | Recep Peker |
| The Minister of Justice | Mümtaz Ökmen |
| The Minister of National Defense | Cemih Cahit Toydemir |
| The Minister of Interior Affairs | Şükrü Sökmensüer |
| The Minister of Foreign Affairs | Hasan Saka |
| The Minister of Finance | Halit Nazmi Kışmir |
| The Minister of Education | Reşat Şemsettin Sirer |
| The Minister of Public Works | Cevdet Kerim İncedayı |
| The Minister of Economy | Tahsin Bekir Balta |

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| The Minister of Health and Social Welfare | Behçet Uz |
| The Minister of Customs and Monopolies | Tahsin Coşkan |
| The Minister of Agriculture | Faik Kurtoğlu |
| The Minister of Communications | Şükrü Koçak |
| The Minister of Commerce | Atıf İnan |
| The Minister of Labour | Sadi Irmak |
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Us, Hatıra Notları, p. 721.
14. Golođlu, Demokrasiye Geçiř, p. 167.
Toker, Tek Partiden Çok Partiye, p. 186.
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179-191.
16. Erođul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, pp.
36-7. Golođlu, Demokrasiye Geçiř, pp. 174-6.
17. The Hasan Saka Government was composed of the
following ministers:
- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| The Prime Minister | Hasan Saka |
| The Deputy Prime Minister | Faik Ahmet Barutçu |
| The Minister of State | Mustafa Abdülhak Renda |
| The Minister of Justice | řinasi Devrim |
| The Minister of National Defense | Münir Birsel |
| The Minister of Interior Affairs | Münir Hüsrev Göle |
| The Minister of Foreign Affairs | Halit Nazmi Kařmir |
| The Minister of Education | Reřat řemsettin Sirer |
| The Minister of Public Works | Kasım Gülek |
| The Minister of Economy | Cavit Ekin |
| The Minister of Health and Social Welfare | Behçet Uz |
| The Minister of Customs and Monopolies | řevket Adalan |
| The Minister of Agriculture | Tahsin Cořkan |

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|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| The Minister of Communications | Şükrü Koçak |
| The Minister of Commerce | Mahmut Nedim Gündüzalp |
| The Minister of Labour | Tahsin Bekir Balta |
18. Us, Hatıra Notları, p. 718.
19. Eroğul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, pp. 37-38. Toker, Tek Partiden Çok Partiyeye, pp. 214-215.
20. The second Hasan Saka Government:
- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| The Prime Minister | Hasan Saka |
| The Deputy Prime Minister | Faik Ahmet Barutçu |
| The Minister of Justice | Fuat Sirmen |
| The Minister of National Defense | Hüsnü Çakır |
| The Minister of Interior Affairs | Münir Hüsrev Göle |
| The Minister of Foreign Affairs | Necmettin Sadak |
| The Minister of Education | Tahsin Banguoğlu |
| The Minister of Finance | Şevket Adalan |
| The Minister of Public Works | Nihat Erim |
| The Minister of Commerce | Cavit Ekin |
| The Minister of Health and Social Welfare | Kemali Bayezit |
| The Minister of Customs and Monopolies | Emin Erişirgil |
| The Minister of Agriculture | Cavit Oral |
| The Minister of Communications | Kasım Gülek |
| The Minister of Commerce | Cemil Sait Barlas |
| The Minister of Labour | Tahsin Bekir Balta |

21. Erođul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi pp. 47-50

Golođlu, Demokrasiye Geçiş, pp. 270-7. Toker,

Tek Partiden Çok Partiye, pp. 239-243.

22. The Şemsettin Günaltay Government:

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| The Prime Minister | Şemsettin Günaltay |
| The Minister of State | Nihat Erim |
| The Minister of State | Nurullah Esat Sümer |
| The Minister of Justice | Fuat Sirman |
| The Minister of National Defense | Hüsnü Çakır |
| The Minister of Interior Affairs | Emin Erişirgil |
| The Minister of Foreign Affairs | Necmettin Sadak |
| The Minister of Finance | İsmail Rüştü Aksal |
| The Minister of Education | Tahsin Banguođlu |
| The Minister of Public Works | Şevket Adalan |
| The Minister of Commerce | Cemil Sait Barlas |
| The Minister of Health and Social Welfare | Kemali Bayezit |
| The Minister of Agriculture | Cavit Oral |
| The Minister of Labour | Reşat Şemsettin Sirer |
| The Minister of Communications | Kemal Satır |
| The Minister of Customs and Monopolies | Fazıl Şerafettin Bürge |

23. Erođul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, pp. 45-7.

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24. Erođul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, pp. 44-5.
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25. Toker, Tek Partiden Çok Partiyeye. p. 216.

5 CONCLUSION

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2. Erođul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, pp.47-8.
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3. Heper, ‘Transition to Democracy Reconsidered. A Historical Perspective’.
4. Heper, The State and Debureaucratization: The Turkish Case. p. 12.
5. Ibid., p. 12.

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