

- Same day in the morning, a news came along (televizyon fallan yok ordan burdan duyma haberler)-> a bomb exploded near the house of Ataturk done by greeks. This crowd coming with nationalistic feelings increased in number, neighborhoods around taksim also joined and in that time minorities ve greeks were living in taksim many were targeted, raped, stores were destroyed. social phenomena ayni zamanda cunku santi towns cevresindeki (gecekondu mahalleleri) durumu kotuyken bu azinliklarin durumu daha iyi idi. RESENTMENT and HATRED.

polis yetersiz kaldı ve en sonunda military tanks geldi insanları durdurmak için.

decline of popularity of DP and Adnan Menderes.

- 1957ye early elections yaptılar, one cektiler cunku oppositon artmisti. Nation Party (millet partisi, feci cakmakci ama 53te kapanmisti secular degil diye sonra 54te tekrar acilacak) Freedom party (1955) ve peoples party, peasant party.
- yani secime 4 partile gidilecek. Oy yuzdesi 50'den alta kalsa da demokrat parti, majoritarian electiondan dolayı yine de kazanıcaz. (nation ve peasant birlesicek.)
- onemli olan bu opposition partilerin early electionsdan onceki amacları demokrat partinin majoritisesine savasmaktı ve DP'ye karsi joint list verelim dediler. Demokrat parti buna karsi yasa cikardı ve yasakladı.
- CHP yuzde 40 oy alıcak ama cogunluk bi sayı elde ediyó ama hukumeti challenge edicek bi sayı degil. oppositionin toplam sayisi dpden fazla ama yine de challenge edemeyecekler.
- Niye joint girmek istiyorlar? Bu küçük partiler belirli bölgelerde fazla oy almışlar eger chp ile birleşebilseydik joint liste verince oyunuz daha fazla olurdu kazanabilirdik düşüncesi vardı. Yasaklı, aynı zamanda elections rigging dedikoduları da oldu.

FINAL YEARS OF MENDERES

- economy hit them (will be discussed later)
- military changed joined Nato. our military was trained in democratic countries, started criticising our democracy, seeing the missing parts
- 57den sonra demokrat parti oy kaybetmeye devam etti criticism
- Fatherland Front bi NGO organization Demokrat partisiye bağlı olan. (Vatan icin burdayız). her aksam radyoda (oppositionin radyoyu kullanması yasak) name of people were read who joined the fathers land. saatlerece okuyorlardı bir cesit psikiyolojik baski. → Big Brother

- Certain illegal acts, robberies, armed fights, kidnappings from the left will increase the radicalism will increase but also in the right.
- While the left is organizing for left propaganda, right also started to organize under Ulku Ocakları and Grey Wolves. Paramilitary training, to fight in the streets, Deniz Gezmis and some friends also went to Palestine to get that training. they got ready for it.
- Ulku ocakları sağın oluşturduğu 1.gruptu. (alparslan normalde secuları ataturkun izinden ama 69da İslami arkalarına aldılar fikirlerini savunurken)
- 2.sisiye **Erbakan** who does not favor the economic policies of demirel and his love for big businsses, he believes in small business. Konya'dan bağımsız olarak katıldı, ve National Action partisini kurdu.

The Military Ultimatum of 12 March 1971 → Solun Sistemi Soleyman Demirel istifa

- 1971de military momerandum: Militray threatened the political actors to make the changes they want. They handed a memorandum demanding a strong and credible government be formed and they should end the anarchy and carry out reforms in a kemalist spirit.
- the politicians immediate reaction was negative, unlike 1960 it was a coup by the high command. nihat erim formed a cabinet which consisted largely of thecnocrats outside the political establishments.
- **Martial law:** socialist and communists ideologies will be jailed because they were accused of tearing up the country. workers party was shut down because they came up with the idea humane socialism, kurdish movement and necessity of the state to know the kurdish problems ama bu ulke ayirici bir action olarak goruldu ve kapandi.
- anybody who was representing of the left, were **silenced** and leaders were taken by the state, they were blamed by treason and they were hanged. 1971 memarandum despite the belief that military was a socialist, **they acted against the socialism.** deniz gezmis huseyin inan and yusuf aslan. mahir cayan bunu daha radical hale ceviren kisi, normalde deniz gezmis ve arkadasları kimseyi oldurmedi robberies vs gibi, ama mahir cayan ve arkadaşlarının yaptıkları leftist grubu terrorist gibi gösterdi.
- The battle will go undergroun and become more violent.
- National salvation party bi onceki sag parti kapanınca on plana çıktı erbakanın başkanlığında.

kucuk partiye inanilamaz bi onem ve guc gerdi ki gitmesinler ve guc bozulmasin.
Bunun sonucunda, socialist leftist were abused jailed tortured. now you have turkes
and his group represented in the parliament and control in the gov. (leftist represent
olmuyorken) alparslan interior ministry'daki ana adam oldu -> domestic policei
kontrol eden bi gorev -> radical right representing the police. increasing tension.
**The struggle between right and left was an unequal one. The police and the security
forces had become the exclusive preserve of Türkeş's NAP.** the number of
victims of political violence rose quickly: from around 230 in 1977 to between 1200
and 1500 two years later. *IG işleri → Alpaslan Türkeş (Polis İcmevi)*

- Demirel'in koalisyonu da secimi kazanamıyor, uyelerini kaybediyor tekrar denemesine
ragmen bir turlu dinamik tutturulamıyor ve koalisyon kurulup dusuyor.
- counter gerilla, militaristic organization at highest.
- TWO INCIDENTS: bloody 1st may 1977 ve kahraman maras events 1978. (was the
massacre of more than one hundred Alevi civilians in the city of Kahramanmaraş,
Turkey, in December 1978 by the neo-fascist Grey Wolves. and religious conservative
community. The tensions were initially ignited by a noise bomb throwing into a movie
theater frequently visited by extreme Turkish nationalists.)
- The paralysis of the political system reached a peak when the assembly became incapable of
electing a successor to President Korutürk when his term ended in 1980.

ECONOMY IN 60S

- 60 lara kadar stateist
- During the D.P, they tried to
liberalize but state still imp actor
- Liberal->but huge inflation, trade
deficit... 60 lara geldiğimizde
military +economists put some
boundaries. In constitution, **STATE
PLANNING OFFICE** (not binding,
advisory public sector -> binding)

60s-80s import substituting
industrialization: as the
backbone ,state enterprises, state major actor (sev/sevme) with liberal actions of DP,
private entrepreneurship also seen.

Turkish Economy In the 1960s: Planning and Import substitution

The creation of State Planning Office (*Devlet Planlama
Teşkilatı*)
Five Year Development Plans
Planning and two visions of JP and RPP
Import Substituting Industrialization
Growing wealth of the population and increasing demand for
consumer goods.

New Economy: more closed, barriers of trade ,level of exchange rate controlled by state. Fixed Dollar/TL.Foreign currency, central bankten alınıyor,entrepreneursen ve invest ediceksenizin alıp.



PROTECTIONISM. We will be industrializing thru the state + private. Ama sadece gelişim ve üretimde zorunlu olan malların almısında devlet sana döviz veriyor (üretmediğini) içerde yap içeri sat -> Alman modeli; You will develop until infant industries are grown then you open your Gates and be able to compete with West -> IDEA

Not going total against of liberalism /State gives incentives to invest in country-> JOINT: Turkish (create labot and learn from the partner)+foreign partner (for technology).

-Renault came to Turkey with OYAK.

-Koç + Fiat (*Joint Enterprises*)

State (+incentives are the role of state) -> heavy industry (demir,çelik,kömür) -> State is there to give the material you need ,metal ,certain price,lower than World average. find partner, build.



- Assembly industry, araba parçaları, lastik vs -> create labor
- This econ model, creates jobs -> working class. Production of home equipments Arçelik, Bosch, Beko ,TV -> all produced here but motor comes from germany ama kendisini yapıyorsun problem-> can you sell to World? Buyer bulmak challenge.
- Wages increased, now workers able to access more luxurious goods (gecekondular with tv antenas everywhere)imp. for the beginning -> KEYNESS -
- DEMİREL 5 years development -> not binding for priv.

Ama loop hall: Demokrat Parti -> Trade deficit, because tech is expensive and you cannot produce, you have to buy.(Ideally,üretip büyüğünde açığın kapanması)

1-Private Entr: Çok para kazanacak,dışarı satamasada ,protectionist barriers olduğu için ,içeri satabiliyorlardı.Bir noktada technological development yapmaları gerekiyordu bu da çok masraflıydı.Devletin bunu böye südüreceğine güvendiler.

2-Political Issues: For more votes,vote catching principles.low tax+ wages high level (economically + 61 constitution,civil liberties trade and labor unions gücü kazandı.).Labor important actor(pol + econ) Strike,econ stops(önceki size yüksek maaş ama kriz geldi,hadi maaşlarınızı düşürelim,işçi maaşlarına mı göz diktiniz diye işçilerler ayaklanıyor (sendikalar,DISK) 61 le gelen civil liberties ve right to strike de var.

DEFICIT ana sorun, technological jump yapamadıkları için devletin elindeki budget azalmaya baslıyor.

- Hit by the oil crises in 1972 (Turkey embargo/cyprus)

↳ Hot hot measures

Anarchy/Political instability + Economic measures not taken (wages and no tech) + Gov afraid to lose votes so not strong + fixed rates -> then oil prices are hit, how dependent are you to oil? -> petrole bir günde x verirken 4x vermeniz gerekiyorsa, fiyat da 4x artar, borc da 4x artar. Nasıl cozersiniz? -> Kısa süreli loan (yüksek faizli) The National Front coalition governments tried to meet the problem by concluding extremely costly short-term Euro-dollar loans and by printing money. -> **INFLATION** -> yuzde 20den 90a fırılıyor -> economy failing -> **IMF** -> their demands -> devalue your money, open market cut subsidies -> yaparsan borc veriyorlar.

Article: The Kemalist Party State 1925-1945

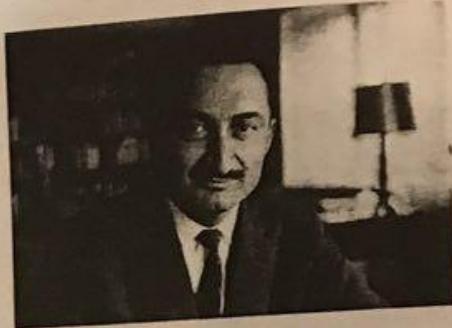
Writer: Zürcher, Erik Jan.

D.WW Piş Politika

Summary:

- increase in Turkey's GNP and trade during 1930s thanks to bilateral agreements with Germany
- still vulnerable when WW2 broke out
- neutral but still increasing army -> expenditures (feeding+equipping) -> government either printed money (inflation) or raised taxes -> **NATIONAL DEFENSE LAW** + forced labor
- to combat inflation government fixed prices at unrealistically low levels but still monetary policies -> **BOOMING BLACK MARKET**
- standard of living sunk for many BUT SOME exceptions (war profiteers) resentment towards them so government -> **WEALTH TAX**
- wealth tax -> local councils tax assessments (no fixed rate) -> traders in Istanbul and nonmuslims (10x) (forced labour)
- tax on agriculture (failed burden on small farmers)
- Kemalist state sided with entrepreneurs -> labour law (insurance) BUT no trade unions or strikes.
- **FOREIGN RELATIONS:** cautious, realistic, preservation of status quo
- Mussolini (oil rich) -> Tr + Br -> league of nations -> TR %10 oil revenues for 25 years.
- Ottoman public debt (mainly to Fr) -> suspension due to world economic crises
- Tr sovereignty, Britain and France difficulty coping with that (embassies international straits commissions, Orthd Patriarchy)
- Late 20s early 30s -> improved relations with neighbors
 - Italy non aggress pact
 - Greece (fear of Bulgaria)
 - Balkan pact (Gr, Yg, Rom, Tr)

with every mechanism using their new ideological agenda. They are representing the workers, Demirel represents businessman.



- **RPP moves left.** Social justice and social democracy. The RPP had gone into the 1965 elections with a new manifesto. Ecevit defined the position of the party as 'left of centre' (*ortanın solu*) Aiming at a new electoral base. Gece konduların sayisi arttı. WORKERS-> chpden Ecevit'te bu kisilere. (*ortanın solu*) left ideologies implemented for the betterness of the society. Demirel'in cevabı: *ortanın solu moskava yolu*.
- nationalist action party.
- national order party by necmettin erbakan with more conservative agenda.
- break in the system this coalition will break into smaller dimensions (rightta parcalanicak ilerde)

- Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia caused a split within WPT. Mehmet ali aybar ve grubu evet sovyet union da olsalar yaptıkları inhumane ve condemned olmalılar derken Mihri Belli ve grubu soviet union should not condemned and relationships should stay the same dediler.
- Agrarian society hard to reach everyone, illiterate people but the increase in the numbers of workers -> bi backbone olusacak ama radical bi revolution gerçekleşmeyecek.
- Violent clashes with police and troops during visits by the **American Sixth Fleet** in July 1968 and February 1969, during which people were killed. ->civil warfare will form in the future.
↳ *Solcular Protesto // 8. dek 1969*
- 1969dan sonra debate clubs federationa donusecek. Turkish communist party doesn't have any legal status to run in the elections, they want a revolutionary change but in thi system its illegal .
- Left bu noktada **armed propaganda** donusucek -> **DEV GENC.** (represented by deniz gezmis and many others..)

1969 elections
NAP (national action party turkes)
1970 NOP (national order party erbakan -conserv)
1971 memorandum (wtp x nop x-> nep 1972)
1973 elections (no majority)
1974 cyprus intervention
1977 elections
1977 maras massacre

SOL
↳ Deniz Gezmiş

Hist Module 2

- it was rejected but still relaxed politics, elections and free choice (normally first opposition party is NDP but they had no representation in government so not important)
- These four (Men, Ref, Fu, Cel) left or forced to leave and established a new opp party (bayar and inonu worked closely) Demokrat Parti. -> enthusiasm all over the country -> RPP shocked (now inonu also has to be reelected) -> elections brought forward -> DP protested -> got 62 seats BUT rigged elections (ballots destroyed)
- Gov had two choice (suppress opposition or further liberalize)
- criticism of the government because its own programme differed less and less than that of the RPP.
- Two parties tared each other using communism, accusing each other, Election Law boycotted for free and fair election due to 1950.
- Reforms: economy statism under attack from business circles, Americans and DP (state should only intervene where priv. entrp fail to do so) they say statism -> lack of economic prog
- Turkey desperate for American aid, so a member of IMF (devaluate turkish lira and lib policies)
- Law on trade unions still no strikes
- Liberal economic policies from RPP, now DP and RPP similar economic policies, US influence.
- 50 elections: free and fair with 80% turnout -> DP %54 won 408 seats RPP %39 69 seats due to electoral system. (although RPP changed its policies the memory of five years repression.)
- Inonu wanted a loyal opposition but miscalculated, military asked him if he wanted a coup but he accepted this election.

Article: Politics and Political Parties in Republican Turkey**Writer:** Feroz Ahmad**Summary:**

Sevres, Lozan → 60 coup → 71 Monosodium

- empire to nation state, some argues in favor of continuity, architects of the republic belong to cadres and have experience after 1908.
- war ended total collapse in 1918 but Turks had to salvage a new from the ruins of the empire, it took 5 years (war and diplomacy.)
- Britain own post war agenda -> Sevres, Mustafa Kemal refused to accept. Greek invasion and Sakarya
- Lozan -> Ist and Ankara government was called by British. Ankara said we are the only legitimate authority. -> abolished sultanate. -> bahdettin fled -> Abdulmecit new caliphate.
- Ankara is the new capital, weaken LA the opposition of Istanbul and other leaders in Ankara by declaration of the republic and election of the new president, Mustafa Kemal himself.
- No modernisation of old order, rejection of the traditional foundation. modernity and equality.
- Passed a law: you either choose military or politics/
- Opposition rumours "Progressive Republican Party", Peoples party also added republican to their name. (PRP) tensions rose. SEYH SAID ISYANI -> martial law and independence tribunals, end of the opposition (also Kurdish rebellion)
- Protests against reforms and Kemalists aware of the need of opp. -> friendly loyal opp Fethi Okyar Free Rep Party, popular, PRP threatened vote rigging Fethi dissolved the party.

- Menemen incident (caliphate issue) beheaded, gov understood that reforms had not taken the root and had to be explained to people with and ideology and institutions.
- Party statement: we are designed to meet interests of all classes.
- Halkevleri: modern culture, civilisation, Kemalist ideology and six principles. The process of fusing party and state (unification) and mixed economy (Is bankasina verilen destek)
- Amnesty law, opponents allowed to return from exile.
- world crises and Second world war, Inonu decided to end of the party's control over the bureaucracy, until the war two sectors (state and private) side by side but during the war state excessive power over economy and rights of the citizens (national defense law and valik vergisi) arbitrary unpredictable and unaccountable state.
- land reform law-> opposition, onceki makalede anlattigim dörtlu takrir olayindan bahsediyor burada makale.
- Dp ile centre of the political life shifted from cities to provinces untouched by Kemalists, that explains growing role of islam.
- Celal Bayar says two parties resembling cooks that prepares the same dish but they had a better recipe. RPP expected them to act like Fethi Okyars party but they didn't, their aim advance democracy less gov intervention and private enterprise.
- RPP suffered under wartime regime, racism and secularism for the people despite the people, but 50 electionsa yaklasirken, new agenda to appeal the electorate, new liberal face. He decided to hold an early election, Democrats refused it (RPP allowed direct elections, autonomous units and free press law) they wanted to appeal all classes but it didn't work.
- **Democrats favoured free market system**, Inonu also understood the trend, 47 he gave opposition total freedom and equality with RPP, foreign investment needed political stability and multi party, lira was devalued, import regulations. Religious instruction was also permitted.
- **programmes of two parties VERY SIMILAR**. Inonu was confident of success but he was the symbol of the past and suffer, due to winner take all election system DP won and took 408 seats. DP became the governing party and RPP went into opposition.
- **Dilemma of DP**: they promised to destroy the single party system but in office they work with institutions made in single party, pressured to destroy (inonu- pasha factor- army continue to be loyal to him)
- **National Will**- they believed this gave them right to monopolise all state inst. and silence opp. declared war on RPP took all party assets and laws passed to curb criticism,
- 1954 DP 504 seats. expected all opp to bend to national will, alienated units and press.
- Dp became Menederes's party and RPP failed to offer any alternative
- next elections declined to below 50 percent but still mandate of national will but opp became more confident. high inflation, deteriorating economic situation ad rising social tensions gov had lost control over every state inst (army bureac. units and press)
- Democrats created Fatherland Front, Menederes exploit a cult of personality, political life polarised no common ground betw two parties, a committee of democrats to investigate RPP.
- **1960 Coup -> National Union Committee (NUC)**, a prof wrote a new constitution, involving intellectualism transformed coup into a revolution of the intellectuals

- NUC -> moderates and radicals.
- 61 const elecotoral law momw proportional rep. prevent majoritarian dem., bicameral parliament, senate and lower house and Grand national assembly and const. court.
- it gave freedoms, civil liberties free press and unions. National Security Council (advise cabinet in issues related to national security- a very boad term._ autonomus unis, civil rights, strike, Workers Party of Turkey.
- **New parties: Justice Party New turkey Party.**
- Coalition tries starts from here. first trial RPP and reluctant JP ended quickly. Then JP most popular party in country, Inonu formed his last cabinet in 63 (crises over Cyprus) Then Inonu resignation. New coalition trial by JP (similar to populist DP) Demirel is the leader. Technocrat, modern world understands economy but politically weak rural migrant "ordinary turk"
- politicised new freedoms-> permitted ideological politics, left wing groups in unis, more aware of the world monilise.
- Menderes was loyal to Washington. During Cyprus crises, US sided with Athens, Anti American demonstrations until Military takeover in 1971. President Johnsons letter -> made people anti american. it polires country pro american right and anti american left.
- **Rpp and DP found guilty for accepting truman marshall and nato.**
- For the first time **fikir ktoplari**. first serious attempts to civil society political platfrom for views
- right also alarmed political manipulation of Islam continued.
- Turkeys worker more militant and politicised, TURK-IS, DISK, also political action tru WPT. Gov saw that they were loosing control of the workers movement.
- Demirel circicised in this period due to being the symbol of modern capitalism and link with the US. Also criticised due to the consequences of econ policies with which he was identified, he wanted to make TR a modern capitalist state. A small griyo if Anatolian capitalist took advantages of the policies. Those who represented low mid class in JP criticised Demirel for that. They adopted Islamist rhetoric and denounced him as Freemason.
- People who stopped listening Demirel and his policy advises began to organise politically. Erbakan (Islamist National Order Party -NOP) said they made Tr an open market for US and EU. After the elections JP won but its votes reduced, encouraged Erbakan formed his own party. Alparslan Turkes -> Nationalist Action Party (NAP) wanted to attract low mid class, militant nationalist party, hated capitalism and communism.
- Invasion of Czechoslovakia, gov amended the law to remove the WPT from the political scene. Convinced that parliamentary road closed to the left -> only way is tru military alliance.
- Also gov destroyed DISK by another law favouring pro government TURK-IS. Workers demonstration in 1970 -> gov was unable to maintain law and order.
- 71: state of chaos, unis no function, left wing students -> guerilla tactics, kidnapps attacking american serviceman. neofascist militants -> bombings. Factories, strikes. Islamist more aggressive. -> **MEMORANDUM** -> threat, Demirel had to resign.
- Generals priority -> restoring law and order, elimination of political left (WPT Dec genc DISK)
- Junta replaced Demirels gov with a cabinet with technocrats and NIHAT ERIM.

- Left wing extremists to underground -> **MARTIAL LAW DECLARED**. Rights and lives removed, seen as luxury. Erim Cabinet, failed. Turkey prepared for election Right -> Demirel control but still fragmented (NAP NSP) and new social democ RPP- Ecevit. He was forced to form a coalition. RPP -JP coalition, Demirel refused, Ecevit- Erbakan -> only for political opportunism.
- Ecevit resigned after Cyprus and his popularity for early election but miscalculated the parties of right. **NATIONALIST FRONT**. (erbakan demirel turkes) Demirel in parl. Turkes in streets.
- Grey wolves, political violence -> climax of violence on May 1977, huge rally turned into a massacre- success of the right... It didn't intimidate voters, RPP won 213 seats but still no majority.
- Ecevit formed a minority gov but didn't win a vote of confidence, Demirel formed second nationalist front still failed. Ecevit was forced to declare martial law but failed to curb the violence and support for Ecevit declined.

Title: The Second Turkish Republic, 1960-1980

Writer: Zürcher, Erik Jan.

Zorbalı Koşuyanlar, Left//Right

Summary:

- The military takeover of 27 May 1960. declaration read by **Colonel Alpaslan Türkeş**
- armed forces had taken over the administration of the country 'to prevent fratricide' and to 'extricate the parties from the irreconcilable situation into which they had fallen'.
- public joy in Ankara and Istanbul, rest of the country showed no such reaction.
- they had found the senior officer they needed as a figurehead. It was General Cemal Gürsel, a former commander-in-chief '
- **National Unity Committee** (Millî Birlik Komitesi) headed by General Gürsel, head of state, prime minister and minister of defence
- **Siddik Sami Onar**, were summoned to Ankara and given the task of drawing up a new constitution -> justified the military intervention
- NUC, assisted by its team of professors, issued a provisional constitution important policy decisions were made by the NUC itself. In reality Colonel Alpaslan Türkeş , who held the position of adviser to the president.
- NUC had been disbanded and that a new one had been founded, excluding 14 of the best-known radicals, among them Türkeş . Colonel Talât Aydemir, one of the original conspirators in the mid-1950s he executed an abortive coup d'état. The first time he was granted a pardon; the second time he was executed
- **a new constitution:** two chambers, an upper house –the NUC – and a lower house consisting of 272 representatives of the remaining political parties The main aim of the authors of the new constitution was to prevent a power monopoly such as the DP senate (senato), was created and all legislation would have to pass both chambers (with a mechanism to overrule a senate veto with a two-thirds majority in the assembly).
- **military were given a constitutional role** for the first time through the establishment of a National Security Council the council advised the government on int and ext security.

- ban on political activity was lifted and new parties were given a chance for the elections
- Justice Party (Adalet Partisi), the continuation of the DP.
- the referendum on the new constitution
- the elections were free and honest
- trials of former Democrat politicians
- new constitution was more liberal than the old one in the sense that it tolerated a wider spectrum of political activity (Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi), first really ideologically based party to compete in elections. many young intellectuals and it served as a kind of laboratory for the Turkish left
- prohibition of the political use of religion, which had been incorporated into the Treason Law.
- arrested DP leaders and executed (not Celal due to age) Menderes, Zorlu, Polatkan death.
- Elections: JP and CHP was forced for a coalition, marriage of convenience. failed. İnönü formed a new cabinet, this time based on a coalition of the RPP with the two smaller parties (RPNP and NTP). again failed. 1963 the third İnönü coalition, this time a minority one of RPP and independents, took office. it was weak, failed.
- New leader for Justice Party -> Suleyman Demirel. The JP won a landslide victory in the elections of October 1965, gaining an absolute majority managed to capture the old DP support. For the next five years dominated Turkish politics.
- an amnesty law in August 1966, the DP leaders, including former president Celâl Bayar, were set free.
- He managed to preserve the unity of the party and his own position. He emphasized the **Islamic character** of the party and the way it stood for traditional values, he kept up a constant campaign of **anti-communist** propaganda and of harassment of leftist movements.
- He had a diff position than Menderes because of the checks and balances in const. His hands were tied, never got the majority -> he became unpopular lost the support of conservatives
- **The Republican People's Party moves left of centre** Turhan Feyzioğlu and Bülent Ecevit, which emphasized social justice and social security without being explicitly socialist Ecevit defined the position of the party as 'left of centre' (ortanın solu)
- representatives and senators who opposed the 'left-of-centre' line left the party to found the Güven Partisi (Reliance Party). They were led by Turhan Feyzioğlu, who had been Ecevit's main competitor
- **The growth of political radicalism** -> The 1960s were years of rapid change. People became more mobile, both socially and physically
- **The left:** oldest party on the left was the Turkish Communist Party. The main legal party of the left was the Workers' Party. The first publication was the journal Yön (Direction). It was not a narrow Marxist publication but a broad-based forum for the expression of different radical and leftist views. Its editor, Doğan Avcıoğlu, saw socialism as the only viable model of development in a semi-colonial country and he advocated state planning and protectionism.
- The universities had played an important part in toppling Menderes and in formulating the constitution of the second republic
- fikir kulüpleri or 'idea clubs') sprang up at all the major universities, then became federations.

Hist Module 2

- Sadabad pact (iraq iran afg)
- Soviet (good relations)
- Fr and Britain (good relations)
- Germany- Hitler (good relations)
- Mussolini- Italy (great threat)
- 32->we joined the league of nations
- Montreux tr full control of straits.
- Issue of Hatay (TR+FR) -> franco turkish agreement (21) -> autonomus turkish comm.->league of nations-> independent entity->elections->part of TR
- **SECOND WORLD WAR:** Italy's occupation of Albania -> Tr Fr Br -> mutual assistance -> Tr demanded money for military.
- Soviet + Hitler -> Molotov Ribbentrop Pact-> divided eastern europe-> shock in Ankara + anxious Fr and Br -> Anglo Franco turkish treaty signed -> Tr took loan + credit, if war spreads to mediterranean , Tr would collab. BUT when it did, Fr already collapsed, Tr stayed out of the war even though BR pressured.
- TR friendship agg with Germany, risk of isolation after the war.
- To join United Nations, Tr deccclared war on Germany SYMBOLIC.
- GENERALLY: immoral, international reputation damaged, but keeping out of war is a success to Inonu (Ottoman almanyinin masasi oldugunda mahvolmustu)

Article: Transition to Democracy, 45-50

Writer: Zürcher, Erik Jan.

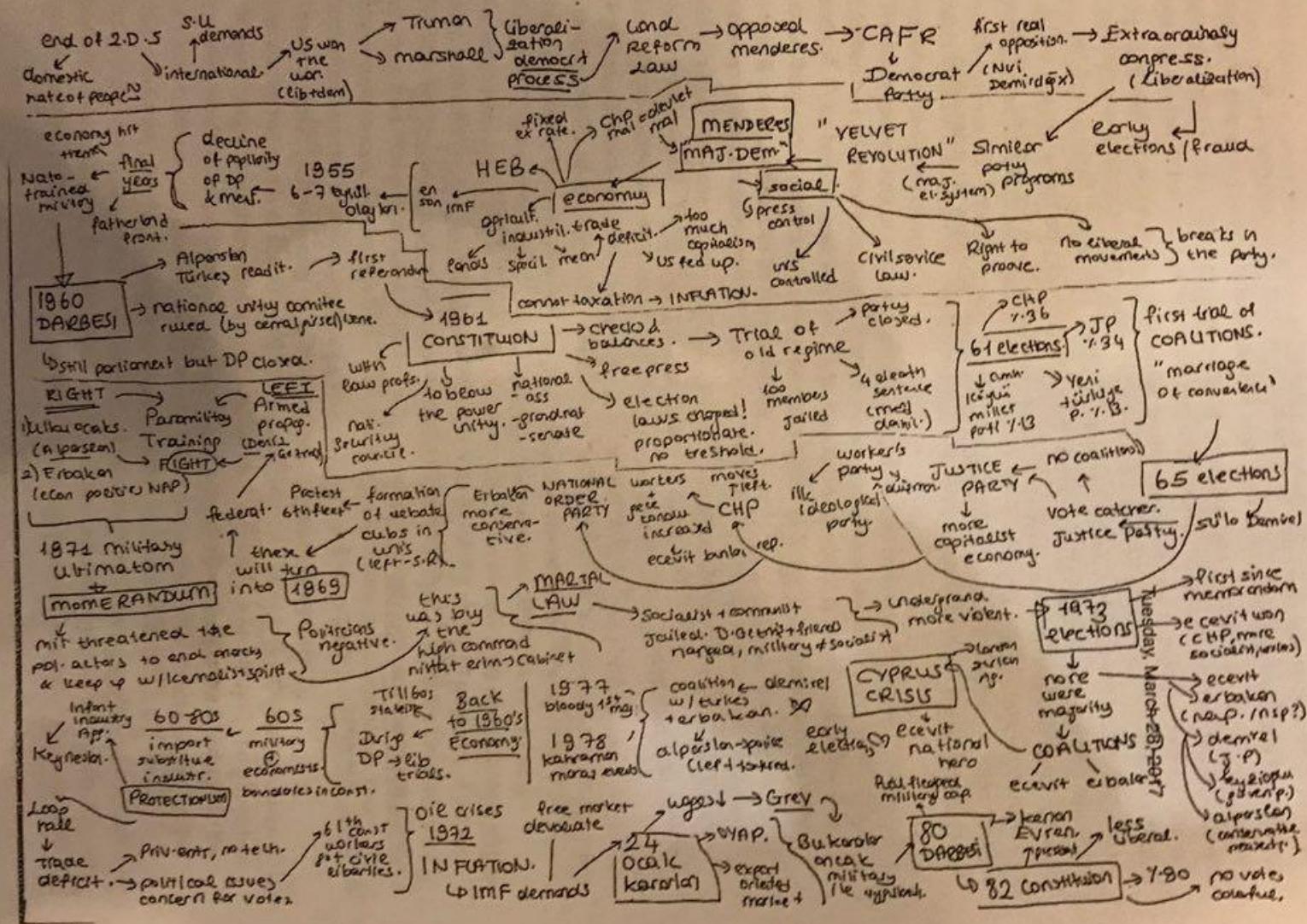
Summary:

- after WW2, Inonu's government very unpopulat and hated.
- resentment over tax collection, supression of faith. socio economic position weak, industrial workers minority, unions and strikes banned, rising cost of living during the war
- discontent rose with inflation, price control, wealth tax (tensions with bureaucracy)
- **Ciftciyi topraklandirma kanunu** -> reason of opposition party.
- Resentment towards state-party (unified) -> inonu liberalized political life (formation of a political opposition)
- External pressures for democracy-> WW2 victory for democracy-> impressed Turks-> signed UN charter.
- Close rship with Soviet damaged due tp neutrality and Soviet demanded unacceptable things about Anatolia and Black Sea, with US support Tr declined them.
- **Truman Doctrine** ->help defending anticommunist regimes that are under threat-> Greece, Tr
- **Marshall Plan** -> help europeans to rebuild -> lucrative export markets for Us and eliminate poverty, ground for communism -> so TR closer to Democrcay. (inonu's talk)
- **Land Distrubution Law** -> provide adequate land for farmers (unused state lands but more importantly expropriated lands from landowners with more than 500 donum) -> criticised by MENDERES + Refik Koraltan + Fuat koprulu + Celal bayar -> Dordlu takrir (memorandum)

• it was rejected but still reelected
party is NDP but they had 1
These four (Men,Ref,Fu,Celal)
and inonu worked closely
(now Inonu alone)

- **Trade unions and social security:** the growth of a serious labour movement. The constitution had promised the workers the right to strike and to conduct collective bargaining. Real wages in industry rose by approximately 50 per cent in the 1960s and 1970s, Türk-İş, the confederation of trade unions, under American influence was geared to gaining material benefits for its members. It was politically mixed, with some unions and union leaders supporting the WPT, some the RPP and some the JP. trade union movement was deeply divided between Türk-İş and a new confederation, DISK. Only about 70 percent of the industrial workforce and about 60 per cent of the selfemployed in the towns had any social security. For more than half the Turkish population, agricultural workers and their families, there was no social security at all.
- Foreign relations during the second republic, Cyprus again, Attempts at reorientation, Armenian terrorism

<u>PARTIES</u>	1
① CHP, DP (İsmet vs. Menderes)	1
② military → DP ceased. (Cemal Gürsel)	1
③ 1961 elections: RPP (CHP) ^{1.36} , JP (Adalet Partisi) ^{1.34} , NTP (Yeni Tr Partisi) ^{1.13} , RPNP (Cumhuriyetçi İdeyli Millet Partisi) ^{1.13}	Tuesday, March 28, 2017
④ first coalition trials: CHP - JP (2 majors) X	1
CHP - 2 minors X	1
JP - 2 minors X	1
⑤ 1965 elections: JP (Sülo Demirel) → total control. (others oppositions + workers' party) CHP left.	1
⑥ 1969 Elections: JP wins again, RPNP → NAP (National Action Party) (National Order Party) NOP (Erbaş) CHP (Ecevit) [↳] sonradan (70) [↳] Türkç.	1
⑦ 1971 memorandum: Workers Party ve NOP kapanıyor.	1
⑧ 1973 Elections: JP (Demirel), CHP (Ecevit), NAP (Tütün), NSP (Erbaş) Trust Party (Feyzioğlu) \Rightarrow No majority!	1
⑨ Coalition Trials: Ecevit ve Erbaş (CHP-NSP)	1
↓ Cyprus Crisis, Ecevit \Rightarrow early elections \Rightarrow Demirel.	1
↳ Demirel coalition with Turkey (NAP) + NSP (Erbaş) ↳ again fails.	1
⑩ 1980 darbesi: Kenan Evren	1



- Mehmet Ali Aybar vs Mihri Belli (lecture notesda aciklamasi var)
- These groups began a campaign of terrorism, or urban guerrilla warfare, aimed at destabilizing the country.
- In radical left circles some people began to demand that attention be paid to the plight of the Kurdish minority
- **The right:** Shortly after the return of Türkeş, he managed to be elected chairman of the party RPNP. He turned it into a hierarchically organized, militant party with an ultra-nationalist programme. His programme : Dokuz İş İk (Nine Lights). The basic principles were nationalism, idealism, morality, social responsibility, scientific-mindedness, support for freedom, support for the peasants, developmentalism and industrialization/technology.
- youth organization, officially called the 'Hearths of the Ideal' (.İkü Ocakları), whose members called themselves Bozkurtlar (Grey Wolves), The Grey Wolves received paramilitary training in specially designed camps
- The other major party of the right, which emerged around this time, Professor Necmettin Erbakan he had made himself the voice of the smaller businessmen who criticized Demirel and the JP for being subservient to big businesses. Also use of Islam. Erbakan, with two other independents, formed his own party, the **National Order Party NAP and the NOP posed a serious threat to Demirel's power.**
- Violent clashes during American Sixth Fleet There were bombing attacks, robberies and kidnappings. the violence of the left was met and surpassed by violence from the militant right, notably Turkeş 's Grey Wolves.
- The military ultimatum of 12 March 1971(also in the other summary)
- **Political violence** extremist youth groups on the left, and the Grey Wolves and fundamentalists on the right, The struggle between right and left was an unequal one. (due to the protection of Turkes) The number of victims of political violence rose quickly: from around 230 in 1977 (39 of them the victims of unknown gunmen who opened fire on a 1 May demonstration organized in Taksim Square in Istanbul) to between 1200 and 1500 two years later. Kahramanmaraş in December 1978, when the worst in a series of pogroms of Alevis (Turkish Shi'ites, who generally supported the political left), organized by the Grey Wolves, left more than 100 people dead. Even Ecevit, though he opposed military interference under any circumstances, had no alternative but to declare martial law in 13 provinces. The authorities seemed unable to restore order.
- **The economy: planning and import substitution** (lecture notes)
- **The economic crisis of the later 1970s** (inflation and oil crises- lecture notes)
- **Social change: squatters and 'guest workers':** For most Turkish citizens, the squabbles between the different political parties were a long way off. Their lives were affected by: the violence in the streets, growing wealth in the 1960s and early 1970s, shortages and price rises thereafter, and industrialization and large scale migration throughout the period. gecekondu neighbourhoods lacked any kind of infrastructure. Many people who had left their ancestral village to go to the city left on an even bigger adventure during the 1960s. Turkish workers started to move to Germany in ever-increasing numbers.

HIST MODULE 2

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

- War process of Turkey (Balkan; Greeks) once peace was established "Peace at home, peace abroad" dusuncesiyle ic islerine odaklandi.
- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Musul Case: couldn't be resolved in Lozan Treaty and left to the League of Nations. 1935-> British Government ile anlasmaya varildi, Musul'un Irak'ta kalmasina ama 20yil boyunca Turkiye'ye oil revenues adina bir para odenicek. (part of the national pact) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hatay Issue: 1921'de Fransa ile imzalanan Ankara Anlasmasiyla Hatay'in Suriye'ye dahil olmasina ama Turklerin autonomous olmasina karar verildi. Suriye Fransizlar'dan bagimsiz olmak istediler Hatay'dakilerse Suriye'den kopmak istedi ve 30'larin sonunda Turkiye'ye katildi. Suriye uzun bi sure kabul etmedi.) |
|--|--|
- 30'larin sonuna kadar we were distant from Brits and Frenchs. Rise of fascism, Mussolini, Turkey started to make agreements with **neighbors** for friendly enviroment (for a possible threat and a new war.)
- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Balkan pact: yunan romanya turkiye ve bulgaristan arasında imzalandi. They wanted to protect territories against the ethnic minority tensions and Soviet Union. - Sadabad pact: with Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. - Montreux Convention: Bogazlarla alakliydi. With the rise of fascism in Europe and Germany militarizing and expanding, the control of the straits was given to Turkey with limitations. (artik international comissiona ait degil kontrol) |
|---|
- end of 1930s closer relationships with **great powers**.
 - Germany yavas yavas expand oldukca diger ulkeler bir nevi artik dur dediler (appointment policy, alttan alma) fakat Germany invaded Poland ve savas basladi. (turkiye ve almanya arasında bir soun yoktu Italya daha sorun cikarmaya yatkindi)
 - Turkiye bu noktadan sonra sadece komsularıyla degil great powerlarla da dostluk anlasmları imzalamaya baslayacak. Ilk anlasma Soviet Union ile imalandı. Devamında France ve Britain ile **Tripartite** anlasması imzalandı. Eger bir savas cikarsa Ingiltere ve Fransa Turkiye'ye inanilmaz bir odeme yapacak ordusunu

liberalization of turkey and democratization. Domestic Effects:

Wealth Tax (1942)

Wealth tax is a war tax (one time thing) It will be applied mainly to cities, according to your wealth (wealth sadece paran degil sahip oldugun her sey ev araba...) Local councils decided: from who to collect. They had 15 days to pay or government elinde olan her seyi alicak ve ya seni labour camp a gondericek. Wealth'in definitioninda bir problem vardi. Sadece cash'ten olusmuyordu. Mesela elinde sadece ailenden gelen evin varsa bunun oraninda bir cash paran olmayabilir. Savas zamaninda 15 gun icerisinde evin kendi degerini alabiliceign bir anlasmayla satamazsin. Zenginligin baska bir kesime gecisi burada yasaniyor.

Odeyemeyenler kampa gidiyor ki bunlar genelde nonmuslims oluyor. Railwayde calisiyorlar, kazanclarinin yarisi devlete yarisi kendinlerine gidiyor. Bu tam olarak 2 sene suruyor.

Savasin bitmesiyle kaldıriliyor.

⇒ *Governmental Power Medium*

National Defence Law (1940)

The war occasioned a new wave of state intervention in all sectors of the economy, which was legitimized by the 'National Defence Law' (Millî Korunma Kanunu) passed in January 1940, giving the government almost unlimited powers to fix prices, requisition materials and even to impose forced labour. Forced labour was widely used during the war, especially in the mining industry.

- 1945-1950: Democratization and Liberalization.

International Context After the World War II: axis power lost, (fascist powers lost the war.) who are the winners: US, Soviet Union, European Bloc that based on liberalism and democracy.

- when turkey declared war on Germany to get into UN, still single party. although TR said they were democratic still no opposition and no multiparty.
- because US and EU won democratic values increased its importance. turkey de buna uyup iyi gozunmek istedi cunku zaten neutrality ilkesinden dolayi guvenilmez bi imaj cizmislerdi.
- turkey started to have problems with soviet, ilk sovyetle friendship agreement. Soviet said they wont renew this unless turkey agrees on certain thing, kars ardahan were demanded, straits joined protection to protect black sea. turkish government did not accept this. Sovyetten gelen bu tehdit Turkiyeyi diger tarafa, demokrasi tarafina itti.
- the world started to divide in two spheres. not colonial powers anymore but two super powers with diff ideologies posessing nearly half of the world: **COLD WAR.**

Hist Module 2



- truman makes the statement. US are there to help countries who are under the threat of communism. Iron Curtain, map of the cold war.
- the wall. germany. berlin areas posessed by the soviet became part of the soviet, germany was divided into two bi taraf komunist diger taraf da alman cumhuriyet democrats.

- great threat to Turkey and Greece. greece was having a civil war between republicans and communists socialists.

truman doctrine: They gave money to turkey and greece for their fight against communism. Turkiyede civil war olmasada paranin ceyregini kapti. geri odemek zorunda degillerdi. **help you against communism.**

- can you become communist after that point? no. more liberal environment after 1945 with closer relationships with US.

marshall plan: providing money to countries who are recovering from the second world war. eger bi ulke demokraiklesip free marketa girmek istiyorsa biz desteklicez diyorlar sadece money de degil ayni zamanda advisors vsvs. It had three complementary aims: to help the Europeans help themselves; to sustain lucrative export markets for US industry; and to eliminate poverty as a breeding ground for communism. Turkiye, marshalldan da para alicak.

America
Eu (Export Market)

- **Domestic issues:** People were devastated after the second world war, wealth tax agricultural tax, this readiness destroyed people (unfair taxes) people were starving. Increasing distrust to republicans and hatred -> state party unification party was the only one to blame. Tel parti CHP dedigi icin nefset etti. yordiyar.

- For better relations with new international partners but also getting the trust back of the people, ismet inonu gave a statement we are a democracy and LOOK FORWARD to have a multiparty. → Ismet Inonu's day.

duzenilmesi icin. Eger savas cikarsa ve Balkan'a kadar gelirse aldigı yardimla Turkiye savasa girecek. Bu antlasmaya ve Balkan Pact'e ragmen Turkiye asla Sovyet'e karsi savasa girmeyecek. Savas Balkanlara sicradiginda Fransa coktan Almanya tarafindan isgal altinda olacak ve Turkiye bunu anlasmasinin gecersizligi icin bahane olarak kullanacak.

- **ACTIVE NEUTRALITY:** savasanlarla anlasma imzaliyorsun ama asla birinin tarafinda yer almiyorsun, kim kazanrsa ona yanasmak gibi. Sonunda Un'e kabul olmak icin Almanyaya savas actilar ama asla savasmadilar.
- **Crom Issue:** important metal for military products, Turkey important producer and seller (esp to Britain) Before 1941, Turkiye Ingiltere'ye butun cromeu al diye diretti. Onlarsa paralarinin yeterli olmadigini kimseye satmayip beklmelerini soledi. Turkiye is hepsini Almanyaya satti.
- non agression pact: Tr ve Almanya birbirlerine karsi savasmacaklar
- **Bununlar beraber Turkiye'nin: Britain, France, Soviet ve Germany ile antlasmalari oldu.**
- Germany attacked Soviet Union, Turkey had deals with both of them. Soviet blamed Turkey. After that point Soviet also joined the war. They managed to keep war alive against the Germans for 2 years. Hitler'in hatasi tipki Napolyon ve Enver Pasa gibi kisin Rusya'ya girmek. Normalde baharda gireceklerdi ama Italya'nin Yunanistan'i kontrol etmesine yardimci olmak icin bu plan gecti. Soviet killed more than 10 millions to keep Germany invading its cities. Amerika'nin savasa girmesiyle sonu gelmis oldu.
- Ismet Inonu never wanted to join the war, believed it would have devastating effects. Buna ragmen yine de kemer sikma politikasi (savasa hazir tutma) yuzunden domestic enviromentta oldukca nefret topladi. (ekonomik baski, ekmek kuyruklari...)

- what democratic party was asking in the program:
 - direct elections
 - lib in press
 - increasing autonomy in universities
 - LIB IN ECONOMY, less control of government

- they will abolish permanent chairmanship. Bu neydi: bir kere seciliyorsunuz ölene kadar parti baskani oluyorsunuz bu kurali degistirdiler. There will be reelections (bu ismet inonu gidecek diye degil ama hep o secildi, bulent ecevit karsi bi noktada kaybedicek.)
- they will also leave the titles after the death of ataturk. milli sef -> ismet inonunu'nun yasal lakabi (ebedi sef ataturk) butun nickname abolished
- next elections will be direct and fair.
- liberalization of the peoples party
- elections will be earlier so democrat parti wont be ready for the elections. demokrat parti itiraz etti (1947den 46ya cekildi) bu ilk iki partinin attend oldugu secim oldu. free and fair nasil olacak? independent judicial, privacy to voter, transparency on counting the votes, equal chance for a party to talk to people before. ↳ Bosphorus Elections
- elections: demokratlar buna bigest fraud of turkey diyecekler. Acik oy gizli sayim, burned down all the ballots after counting saying republicans party won but democrat party will also be represented bi sonraki secim 1950de gelicek bu noktaya kadar bu hep tartisilan bi konu olacak, majoritarian election model. ne demek bu? mesela yuzde 50nin uzerinde oy alan bi district, butun temsicileri giriyordu kotadaki districtte. republicans people party believed this will benefit them. they will win with these close percentages diye dusunduler. (kac parti oldugu, hangi modelle secim yaptigin ve quality of checks and balances in constitution çok onemli bi donemi anlamak icin hocanin yorumu bu.)
- 1947 president ismet inonu famous statement 12th of july declaration: state will be impartial and equal distance to all parties. normalde chpnin baskani ayni zamanda cumhurbaskani.

- gittikce iki partinin programları birbirine benzeyecek. Hardliners within the RPP like Recep Peker were eliminated. Peoples party will end the stateism.. more liberal more private measures will be taken -> very similar to what democrat party was going for. (amerika ve marshal planin de etkisiyle)
- increasing rights to workers, labour laws, land distribution laws will pass but with a change only governments land will be distributed ozellere dokunmicaklar.
- 1950ye geldiginde iki parti birbirine çok benzer olacak. ^{State right & left} democratlar sadece privatizationdan bahsedicek peoples party istemeyecek ve grev haklarını savunacak peoples ona da sıcak bakmayacak. bunların disinda HEP AYNI
- ministry of education, isterseniz din dersi elective olarak verilebiliyor. relaxation of secularism
- 1950 secimlerini girdi, this time impartial judicial control close voting open counting -> DP WON
^{Fair Elections}
- asiretler peoples party ile konusma icerisindeydi closer relationships. ordaki oyları toparladılar o area da chp çıktı.
^{Yolcu osiretler CHP ve oy verme} velvet revolution, government party ruled by itself for a such a long time, changed with one election, without any bloodshed. peoples party opposition olmayı kabul ettiler. military asked Ismet Inonu if they should organize a coup he refused it. He said democracy should work.



- Majoritarian Election System
 DP yüzde 53luk oyla 408 seats aldı RPP 39.8 percentile 69 seat aldı. one becomes the main one becomes the opposition. YETER SOZ MILLETIN adlı bi propaganda ile.

- Celal Bayar -> president / Adnan Menderes becomes the prime minister
 understanding of democracy by the democrats -> majoritarian democracy, majority alan istedigini yapma hakkı. Adnan Menderes will use the statement **NATIONAL WILL.**
- republicans will push for plural democracy.

National Will: "Democracy is the regime of numbers. In this regime the wishes of the masses are carried out. We, as the responsible ones in power are obliged to take into consideration the wishes of the mass of the people and shot the shouts and criticisms of a handful of intellectuals"

- o zamanlar dp agricultura onem verdi. **guaranteed high prices to producers, giving credits.**
- for the first time a party was giving **importance to peasants** ve sayica en yuksek grup bu.
- this will work for the first 4 years buyume orani yuksek olacak.
 - great road networks established **high ways**, connecting inner anatolia to urban places.
 - building sectors.
 - limited energy sector.
- people liked these.
- adnan menderes believed in capitalism too much, he didnt need any plans he believed **these plans are communist and short term results are better than long term plans.**

5 yıldır bakkalıma tercih etti.
- short term policies will become a burdain at some point. They will do wrong things like building factories a sugar factory in one area but no sugar cains or buying tractors, couple of thousands were from italy but not suitable for turkish land but they already bought them. seker olmayan yerde seker fabrikası. They also did for the popularity and need of vote because you make a factory there (even a wrong one) employment increases and workers are paid.
- weather conditions, production levels will decrease after 1953. 53e kadar tohum satiyolarken o noktada tohumu disaridan alsmalar o kadar kotu bir hava.



*Ar: acagi
ego: ilc olmaya
rahkum.
Daha yeter para bitti*

Us fed up, no more aid. But deficit also increasing -> to fix this you need to increase the tax revenue, but when the government tries to collect tax its popularity will decrease. Democrat party will never be able to collect the tax so they will print money, **INFLATION.** who will hit most? maasli calisanlar. 50nin sonuna geldigimizde yuzde 20ye cikmisti.

- Fixed Exchange Rate*
- 1957ye kadar turkiye trade deficit ile ugrasicak. A new law -> fixing the prices, fixing the foreign currency dollar, 1 dolar 2.8 tl bu fixed rate ama bu black marketa olacak, aslinda 1 dolar 10 tl olacak ama not legally in the system. **economy will loose its all quality.**
 - 57de 3. kere secildikten sonra, kendileri ugrasmayi bırakacaklar **IMF'e gidecekler.**

Tefeci

CAF'R

- How does the very famous opposition party in 1945?

Democrat Partisi

the land reform law. ciftciyi topraklandirma kanunu, part of the socio economic reforms, provide adequate land for farmers (unused state lands but more importantly expropriated lands from landowners with more than 500 donum) great lands only belong to the number of people.

Landowner oldugu için haksızlığı

- After the law was suggested adnan menderes >economically not feasible dedi. against the competition violation of private property rights. first time opposition party was emerging because main party was acting unconstitutional.
- law never passed ama created a momentum.

adnan menderes celal bayer refik koraltan ve fuat koprulu. hala peoples partye aitlerdi. BUT they stated that the party should follow the constitution and be democratic. (4lu takrir)

- increasing of critical newspaper (more liberal ones) writing and criticizing of the gov. Liberalization of press (daha legally defined degildi)
- Nuri Demirbağ, established the first airplane business in turkey, believed in liberal economy ilk opposition partiyi kurdu ama uyeleri parlamentoda degildi, hic bi representantion'i yoktu. *is ademi*
- 1945 inonu made a declaration: we are lack of opposition party
- 1946 this **four will be impeached** for the writings in the newspapers. they will form an **opposition party** (peoples party de izin vericek) ve daha representative. 1
- 1945te nuri demirdag partisi basarisiz oldu cunku hic bir zaman parlementoya giremediler fakat bu politikacilar chpden atilmis olsalarda hala milletvekililer ve parlementodalar dolayisiyla demokrat parti kurulduklari anda parlementoda 2 parti olucak. **o yuzden asil opposition party bu olucak**
- Celal parti programini yazarken ismet inonuyle beraber yazacak. Ciddi bi fikir ayrılıgi olsa da bu peoples party'nin kabulunu gostericek. Loyal opposition gibi gozukebilir fakat olmayacaklar.
- peoples parti kabul edicekler ama **extraordniary congress 1946**
- 1946'da Peoples Party, will liberalise after this congress.

- Same day in the morning
duyma haberler) -> a bomb
crowd coming with nationally
taksim also joined and in that
were targeted, raped, stored
santi towns Gazi...

Ekonominin yani sira;

↳ liberalization dasken sindi suppression
press kontrol edilmeye baslikak. democrats will gain majority, try to control all aspects.
halkim beni tekrar secti, artik benim kararlarim diyecek. he will eliminate all the
opposition it might challenge them (national will)

- will change the election party, anybody who was rejected by one party, cannot go to another election from another party.
- freedom of press wil curb down again, after 1954. also the universities will loose autonomy.

- 54ten sonra peoples partinin guncunu iyice kesmeye calisicaklar. **CIVIL SERVICE LAW**. devlette calisan insanlar prof vs de dahil 25 yil sonrasinda emekli olmak zorunda. they were eliminated. created a great problem in the eyes of liberals.

- liberals normalde demokrat partiyi destekliyorlardı parti demokrasi liberallik vsvs derken FAKAT bi anda boyle bisi gorduklerinde memnun kalmayacaklar ve partinin icinde bile bolumme olucak.

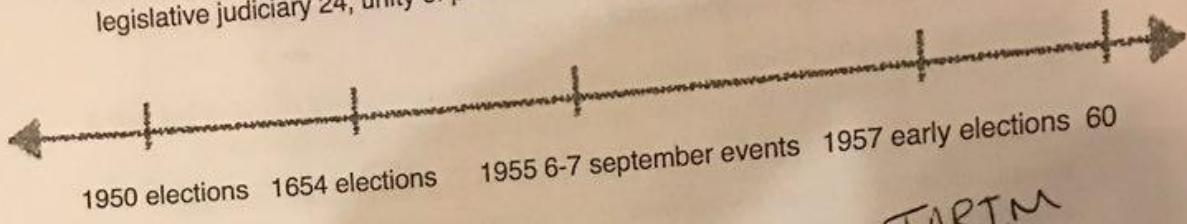
- a law passed, any journalists who has written something about something critical about the state, right to put that one in jail da group in the democrat party bu uygun degili savunacaklar -> bi law gecirelim **RIGHT TO PROOVE**. ispat hakkı: a journalist can proove what he or she wrote was true, they cannot be jailed olsun diyolar but it was denied in the parliament.

- this group will broke away from the party and became the new opposition party (50 kadari uzaklasti) bu dpyi boldu.
- in 1955 another major event that changed a lot / **6 7 Eylul Olayları**

- It starts with the decolonization of cyprus , normally it was a british colony, at that time greeks and turks were all wanting to become independent, they were going to unite with greeks or the island would be divided, foreign ministers were involved with the cyprus. Kibris turk association, established in istanbul, they wanted to make a peaceful demonstration. Izin aldilar-> legal, cyprustaki turkler icin yapacagiz dediler government da onayladi.



- 1924 constitution oyle bir yapıldı ki çok az bir checks and balances var. executive legislative judiciary 24, unity of powers.



- DEMOKRAT PARTİNİN EKONOMİYE ETKİSİ

- Chpnin ^{as State banks} mal varlığı (shares in state bank buildings) belonged to the party however democrat party pass a law, saying they don't belong to the party but state. this succeeded. this shows that democrat party curbed down the power of opposition, new party won for the first time and put down its own power and control
- they got a great support from the society
- aid package. but they demand smt with that aid. liberal economy, private entrepreneurship. bunlar hızla arttı. adnan menderes total free market economy. we can do this with aid.

TARIM

Disarlı Export 1. **agricultural industrialization**, very prosperous land, hic degilse tarım ürünlerini international olarak satabiliriz ve foreign currency gelir o currency ile investment ant attracting other investors from the world.

Balkılı Ürnekler 2. agricultural industrialization means number of lands used and products used will increase, certain **specializations** will happen. (cukurova adana -a major cotton industry) it means certain products in certain places.

Traktör (Ağırın yardımleme) 3. aynı zamanda **mechanization of agriculture** less human based, number of tractors increasing. bigger land is needed. land distribution is not necessary, big lands for big productions. 3 senede 1700 traktörden 30000'e yükseldi, dışarıdan alındılar us ve westen aid ile ödediler. Bir kısmını ise kendi cebinden ödediler, bu da **TRADE DEFICIT** oluşturdu. Bu gelişen devletlerde beklenen bir sonuctur. Bu acıgın buyuyup buyumadığı asıl meseledir. Sikintı ödeyemezsiniz ya da başka şeyler de alıp hızlı buyuyim derseniz, ve bocta artarsa baslar. This was the case in Turkey -> 1958'e geldiğimizde ciddi bir borcu var 1.5 milyar dolar o zaman için ciddi boyutta gnp'sinin 1/4'u.

- An independent co-legislation it regarded
- executive: president is a political party who has the okayed by the president in every step controlled elections



• ikinci bir grup kuruldu RADYO DINLEMEYENLER
CEMIYETI.

- adnan menderesin ucagi dusuyo ama yasiyo olmuyo yani oyle bi adam, peygamber diyenler var hani hic olmicek sanirim falan diyolar populerligi articak.
- coup attempt, bunu investigate etmek icin Investigatory Committee kuruluyor. (peoples party mi yapti anlasilsin diye)

military takeover 27 may 1960

- declaration read on the radio by colonel alparslan turkes, for 1 year they ruled the country -> formation of a National Unity Committee headed by cemal gursel
- you still have parliament. Democrat party is closed but republican people party and others still there.
- From coup to revolution: the role of the professors :Sami Onar and The New Constitution professors helped them to rule because they didnt have any experience. They wrote the new constitution.
- On 13 November 1960 Cemal Gürsel suddenly announced that the NUC had been disbanded and that a new one had been founded, excluding 14 of the best-known radicals, among them Türkeş. turkes gibi radikaller, yurdisina atese olarak gonderiyolar ama politik veya siyasi gorev yok **FACTIONS WITHIN THE NUC**.
- ilk referandum yapiliyor
- Yeni constituitonin amaci **blow the power unity**. demokrat partiye gecunu de veren buydu -> no checks and balances
- **1961 CONSTITUTION** ->the constitution of 1961 was markedly different from the 1924 constitution.
 - main aim of the new constitution was to prevent a power monopoly such as the DP (and the RPP before it) had held, by counterbalancing the national assembly with other institutions. second chamber, called **the senate** (senato), was created and all legislation would have to pass both chambers (with a mechanism to overrule a senate veto with a two-thirds majority in the assembly). senate daha mature ve higher education kind of a check mechanism.

- An independent constitutional court was introduced, which could throw out legislation it regarded as unconstitutional and the judiciary.
- **executive:** president artik impartial, bir partide bagli degil. Government -> the political party who has the majority. anything that passes the government should be okayed by the president (impartial) president has veto right.
- **every step controlled by another step and another mechanism.** 4 yilda bir election.
- president became cemal gursel (still the influence of the military)

National security council (milli guvenlik kurumu) advisory board where the gov and high ranking military officers talk about domestic and international issues in every 2 years. *Muhafazakar sureti təsisi* (Military within politics)

- full autonomy and freedom of press is now in the constitution again kind of a checks and balances system -> now universities and the press had rights to freely criticize the government without any fear.
- *Majoritarian → Proportional (Against Domination)*
Election laws, simple laws changed by the majority. Election law decides **who will be represented and how in the parliament.** eskiden majoritarian simdi proportional representation in a very basic form. More tolerance to smaller parties and no threshold. Anybody who gets some kind of a percentage is represented.
- Aim : lessen the chance of one party holding an overwhelming majority in the assembly.

Tətbiq Mütəsəv

- **TRIAL OF THE OLD REGIME:** *Yaslı oda.*

Film (Documentary)

- party is closed down
- Former leaders of the Democratic Party had all been arrested in the aftermath of the coup.
- The members of the tribunal were clearly biased politically against the DP.
- Ridiculous Cases: Adnan menderes and the mistress case, mistress had a miscarriage adnan menderes bebegi dusurttu dediler.
Another case: celal bayer and afghan dog. A prince had this dog, Then it was given to zoo, zoo paid he was accused of giving the states money MEANINGLESS.



- DAM
- at the end of it, 100 members of democrat party were jailed, life sentenced or less. 15 members sentenced to death. (national unity committee'nin onayi gerekiyordu sadece 4u onaylandi-> celal bayer, adnan menderes, foreign minister zorlu and finance minister hasan. Celal Bayer'in yasından dolayı yapılmadi, 65ten usste oldugu icin. digerleri asildi. ismet inonu bunu durdurmak istedi cunku yaparsiniz bu bi legacy yaratıcak kahraman olurlar dedi.

- Return to Democracy, 1961

These parties are the ones still running. *DP'nin devamı*

- RPP, RPN, JP, NTP (CHP %36, Adalet Partisi %34, Cumhuriyetçi Koylu Millet Partisi %13, Yeni Türkiye Partisi %13.)

1961: elections and constitution.
1961-1964: İnönü coalitions.
1965: elections -> DEMIREL

- ilk defa coalitions gorecegiz. two major ones ->marriage of convenience. mantik evliliği ama farklılıklar yüzünden yuremeyecek . RPP ve JP (adalet partisi ve chp)
- bu turkiyenin ilk koalisyon denemesi oluyor. chp once jp ile sonra iki küçük parti ile deniyor basarisiz oluyor. Justice party de deniyor o da beceremiyor. Bu denemeler neden? Yasa gecirmek icin sayiniz yetmez hukumet disindan destek alirsınız, onlar back up etmediginde ise hizlica dusebilicek bir hukumet.
- 1964a kadar uc sekilde hukumet kurmayı deneyecekler olmayacak -> 65te yeniden secimler. 64te yeni bir challenge justice partinin lideri vefat ediyor ve yeni bir lider **SULEYMAN DEMIREL** geliyor. *Kapitolat \$*
- Demirel is a vote catcher. Catch all party haline geliyor
-> able to control many diff groups under one roof.
Control mass population by giving them popular demands.
- Now more capitalist economy, **anticommunism**. able to get a great vote in 65 elections (more than 58) which will give him **total control power without any coalitions**. bu 4 sene icinde digerleri sadece opposition olarak kalacak
- Workers party of turkey (isci partisi)** established in 1961 after elections.
Normalde Turkiye'de komunist partiler yasaktı ama 65te bu socialist parti adı altında bu işçiler, esitlik ve trade unions gibi seyler savunacaklar. Not supported by the majority yuzde 3 alacaklar ve 15



Adalet Partisi
Catch All

6) anayasaının freedonuya sol/sağ arımı buluyorlardı

The Rise of Workers Party of Turkey: Lively intellectual debates about all kinds of political and social issues

Formation of debate clubs in unis, socialist revolution olmali diyenler, (institutionalisation and organization of left)

Bir kismi, bu social revolution gelmeli ama popular demand ile gelmeli, bu demandi de bu konuyu anlatarak, üniversitelerde bilgi vererek oluşturursunu savundular.

Bir kismis ise, bunun imkansız olduğunu savunuyordu, cehaletten dolayı demand olamaz kimse anlayamaz. Solution: elite will take turkey to socialist revolution aslinda ikisinin

Conservative Republican Peasants' Nation Party and **Alparslan Türkeş**. (indiadan geldi) lideri oldu, changed the more conservative and nationalists. Panturkism ve turanism.

'Hearths of the Ideal' (*Ülkü Ocakları*), whose members called themselves **Bozkurtlar** (Grey Wolves) began a campaign to intimidate leftist students, teachers, publicists, booksellers and, finally, politicians in 1968.



member sokucaklar. İlk defa ideological partimiz. More focused on an ideology ve aynı zamanda DEMIRELIN KABUSU OLACAKLAR. They will challenge Demirel