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ISMET INONU AND THE FORMATION OF THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

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Summary

The purpose of this study is to explore Ismet Inonu and the formation of multi-party system in eve of 1945's. The beginning of the Turkish political system from one-party authoritarian rule to multiparty democracy in the aftermath of the Second World War represents a major landmark in Turkey's modern political history. Even Ismet Inonu had declared that he was sideless as a President of Turkey, his interference was so effective both on the Republican Party and Turkey's politics. The demands of Democratic Party members and some groups in the way of democratization after war were welcomed by Inonu particularly with Truman aid in 1947. The progress in forming multi-party system was quickened as well. In this context, the democratization progress from 1945-1950 years was overviewed and evaluated Inonu's role in this period. The argument on Turkey's democracy has always been a main topic that it is still being discussed in today's Turkey.

Keywords: Multi-Party System, Ismet Inonu, Democratization, Republican Party, **Democratic Party.**

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INTRODUCTION

The study of Ismet Inonu and the multi-party system in Turkish politics, by scholars have existed for fifty years, particularly the writings of Sevket Sureyya Aydemir and Metin Toker are the first-works about this subject.

For the purposes of this article, Ismet Inonu and the multi-party system is regarded as including the time covered by 1945's but the attempts in democratization goes back earlier.

The victory of Mustafa Kemal and his followers in Anatolia rendered meaningless the Treaty of Sevres signed in 1920 and it was necessary to sign a new treaty in the light of new situation.² The Allies therefore called an invitation to the Ankara and Istanbul governments to attend a peace conference at Lausanne on October 28, 1922. The Sultan's government accepted the invitation but Ankara was angry and had to end duality in politics. Several deputies in Ankara and a part of the press in Istanbul had been unhappy over the conflict between Mustafa Kemal and the Sultan-Caliph. Grand National Assembly abolished the Sultanate on November 1, 1922. The Caliphate was retained and a new Caliph, Abdulmecid, replaced Sultan Mehmet Vahdettin (1918-1922).

The Laussane Conference began on November 22, 1922, and Turkey's only representation was a nationalist delegation headed by Ismet Pasha. The conference concluded its sessions, after an interval of several months, on July 24, 1923.³

While peace negotiations were being conducted in Laussane some significant political developments took place in Turkey itself. First it resulted from the abolition of the Sultanate. However the country had still a religious head, the Caliph and the establishment of the Republic had clearly separated two major groups in the Assembly: the conservatives who were around the Caliphate and the modernists headed by Mustafa Kemal. After a preliminary campaign that Mustafa Kemal asked the historical origin and contemporary value of this institution to Turkey, he abolished it on March 3, 1924.

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² Ergün Aybars, **Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi**, İzmir 1984, Ege Üniversitesi pub., p. 228

³ For Treaty of Laussanne see, Ali Naci Karacan, **Lozan**, İstanbul 1971, Milliyet pub.

The deeply reaction to the abolishment of Caliphate was aggravated by the bad economic conditions in the country. The discontent was expressed in the National Assembly: a criticism of Ismet Pasha's strict rules on economy. Dissensions in the Republican Party followed and some members resigned. Kazım Karabekir and Ali Fuad who had resigned their military inspectorates and returned to the Assembly. Rauf (Orbay), Adnan (Adıvar), Refet Pasha, İsmail Canpolat, and some other deputies finally organized themselves in a political party, Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party), on November 17, 1924.

The foundation of Progressive Party was the first attempt in creating multi-party system in the country. The Party's basic idea was the concentration of all powers in the National Assembly that it accepted the Republican form of government, liberalism, and democracy as its basic principles (Articles 1, 2)⁴

The establishment of the PRP created some concern in the government. Four days later Ismet Pasha, who seemed to be chief target for attack, resigned and was replaced by Fethi (Okyar).

In 1925, a Kurdish revolt occured by Seyh Sait broke out in the East with the purpose of establishing an independent Kurdistan and restoring the Caliphate. In order to end the revolt

The rebellion was quelled in a short time and the rebellions were executed by the decision of Tribunal of Independence which also accused Progressive Party of connecting with the rebellion. So the party was finally abolished on June 5, 1925. The Law on the Maintanence of Order promulgated and nearly more than 500 men were executed by court.⁵

The Izmir conspiracy to Mustafa Kemal in 1926 made government silenced against all opponents and the Law on the Maintenance of Order remained until 1929 when the government felt secure enough in country. However the world economic crisis badly affected Turkey's situation and a great dissent increased against RPP government.

⁵ Ateş, Ibid, p. 178.

⁴ Toktamış Ateş, **Türk Devrim Tarihi**, İstanbul 2001, İstanbul Bilgi Yayınları, p. 176. See also, Kemal Karpat, **Turkey's Politics**, USA 1959, Princeton, p. 46.

The Liberal Party experiment came about the sum up of these conditions. It is a desire of

Mustafa Kemal created a loyal party to fill the role of an opposition. The party was established

Fethi (Okyar) who was a close friend of Mustafa Kemal on August 12, 1930. Moreover Mustafa

Kemal made Makbule (his sister) join this new party as people could trust easily because of the

support of President.

As soon as the new party was established, it took a great popular support. The program of the

Liberal Party consisted of a liberal motives but for Karpat its main policy consisted in opposing

the Republican Party and criticizing its failure in the economic field. This attracted immediately

a large group of followers who defied the party in power as shown anti-government meeting in

Izmir when Fethi bey's visit there."6

Fethi's growing popularity were interpreted by Republicans not only a threat for themselves but

to that of the regime itself. Finally the Liberal Party leaders dissolved their party by Mustafa

Kemal's initiative on November 17, 1930.

ISMET INONU AND FORMING OF THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

In Turkey between 1923 and 1945, many reforms and new system of education were introduced

for the purpose of liberate the individual from the traditional forms. After Ataturk's death in

1938, a small bureaucratic group in the Republican Party gained power and exercised all

activities. In 1939, some open complaints were visible at the party congress. However when

Second World War started it caused postponement of talks for liberation. During the war years,

Turkey was neutral (it had an alliance with France and England in 1939 and the non-aggression

pact of 1941 with Germany)

The end of war changed Ankara's position in the way of West that it could be served by a closer

reapprochment to it. The collapse of Nazi regime in Germany and fascist regime in Italy became

close Turkey with Allies. Also, Ismet Inonu realized that without a democratization of political

system, Turkey would not be able to gain in the West. Moreover, economic, political and social

⁶ Karpat, ibid, p. 65.

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measures taken by government during war years made discontent Turkish society so it was

necessary to make liberal movements.

Having accepted the Charter of the United Nations, Turkey pledged to liberalize its political

regime in accordance with the democratic principles of the Charter. The Turkish representative

in San Francisco conference in 1945 declared to the Reuters

"The Republican regime, as a political institution, is determinedly progressing on the way to

modern democracy. Our Constitution can be compared with the constitutions of the most

advanced countries; it may even prove better than some of them..." and he added that after the

war every democratic tendency would be allowed to develop in Turkey."⁷

A few days later Ismet Inonu said on May 19, 1945,

"...the political regime and the government of the people established by the Republican regime

shall develop in all aspects and in every way, and as the conditions imposed by war disappear,

democratic principles will gradually acquire a larger place in the political and cultural life of the

country. The Grand National Assembly, our greatest democratic institutions, had the

Government in its hand from the very beginning and constantly developed the country in the

direction of democracy."8

The opposition group in the assembly formed over the years, became active during the debates

on the Land Reform Law. Adnan Menderes who was one of opponents, appeared as the

outspoken critic of one-party rule, pointed out that the Charter's principles about free voting and

political rights of the individuals. For Menderes, the acceptance of the Charter entailed the end of

these restrictions on individual rights.⁹

This speech grew more attention among opponents in the assembly and they demanded multi-

party system as it was pointed out in United Nations Charter.

⁷ Ibid, p. 141.

⁸ Metin Toker, **Tek Partiden Cok Partiye**, İstanbul 1970, Milliyet pub., s. 76

⁹ Toker, Ibid, p. 78.

The effect and pressure of international events on Turkish internal poliics has always been a

subject of controversy, particularly in the light of the government's politics. One of controversy

decisions was that Republican Party accepted multi-party system. This is similar in the past when

foreign pressure had brought about the Tanzimat of 1939 and the Reform Edict of 1856.

The acceptance of the United Nations Charter, nevertheless, diminished reactions against one-

party rule because it provided more freedom for liberalization and democracy.

Turkey was under pressure of all these internal and external developments in 1945 that the

Republican Party gradually underwent a strict change. Premier Sükrü Saracoglu who had

declared that Turkish Political regime was likely to be a post war model for other countries¹⁰

agreed to transition in the way of liberalization.

Spokesman in the Republican Party declared that in Turkey that the sovereignty of the people

was recognized and the regime was democratic in Turkey.

The practice of this kind of speeches in the way of democracy came with the Istanbul by-

elections. Candidates in this election were freely nominated on June, 17, 1945. On other hand,

the elected deputies belonged to CHP (Peoples Republican Party).

Martial Law, however, had enforced in Istanbul throughout the war years, then, it was extended

for an additional six months. This law gave the government dominant rule to take all measures

as it was necessary for the country's security. Even the most important newspapers in Istanbul

might have been used for the use of government as well.

The opposition group in the assembly gradually viewed more reaction. The sharp criticism of the

government took place during the debates on the budget of the Ministry of Commerce in 1945

and seven votes cast against it. It was the beginning of increasing opposition within CHP

(Peoples Republican Party). Formal separation developed with the submission to the Republican

Party's Parliamentary Group of a proposal known as the Dörtlü Takrir (Proposal of the Four) of

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 79

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June,7,1945. The signatories were Celal Bayar (ex Premier), Adnan Menderes, Fuad Köprülü

and Refik Koraltan. 11

They talked about the democratic nature of constitution which was formed with the initiative of

Ataturk to give a more liberal character to the government and finally the second World War's

difficult environment had done the enforcement of these restrictions.¹²

However, after war, there was no need to restrict political life and now peasants and intellectuals

were ready for democracy. The opposition group in the assembly proposed to restore effective

powers of control over the government.

The Republican Party's Group Meeting was held on June, 12, 1945 and after seven hours of

closed-door discussions rejected the proposal at certain amendments in the existing laws and

regulations. For Karpat, it is rather difficult to explain the rejection of the proposal in question,

indeed it was the denial of all the liberalization promises made by the Republicans during the

spring of 1945. 13

Public Opinion was willingly ready to be side next to opposition groups in order to criticize the

Republican Party. By the approval of the four signatories, Fuad Koprulu and Adnan Menderes

brought their opposition by criticizing the government. The secretary of Republican Party asked

to explain their critical views against government but did not receive a satisfactory answer that's

why the government decided to expel them. Refik Koraltan, the third signatory of the proposal

was also expelled because of criticizing the decision regarding his two friends.

Celal Bayar, the fourth-man in signatory, had prepared a request for amending of Press Law

restricting freedom of information but his demand was rejected by the Republican Parliamentary

Group.

¹¹ Feroz Ahmad ve Bedia Turgay Ahmad, **Türkiye'de Çok Partili Politikanın Açıklamalı Kronolojisi** 1945-1970,

Ankara 1970, Bilgi pub., s. 13.

¹² For detailed see, Naki C. Akerman, **Demokrasi ve Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler Hakkında Kısa Notlar**, Ankara,

¹³ Karpat, Ibid, p. 146.

Bayar resigned on December, 2, 1945 and this was the turning point in transition for the

formation of multi-party system.¹⁴

In opening the Assembly on November, 1, 1945, President Inonu made declarations encouraging

the opposition. He said that Turkey was progressing in freedom and security towards democracy,

also stated that such an opposition party might be established in accordance with the principles

of democracy and country's needs. This democracy shouldn't have been danger for Turkish

society and Inonu believed that a limited democracy would not challenge the Republican Party's

rule.15

While these developments were going on, the tension within some newspapers arose suddenly.

They demanded freedom for the press, amendment of the Associations and Police Law,

autonomy for Universities, direct elections and separation of the President from the Chairman of

the Republican Party.

A political discussion which degenerated into personal slander between Ahmet Emin Yalman

(the editor of the opposition newspaper Vatan) and Falih Rıfkı Atay in Ulus (formal newspaper

of the Republican Party)

In this controversory atmosphere, Nuri Demirag, a rich industrialist, requested on July, 6, 1945

to establish a new political party. This party named Milli Kalkınma (National Resurgence) didn't

have a detailed program and limited its activities to a policy. As a result, it played a short role in

the political area.

Opposition newspapers in Istanbul particularly leftist Tan began to attack on the Republican

Party under the leading of Zekeriya Sertel and Sabiha Sertel. They supported the Land Reform

Law and continued to publish some articles on the social and economic problems of the country.

¹⁴ Feroz & Bedia Ahmad, ibid, p. 15.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 15.

After a while Tan asked for a new reorientation in internal and in external (pro-soviet policies)

politics.¹⁶

Tan's supporting ideas for Soviet system made some radical groups react on December 4, 1945.

A big crowd, who carried anti-communist posters came in the front of the Tan offices. Some

places were destroyed and also the places which sold leftist publications were also wrecked. 17

In this time, the four signatories of the proposal had decided to form a new party which was

named "Democrat", was formally established under the leadership of Celal Bayar. Like in the

past, Democratic Party was formed by within Republican Party members instead of developing

from the people upwards.

President Ismet Inonu and the government welcomed the new party and expressed the hope that

it would soon emerge as a party which was different from that of Republican Party. Hikmet

Bayur who was a critical of the government, was expelled from the Republican Party and joined

the new party (He worked for the Democrat Party but did not become a member)

After its establishment, the Democrat Party had opened branches in sixteen provincial seats out

of the existing sixty-three provinces and indefinite number of villages. However these

developments were slow for a new party, one reason for society was discontent because of

Liberal Party's failure in 1930.

The relations between Democrats and Republicans were friendly for the first few months, on the

other hand, as the Democrat Party grew, Republicans' attitute changed. The party organized its

branches quickly in both towns and country sides. The Republican Party called a party

convention to discuss the country's problems. They decided to change municipal elections from

September to May 1946. This was perceived negative by Democrats because it was impossible to

prepare their organizations in a short time. Moreover parliamentary elections were advanced the

date in July 1946 from March 1947. The elections were caused to protest of public opinions and

¹⁶ Mithat Kadri Vural, "II. Dünya Savaşı Türkiyesinde Bir Muhalefet Örneği Olarak "Tan" Gazetesi", Çağdaş

Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi, vol. VII,num. 16-17, p. 388 ¹⁷ Mithat Kadri Vural, p. 389.

opposite parties. By the way elections of 1946 became one of the most polemic elections in

modern Turkish history.

President Inonu made opening speech in the Republican Party Convention on May 10, 1946, and

pointed out that the internal and external situation changed so there was need to democratize the

election system. If the Republican Party lost the election, what would Inonu do? he answered, he

would go into opposition as the chairman of the Republican Party. He never desired to be both

the President and chairman of the Party. Inonu recommended the following:

a) lifting the ban on the formation of associations and political parties based on class interest b)

adoption of the direct voting system in place of the old indirect system; c) amendment of the

party chairman, instead of having him nominated for life-time (değişmez başkan), and change

the name of sef (chief leader) to "party chairman", d) abolition of the Independent Group in the

Assembly – and as a conclusion to all these, the holding of new elections. ¹⁸

After convention, Inonu was elected as the chairman of the party. The decisions at this

convention were important because for first time the existence of social classes in the country

was accepted. The direct election was also a profound reform for citizens who could able to vote

in the election.

The decision of the election-date one year early was motivated by practical reasons. So

Republicans could easily organize but Democrats. The reaction of the Democratic Party was very

strong to the conventions' decisions especially fort the earlier date of elections. Inonu was

criticized so as President he had legal power but as party chairman he had right to intervene in

daily politics thus he used his power for the sake of his party.

The Municipal elections were held without the Democratic Party on May, 26, 1946 as the

Democrats protested the election because of undemocratic laws. The National Resurgence Party

at first decided to participate in the elections but then abstained in some cities. According to

18 For detailed see, İnönü'nün söylev ve demeçleri : T.B.M. Meclisi'nde ve C.H.P. kurultaylarında : 1919-1946,

Ankara 1946, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Türk Devrim Tarihi Enstitüsü,

opposition, participation in the elections was very small on the contrary Republicans claimed that

it was good and averaged fifty to sixty percent.

However particularly in the big cities, the participation was under the fifty percent. It was 24

percent in Bursa, 24.5 percent in Izmir, 26 percent in Hatay, 31 percent in Mugla, 31 percent in

Balıkesir. It is seen that Democratic Party's protest was effective on society. 19 Despite not

participating in the elections, Democrats voted for opposition party (The National Resurgence

Party) which won some seats in the town of Kırıkkale.

Criticism from opposition was stronger than before but the government limited itself to reduce

the reactions and continued the liberalization. Press Law was amended with the explanation that

reforms brought by the Republican regime.

Later, universities were given autonomy in their administration and in their internal affairs yet

their expenditures were financed from the national budget. Also The Law on Associations and

Election Law was amended by the government. However the Democrats found this insufficient

to provide the secrecy and safety of the ballot. In the past election the ballots were controlled by

the government instead of Judiciary. Finally the date for general elections was set for July 21,

1946.

The Democratic Party wanted to boycott the general elections because of insufficient

amendments on election system but the organizations within party wished to participate.

Democrats were quickly prepared the organizations in the town and villages numbered over

forty-one provincial "seats" out of the existing sixty-three provinces, in 200 district "seats" and

in a large number of villages.

The Democrats gave presence to some important figures in the campaign. Marshal Fevzi

Cakmak who was one of the closest friends of Ataturk and only living Marshal of Turkey as a

¹⁹ Yasin Kayış, "1946 Belediye Seçimleri ve Basın", Çağdaş Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi, vol. VII,sayı 16-17, p.

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honest person refused the membership in the Republican Party and entered the forthcoming

elections as an independent candidate on the Democratic Party.

The campaign in the election was so colorful that the Democrats opened famous poster "it is

enough !-artik yeter!" Huge crowds in the meetings were a message for the Republicans that

they realized the society's tension. The Democrats accused the Republicans being pressure by

gendarmes to cast ballots before election day.

The Republicans accused in turn of the Democrats using religious symbols particularly they

promised the language of Ezan from Turkish into Arabic.

The status of Democratic Party members for deputy in the elections in 1946 shows that there

were fifty-two lawyers, forty-one landowners, forty doctors, thirty-nine businessmen, fifteen

retired generals, fourteen engineers, thirteen teachers, and the remainder of the other

professionals.²⁰ A similar analysis of the Republican list shows that great majority were retired

military men, known political figures or government officials.

The participation in the general elections was much better than local elections that there was

eighty-five percent of the electorate participating. The results were disappointments for

Democrats. In the cities, the returns were in favor of Republican Party. According to opposition,

the Republicans changed the pools. The election result in the country as follow:

- 465 seats total

- 365 seats for Republican Party

- 64 seats for Democratic Party

- 6 seats for the Independents²¹

The consequence of 1946 general elections, the Republican Party realized that it lost large

popular support while Democrats realized the extent of its power. In the Grand National

²⁰ Karpat, ibid, p. 163.

²¹ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, İkinci Adam 1938-1950, vol, II, İstanbul 1999, Remzi pub., s. 448.

Assembly the number of Democratic deputies was about fifteen percent of the total number so

they had chance for participating in debates.

The deputies for 1946 election lasted until March 1950. The Republicans, through their great

majority in the assembly chose General Kazım Karabekir to Chairman of the Grand National

Assembly. Since he was a opposer to Mustafa Kemal, it was considered likely to arouse reaction

among the orthodox Kemalist faction of the Republican Party yet the feared reaction did not

happen. Karabekir was also oppose to Fevzi Cakmak who supported Democrats. For the

President election, Ismet Inonu, the candidate of the Republican Party, received 388 votes while

Democratic Party candidate Marshal Fevzi Cakmak received fifty-nine votes and Yusuf

Tengirsek two votes.²²

Recep Peker was a new Premiere and he was known to be a defender of the one-party rule. This

appointment made the Democrats suspicious because of his statist ideas. In 1947, the budget

discussions between the Democrats and Republicans increased the tension. Adnan Menderes

claimed that the budget lacked clarity and the economic measures worsened economic situation.

Peker in contrast, directed bitter attack describing the Democrats anarchistic intentions as soon

as Peker's attack on Democratic party leaders, they (the Democrats) left the assembly for a few

days.

An important international event affected Turkey's inner politics by accepting the United States

Congress of the Truman Doctrine which provided immediate military aid to Turkey and Greece

in an effort to protect democracy and freedom. With the propaganda of Armenian associations,

the American newspapers pointed out that the purpose of the aid was to defend democracy

against despotism and that Turkey did not have democracy.²³

²² Aydemir, ibid, pp. 449-450.

²³ Kemal Karpat, ibid, p. 189.

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President Inonu declared "American aid was a step toward the defense of democracy, and that closer relations between Turkey and the United States of America would contribute to the firm establishment of democracy in Turkey."²⁴

In June, 1947, Ismet Inonu called a meeting with Celal Bayar and the members of government. Bayar complained the pressures of the government and asked the President to establish multi-party system especially abolition of martial law, non-partisan use of the Peoples' Houses and the state radio, safe elections. Peker refused these claims but President Inonu promised to do his best to provide democracy in Turkey.

The conflict between Bayar and Peker arose in these days. Bayar asked an end to all these undemocratic actions as a step toward meeting international obligations. After Bayar's claim, Inonu interviewed with Peker who insisted on his previous views, later President Inonu issued a formal statement called as the "12 Temmuz Çok Partili Beyanname (July 12, Multi-Party Declaration), which established the foundations of a normal multi-party system. A few months later Recep Peker had to resign Primerie. The conflict between Inonu and Peker was a reality that different approaches existed within the Republican Party. The first group, the "extremists" leaded by Recep Peker opposed to any compromise. The second group, the moderates, otuzbeşler or "thirty-fives" was managed younger Republicans. They were headed by Nihat Erim, a young professor and adopted a liberal approach to party relations in line with Inonu's views.

The new cabinet was established by Hasan Saka (the Turkish Foreign Minister who signed the San Francisco Charter) on September 10, 1947 that he declared his main purpose was to work on the basis of a democratic system. Saka's appointment was supposed to have better relations with opposition but it did not seem to satisfy the Democrats because they demanded radical changes. During his two years as primerie, economic difficulties and reform demands couldn't be managed by his government. Hasan Saka's cabinet lasted until January 1949 because of the great budget deficit.

²⁴ p. 190.

Semsettin Gunaltay formed the new cabinet after Hilmi Uran refused to do this task. Gunaltay, as

a History professor at the Ankara University, was a supporter of political and cultural liberalism.

The new Premier believed in free discussion, free press and safe a impartial election system and

promised to take all measures necessary for a free election in 1950.

1950 election campaign was generally with no pressure. Inonu declared he would accept

whatever the voters decided, while Bayar declared that the past would be forgotten. On the other

hand both leaders criticized eachother's ideas or the tactics.

The election was held on May 14, 1950 and 89.3 percent went to the polls.²⁵ The Democratic

party received 4.242.831 votes and the Republican party 3.165.096 votes. The National party

received only 240.209 votes and the independents 258.698 votes. Because of majority system,

396 seats went to the Democratic Party (totally 486 seats) 68 went to Republicans and 7 seats for

the Independents while fifteen remained vacant.²⁶

The transfer of government to the Democratic Party was normal and quiet. Celal Bayar was

elected President and Adnan Menderes became Prime Minister. Inonu, as a ousted leader,

became opposition side in the Chairman of Republican Party.

CONCLUSION

Turkey got closer one more step in the way of democracy when the multi-party system accepted

in 1945 since the Tanzimat period. This step was not motivated by only international power but

also it was through Ismet Inonu and some Republicans' effort.²⁷ It was a kind of movement

which proves the continuity and develop of Turkish revolution by Inonu and Republican party.

In addition the contribution of Democrats was so significant in this period.

The Republicans at first didn't take seriously to the opposition but, whenever Democratic Party's

power was realized, the Republicans paid more attention in Turkish politics. That's why the

municipial elections was advanced the date in May 1946 from September of 1946 and the

²⁵ Geoffrey Lewis, **Turkey**, New York 1955, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, p. 129.

²⁶ Coşkun Uçok, **Siyasi Tarih 1789-1960**, Ankara 1980, Ankara Üniversitesi yay., p. 298.

²⁷ Cemil Koçak, **Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945)**,vol II, Istanbul 1996, İletişim yay., p. 581.

general elections was held on the date in July 1946 from March 1947 by the policy makers in the Republican party. Several protests of public opinion and opposition parties increased more.

Moreover, it is clearly seen that there is not only one Republican Party that emerged two groups within the party: one side headed by Recep Peker was statist and extremist but the other side, the moderates, otuzbeşler or "thirty-fives" was managed younger Republicans. They were headed by Nihat Erim, a young professor and adopted a liberal approach to party relations in line with Inonu's views.

Ismet Inonu as a President, after the end of war, wanted Turkey to be more liberal and democratic state so he didn't support Recep Peker's policies at that time. Particularly after US Truman aid was accepted by Turkey in 1947, Inonu quickened the democratization process of country. 12 July Declaration was issued for the sake of this process by the President yet Recep Peker as a Premiere, was against these reforms.

With the force of Inonu, Peker had to resign then the new cabinet was established by Hasan Saka who was a supporter of liberal politics. In 1949, Semsettin Gunaltay formed the new cabinet again. Finally the elections in 1950 was held normally and quietly with the efforts of Ismet Inonu and liberal deputies in the Republican Party.

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