Akdeniz University   University of Hamburg

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIZATION OF REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP) AND UNIVERSAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

Joint Master's Programme European Studies Master Thesis

Antalya / Hamburg, 2014

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Tez Başlığı   : CHP'nin Sosyal Demokratlaşma Süreci ve Evrensel Sosyal Demokrat İlkeler

Social Democratization of Republican People's Party (RPP) and Universal Social Democratic Principles

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARDO   : Anatolia and Rumelian Defence Organization

JP   : Justice Party

JDP   : Justice and Development Party

DP   : Democrat Party

DLP   : Democratic Left Party

RPP   : Republican People's Party

SPD   : Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

TWP   : Turkey Workers Party

USSR   : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ÖZET

CUMHURİYET HALK PARTİSİ'NİN (CHP) SOSYAL DEMOKRATLAŞMA SÜRECİ VE EVRENSEL SOSYAL DEMOKRAT DEĞERLER

Sosyal demokrasi, Cumhuriyet'in kurucu partisi olan Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'nin (CHP), 1960'ların ortasında resmen benimsemesiyle doğmuş, Türkiye için yeni sayılabilecek bir ideolojik kavramdır. Nitekim CHP, 1965 yılında politik olarak "ortanın solu"nda yer aldığını ilan ederek siyasal hayatımızda sosyal demokrat bir blok inşa etmeye çalışmaya başlamıştır.

Tezimizdeki temel motivasyonda, CHP'nin sosyal demokrasinin evrensel değerlerini yansıtıp yansıtmadığını irdelemektir. Bu bağlamda, evrensel sosyal demokrat değerler temelinde Türkiye sosyal demokrasisinin tutarlı bir söyleme ve pratiğe sahip olup olmadığı ve bunun bilimsel ve politik olarak sosyal demokrat olarak nitelenip nitelenemeyeceği, tez çalışmasındaki destekleyici motivasyonlar olmuştur.

Çalışmamızda, CHP'nin içkin olduğu tarihsel kurucu ve Kemalist değerlerin, evrensel sosyal demokratlardan daha baskın ve güçlü olduğu verilerle desteklenmiş ve bu realitenin yarattığı gerilimin, CHP'nin sosyal demokrasiye evrensel sosyal demokrat değerler temelinde evrilmesine bir engel oluşturduğu gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Sosyal Demokrasi, Türkiye, Kemalizm.

SUMMARY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIZATION OF REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP) AND UNIVERSAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

Social democracy has emerged as a new ideological orientation in Turkey, in the mid - 1960's and it has been adopted by Republican People's Party (RPP) which is founder – Kemalist party of Turkey. After 1965, RPP has declared that "RPP is a center – left party in Turkish politics" and tried to build a social democrat bloc in politics.

My central research question is that "RPP's social democratization reflects universal social democratic values or not?" and I have some sub-questions: Has Turkish social democracy a consistent discourse and policy in the context of universal social democratic values? How can be defined the Turkish social democrat position scientifically and politically?

It will be tried to show that historical Kemalist and founder values are more effective and decisive than social democratic political values for RPP and can be defined as obstacle for social democratization of RPP. The thesis aims to show that contradictions between universal social democrat paradigms and historical values of RPP, from 1965 to today.

Keywords: Republican People's Party, Social Democracy, Turkey, Kemalism.

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INTRODUCTION

"We will know less and less what it means to be human."

'Death with Interruptions', Jose Saramago

The RPP's political tendency was one of the most debated subjects during Turkish political history. The main reason of this situation is that RPP is the political party which was established by political staffs that established the Republic of Turkey. For each Turkish social scientist, this subject is accepted as the explanatory part of Turkish modernization history and be subject to research and analyses. Analyzing the political preferences of the RPP will be the key to understand the problems Turkish modernization.

The concept of Westernization is deemed to be by Ottoman's intellectuals and bureaucrats as the way for the country to get rid of its problems. Therefore, Westernization Acts are the most prior political title of Turkish political life since 19th century. The Rescript of Gülhane that was declared by Ottoman Empire in 1839 has importance of bringing Westernization goal into formal state policy.

The last step of Westernization Act of Ottoman's Empire started with the Rescript of Gülhane, was the establishment of Turkish Republic. Until 1923, the reform minded western-oriented policy was much more focused in military field, it is political and cultural aspects were extreme irritable and became the state policy and mentality as a whole with Republic.

Republic of Turkey which turns its face to western world and based on popular sovereignty, was established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leader of Turkish war of independence, and his fellow fighters. Atatürk and his fellow fighters conducted war of independence with Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti (Anatolian and Rumelian Defence Organization – ARDO) and with the declaration of Republic, the name of this institution was changed as Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - CHP / Republican People's Party – RPP)) and became compatible with the Republic.

Since the establishment of the Republic in 1923, the RPP governed the country alone by itself and after the year of 1946 in the second general selections, it assigned the power to the Democrat Party (Democratic Party). The RPP that is one of the most competitive party in every general selection in Turkish political history, was closed after 12 September 1980 coup d'état and got back to the political life in 1992.

Until 1965, the RPP positioned itself as supra-ideology and supra-classification party and avoid from itself clear political classification. Similarly, the competitive parties of RPP

until this term also avoided expressing themselves with a clear ideological definition and political competition was shaped much more through programs, commitments and discourses. Although it is possible to define these discourses, commitments and practices politically with an academic effort on ideological ground, excluding the small parties, it is not possible to see definitions which is similar to the West, such as right-left, liberalist, -conservative-socialist, etc.

The subject which we try to analyses in our text is, to test the reality value of "left of the middle-social democracy" tendency that was claimed by RPP in 1965, which plays an active role for 90 years in Turkish political life and is being the continuation of Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti and as being the party that was accepted to establish the Republic because of having Mustafa Kemal as founder general president, and also to give an clear answer with academic datas.

With this aim, to compare social democracies' main principles that has universal character with the RPP's discourses, projects and programs and to produce an analyses in which the universal principles of social democracy is being the center, will put the reality or insubstantiality of the relationship between the RPP and sociability. Also, in the frame of these analyses, the six principle of the RPP (six arrows) will be analyzed comparative with the main principles of social democracy.

Not only in academic texts, also in current debates, is it a frequent debated subject of the RPP whether it is a social democratic party or not. The main motivation herein is to analyses such a popular subject with an academic method and academic discipline and to be clarified.

Methodology

In my research study, I will make use of the qualitative and comparative methodologies, and I will prefer a critical method. While performing a comparative analysis of the two political movements in the study, I will analyze the Western concept, which political movements I've included in the study are internal, by conducting critical sub-texts reading at the discourse level, to deepen the research stage. My main motivation in the comparative and critical discourse analysis methodology will not be "what was said" but will be "what is meant by what was said", "what perception of mentality it does reflect" and "what are the results arisen" within the context of the data I obtained. Throughout the research, I will try to uncover the truth behind what is visible and will conduct this scientifically. My research will be one step closer to its objective, at the extent that I can present the perceptions of the mentality with a systematic classification.

In the first stage of the study, I will determine the texts to be focused. The first condition for a discourse analysis that will render scientific results is to choose the research object correctly in line with the research objective. At this stage, I will consider that the research objects that I will use in discursive analysis will be of deepening texts in the context of the research question and hypothesis.

After that, the texts/sources that I will select will have functional contexts in constructing the discursive analysis. In the second stage, I will focus on the formal and contextual differences between the sources I will use, by identifying all parts of the texts/resources that contribute to the construction of discursive analysis and will use all the differences between the resources as a scientific motivation, during the discourse analysis.

At the third step of the analysis, the discursive contexts, where the different constructs of the object is placed, will be analyzed in detail. "What is gained from the use of the research object specifically at a certain point of the text? What is the structural function of these uses, and what are the relations it has with the other discourses created around?" I will seek answers to these questions. Consequently, I will achieve analysis of the relationship between the resources used in my research, with a multiple and relational approach, formed on a cause-effect relationship.

In the last stage of the analysis, I will systematically examine the subject positions and discursive construction ways that have open or closed opportunities practically, by focusing on the relationship between discourse and practice. Transitions between discourse and practice, stress points, and the problem of what the discourse was meant, will be the main motivation, when I will investigate the relationship between discourse and practice.

In first section of the text, the universal evolution and basic principles of social democracy is discussed. In this section, the adopted principles adopted of, development and in which conditions social democracy, which is a kind of western centric ideology, is arised will be discussed in an historical and theoretical perspective.

In the second section of the text, the emergence process of social democracy in Turkey and the conditions which affected RPP to evolve into the social democracy is to be examined. In this section which covers the process starting from the year of 1965 when the RPP claimed to adopt social democracy until the year of 1972 when Bülent Ecevit who is from the left side of the party was elected to be the Party Leader, the emergence of the relation between RPP and social democracy is evaluated from theoretical and critical perspective.

In the third section, the relation between the RPP and social democracy is analyzed within the context of the practices of young leader Bülent Ecevit to build the RPP on social democratic grounds, during his leadership term. The document which is considered as basis in

this section is a political declaration named as "Ak Günlere" which was regarded as the most important political document of that period.

In fourth section, the leadership term of Deniz Baykal who became the first leader after the 12 September 1980 coup d'état, is analyzed. The election declaration, Baykal's speeches and party's politics is used as means for analyses.

In the fifth section of the text, the current leadership term of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is analyzed. The election declarations, party politics and Kilicdaroglu's speeches within the period which covers the time from 2010 until the end of 2013, are used as materials for research.

In the last section of the text, it is arrived at a conclusion whether RPP's claim regarding social democracy approaching to almost 50 years, has realistic grounds or not, based upon to the information and analyses in previous sections.

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS SOCIAL DEMOCRACY? A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Social democracy has emerged after the criticisms against the contradictions of liberalism (Meyer, 2005: 10). Following the Industrial Revolution, the number of factories working based on manual labor has rapidly increased and many skilled and unskilled workers brought especially from rural areas have begun to work under heavy working conditions. England, France and Germany have become the centers where the emergence of the first working classes in masses has been observed.

The development of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie led to the collapse of the feudal aristocracy, and it triggered the formation of a working-class (Turşucu, 2008: 77). Some philosophers in the 19th century have observed that the economic improvement of capitalism has created misery in the largest for the most part of population in the society and commenced to offer alternatives. German philosopher Karl Marx has asserted that history is a struggle of different social classes and stated that the exploited working class will be successful by fighting against the capitalist class and taking possession of political power and the means of production (revolution). However, all thinkers and institutions supporting the labor struggle have not agreed with the idea of 'revolution' and some have championed the idea that the existing institutions and practices can be adjusted in favor of the workers through reforms and a government, taking possession of power democratically, which will carry out arrangements in favor of the workers could be established.

Ferdinand Lassalle believed that the state could be persuaded and hoped that the changes he envisioned for the working class would be realized through state contribution and these thoughts of Lassale had an impact on the German working class for a long time, until the 1880s. (Kavukçuoğlu, 1997: 15). Lasalle differed from Marx with these views. For Lassalle, democratic tools were an important tool for the realization of workers' rights. Lassalle thought that this way workers could make significant gains. This is an important example showing that the socialist movement does not have a homogeneous and one-sided background.

The social democrat parties which have emerged in the second half of the 19th century have emerged as the primary organizations of the rapidly growing working-class in that period (Özdalga, 1984: 7); and social democracy can be defined as the **'conditional coexistence reconciliation made with the bourgeois class on behalf of the workers' movement'** (Kavukçuoğlu, 1997: 11). The workers' movement, through this consensus,

accepts the existence of the capitalist class as a class and additionally adopts a parliamentary, representative and a pluralistic conception of democracy.

1.1. General View in the 19th Century and Social Democratic Movements in Europe

There was a rapid increase in the number of workers and technicians working in factories in the middle of the 19th century in Europe. A group of working-class people who typically came from the rural areas, *are* exposed to danger of being unemployed every moment, working long hours and with a high probability of exposure to occupational accidents commenced to be created. Socialist movements kept these problems on the agenda. In this context until 1918, socialist parties typically adhered to the view that the socialist transformation was strictly proletarian affair (Andersen, 1985: 7).

The revolution in Europe in 1848, caused because of a publical unrest and social demands, which occurred as street demonstrations of artisans and workers lead to the creation of a platform where economic and social demands as well as the political freedom demands of the working-class were reflected for first time in Europe so widely. Major uprisings occurred particularly in Paris and Berlin. Rapidly growing capital class developed due to the poor working conditions of the working class and low wages.

There are several reasons why the living conditions of the workers improved a little more after the 1850s. While some employers, acting in a spirit of philanthropy, improved the working and living conditions of the workers, workers began to organize strikes and form unions.[1] Some changes and improvements were made in the workers' wages while working hours also were improved and in the last quarter of the 19th century comprehensive legal regulations related to *regarding* workers were implemented for the first time. For instance, the right to strike was acknowledged in France in 1864 and employing children under the age of 13 was prohibited with a regulation in 1874.[2]

In the preface to the founding declaration of the First International, gathered in London in 1864, Marx emphasized that the emancipation of the working people must be carried out by the laborers' own efforts and stated that the struggle for the liberation of the working people is for equal rights, not for privileges and class monopoly.[3] With such fundamental emphasis, Marx has had pointed out that the working class must have a student in order to emancipate and gain its rights.

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[1] "Tarih: 1839 – 1939", Yayın Yönetmeni: Kuyaş, A. (2006). https://tusiad.org/tr/yayinlar/raporlar/item/4710-tarih-1839--1939, p.42 (date of access: 19.01.2014)
[2] "Tarih: 1839 – 1939", p.46
[3] "Tarih: 1839 – 1939", p.50

Social democratic parties have principles such as being worker based, a member of the Socialist International, adopting representation and the parliamentary system with the understanding of pluralistic society and achieving their targets such as equality, social justice and social security by democratic means.

The first party which can be described as social democratic party is the party styled Party Démocrate-Socialiste founded in France in 1849 (Turşucu, 2008: 77), however the most established social democratic party to survive in Europe up to our day is the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Social democratic thought and action is quite developed in Germany.

Regarding the labor movement in Germany again, in 1863, General German Workers' Association (ADAV) founded through Ferdinand Lassalle as the predecessor of the SPD was bearing a reformist nature (Güriz, 1998: 139). Lassalle had a political motivation based on democratic struggle promoting reconciliation with established institutions and structures compared to Marx and Engels. For instance, according to Ferdinand Lassalle to acquire general, equal and single-level suffrage it was needed to gain support in peaceful and legal ways and means of struggle and thus take the possession of political power and ensure the workers to have efficiency on the state administration. The points emphasized by Lasalle were the settlement of an equal and single-level, representative and democratic system and therefore the establishment of legal and institutional infrastructure for a democratic struggle.

German Socialist Workers Party (SAP) was established by the merger of ADAV and the Social Democratic Labor Party in 1875 and the party declared the Gotha Program. The basic principles of the cited program were as follows (Kavukçuoğlu, 1997: 21):

a) Equal and general suffrage to all citizens who are 20 years old and over in all general and local elections.

b) Obligatory military service for everyone.

c) Legislative activities should be carried out directly by the people.

d) More freedom of association.

e) Prohibition of employing children and working in jobs that are not healthy and ethical.

f) Normal workday complying with social requirements. Prohibition of work on Sundays.

g) Protective laws for the lives and health of workers. Conducting the health control of workers and making an effective compensation law.

The Gotha Program has been sharply criticized through Marx and Engels and Marx has stated that "Gotha Program is a stupidity taken from Lassalle's crap, democratic demands

that have fallen through the floor and Communist Manifesto" and similarly, Engels has said, "There is nothing to learn from Lassalle (Güriz, 1998: 141)."

The name of the German Socialist Workers Party has been changed as the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in 1890 and it was decided to prepare a more updated and comprehensive program that would replace the Gotha Program of the party. Karl Kautsky played an important role in the writing of Erfurt Program in 1891. In Erfurt Program, the demands in Gotha Program were developed and the political, economic and social demands were further detailed. The major considerations to be addressed in the Erfurt program include the following (Kavukçuoğlu, 1997: 34-35):

a) Establishment of a maximum of 8 hours of labor per day.

b) At least 36 hours of uninterrupted rest period per week for each worker.

c) The right to organize.

d) Transfer of workers' insurance to the government with the participation of workers in an efficient manner.

e) Prohibition of night work except compulsory.

f) Recognition of equal rights and opportunities to rural workers with that of industrial workers.

g) Restriction of the employment of children under 14 years.

h) Provision of free and comprehensive health services including provision of drug.

i) Abolition of the regulations against women within the scope of the public and private law. Abolition of the death penalty.

j) Secularization of the educational system. Making the public schools free and more widespread.

It is possible to say that the social democratic movement had inclined to the reformist and evolutionary line rather than the revolutionary approach by starting with the Gotha Program and then in a deepening way with the Erfurt Program. Social Democratic movement has defended improving the working conditions of the workers by reforming the existing institutions, the development of political freedom and resolution of social problems by equality, freedom and justice motivation. Social democrats, unlike socialists, have argued that working class can have gains, working conditions can be improved, political freedoms can be expanded and social justice can be achieved by converting the institutions and laws.

Philosopher Eduard Bernstein is one of the most important names in directing social democratic movement towards reforming from revolutionism. After contributing to the 1891 Erfurt Program as a Marxist, Bernstein began to develop his revisionist ideas and published them in the media organs of the party (Kavukçuoğlu, 1997: 36). According to Bernstein,

social contradictions should be resolved through reforms that would take place urgently and socio - economic changes should be provided for the social democratic movement's success rather than focusing on distant targets.

According to Bernstein's approach, petit bourgeois also must be included to the platform constituting the basis of the social democracy with the working class (workers, civil servants, intellectuals, technocrats) and a coalition with radical bourgeoisie must be accepted as well, however the Kautsky line insists on coming to power alone by protecting the 'worker' nature of the social democratic movement (Turşucu, 2008: 78). However, Kautsky, like Bernstein, adopted mainly pluralist democracy, parliamentarianism, peaceful struggle, political reformism and evolutionary change in lieu of revolution.

Social democracy-considering its emergence- has developed under the influence of Marxism however over time it has gone away from Marxism and seated in a reformist and revisionist line. Social democracy keeping the 'revolutionary' methods adopted by Marxism at arm's length over time has developed the theory and practice thereof and aimed to achieve gains in favor of working people by owning democratic vehicles acquired through liberalism. Social democracy adopted the parliamentary democracy concept and individual freedom principles of liberalism but advocated that state and public regulation should occur to eliminate class inequality as well as political and social injustice.

SPD -social democracy's most established political party- has become a catch - all party over time and became a political movement receiving the vote from every segment of the society, represented in parliament and which has come to power. SPD is one of the largest parties of the country in the 20th century Germany. Sure enough, SPD has announced officially in 1959 that it is a mass party by the Bad Godesberg Program and abandoned the principle of public ownership of the means of production completely.

Socialist movements are an outgrowth of historical conditions, and as such, they are subject to multiple determinations (Przeworski, 1991: 73). In this context, the relationship between the socialist movement and social democracy has also been affected by this process. The social democracy of the pre- First World War period and the social democracy of the "third way" in the 1990s were the opposites of each other. The third way is the process of reproducing social democracy with liberal principles in social policies but orthodox social democratic principles in economic policies (Kahraman, 2002: 147).

Social democratic parties, after the Second World War, have kept Marxism at arm's length more and focused on titles such as becoming a catch - all party, defending democratic values and providing social justice, with an eye to develop freedom and came to power by winning the elections in many European countries. The matching of the Keynesian policies

applied in the post-war period with social democratic ideals had a huge role in this occurrence. Keynes model giving a more regulatory and interventionist role to government in economic life was parallel *to* social democracy's social justice, fair distribution of income and 'regulated market' motivation for the protection of the interests of the workers.

Social democracy has four main principles according to Hermann Heller (Meyer, 2005: 13):

1) Construction of democratic decision-making processes / Democratization of decision-making processes,
2) Expansion of the size of the democracy and inclusion of masses to democracy by the democratization of the decision-making process,
3) Forming the structure of the whole society in the socially accepted norms of justice,
4) Conversion of reconciliation between social interests into a political culture towards a social justice quest.

1.2. Globalization and Social Democracy

In globalization period, employment and job opportunities that are assumed to be created by factors such as increasing of economic opportunities, expansion of sectors, more flexible processing of markets in parallel with the decreasing of state intervention worldwide, will be expected to create more wealth and this saving that is brought into existence will incur an aggregate wealth in a time by spreading from top to down. Indeed, this expectation was the manifestation of a position that lives on neo-liberal tradition. After the collapse of USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), in the West right oriented intellectuals (as known neo-conservatives) were declaring that humanity is at the end of the history ideologically. According to this view, the collapse of socialism and having no alternative of liberalism were being confirmed and thus, it was claimed that the ideal point was reached in practice and ideologies no more carry a meaning.[4]

The capitalism which finds a huge application area after leaving the Eastern bloc countries from socialism one after another, did not give the expectations to the population in the period after collapsing of USSR. According to liberal-origin view claims that humanity is in the end of the history ideologically, the collapse of socialism and the non-alternativeness of liberalism are being confirmed and thus, the ideal point was reached in practice and the ideological positions except liberalism have no sense anymore.

The story of third way (new social democracy) starts at the very time when the liberal

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[4] To see and read more about this approach : Fukuyama, F. "The end of History Theory": http://www.iticu.edu.tr/uploads/Kutuphane/dergi/s10/M00157.pdf / (date of access: 17.01.2014)

position says, 'everything has finished'. Capitalism that defines its situation as the only dominant power in practice and theory, could not supply the main humanitarian demands of population with its financial wealth that it created, on the contrary, the atmosphere of dissatisfaction was starting to be dominant over the society because of the injustice distribution of the wealth that was created.

In established democracies, democratic consciousness is visibly tired, and the decline of political participation is noticeably clear (Cıngı ve Açıkgöz, 2012: 42). From this side, there was not yet any alternative response the settled capitalist system that is the source of dissatisfaction. Thus, the left has an identity crisis worldwide with the collapse of Bolshevism. At this point, the left needs to establish a new position and a common tongue with population. Here in this situation, the third way which English sociologist Anthony Giddens was the pioneer since the second half of the 1990's, started to take a place in academic discussions and to fill the academic emptiness in the left and due to this reason, the work of Giddens in 1994 named as '**Beyond the Left and the Right**' is known as the work which starts the third way discussions.

Giddens who played an active role in the transition period of New Labour Party (NLP) that lost selections over and over against Conservative Party in England to the New Labour Party, by changing its shell with the 1990's and refusing traditional values of left and including some values of political and economic liberalism, became the opinion leader of 'new left' in continental Europe. The political leader of new left was Tony Blair was prime minister after the 18 years of rulership of the Conservative Party. Similarly, the movement which was effective in Germany and named as 'new center' but having the view of English new right substantially found a place in Germany in the opinion leadership of Thomas Meyer and with the application of Gerhard Schröder was prime minister period after the rulership of 16 years of Christian Unity Parties. Schröder has rejected 'neo – liberalism' but he rejected also clash theory between worker classes – employers and suggested alternative free market policies[5].

Few key points take a place in transferring from classical social democracy to the third way approach which should be submitted as reason. The title in subject constitutes the academic and actual basis of the third way applications especially in Germany and England. It is possible to list and express them thus and so:

    a) Social democrat governments have applied social welfare policies but, that is why, there was a huge bureaucratic power at state.

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[5] To see actual principles and policies of SPD:
http://www.spd.de/linkableblob/5056/data/hamburger_programm_englisch.pdf , 2007, SPD Hamburger Program

Particularly in the 1970's, heavy tax incidence, bureaucracy that becomes clumsy in parallel with its expansion and starts to operate slowly and requirement of more financing and bureaucracy for social expenditures together with the increasing needs and the population will block classical social democratic approach in terms of public financing.

b) The natural bases of the classical social democracy were the worker class. As it is dedicated to their blue coveralls that they wear, they are named as 'blue collars' were working by man-handling and they were the natural base of left. However, transferring period to knowledge economy that is fastened by economic globalization did not only extending of high technologies in the economic life, also it presents 'white collar/brain work' against manhandling in a short time. This new class who are named as white collars will constitutes the backbone of service sector and will take precedence over man-handling workers quantitatively and qualitatively.

The creativeness and individual productiveness would be the prolongation of changing economic realities. This situation would be by melting of the worker class that is the traditional bases of classical social democracy in parallel with increasing of quantitative and qualitative function of service sector. In this situation, it become must of the left to establish a relation with service sector that became the most intensive sector of period with its laborer numerically and with sector workers and to define itself once again through this relation. However, it is not a coincidence of the third way approach to appear in this period through the expression of updating of social democracy and gaining function again to the left.

1.3. New Social Democracy

The new social democracy has three principal orientations that can be classified under the topics of equal opportunities, equation of result and state intervention/social investments. Social democracy bases on basic values and fundamental rights normatively (Gambert et al, 2010: 10).

1.3.1. Equality in Opportunities

According to third approach, state is obliged to create opportunities for its citizens to reach their all kind of their humanitarian, social an ignore all kind of obstacles in this way. Equality of opportunity not only reconciles work-based justice with material equality, but also a prerequisite for the implementation of this principles (Petring et al, 2013: 25). This approach claims that this competition herein would be absolutely a fair competition and would also lead to a fair result since; it creates equality in the start. The title of this approach as equality in

opportunities is filled with concepts such as social justice and social equality. According to this, to claim a fair competition environment regarding social equality, initially, it should be ensuring that everyone has same competition conditions and every citizen should be provided to have minimum income in order to live with dignity and proud as requirement of social justice principle.

1.3.2. Equality in Results

Rejecting the absolute equality in results, this approach differs radically from classical left approach. According to this, in a society where the equality of opportunity is created by the political actors, the rest of the progress is completely up to the individuals` entrepreneur and creativity and the responsible one from the results are individuals as well. The third approach claims that in a fair competition environment provided, it is normal to receive different results in proportion to the different individual performances and only the poorest part of the society should be covered by umbrella of social security, expressing this in a much closed and narrow manner than understanding of classical social democracy.

In other words, a person who needs to sustain his/her life under the umbrella of social democracy, it is required that he/she should be in such poverty to sustain his/her life. Therefore, the approach of equality of beginning is a discussible principle since, it caused structural reforms and divisions and narrowed the scope of social security, particularly in countries such as Germany where the institutions created as result of social welfare state, are powerful.

1.3.3. State Interference and Social Investments

Third approach limits the state interference with education and health fields. The reason for this is strategically and providing employment in the long or medium term: The recent rapid developing sector which has significant growth is the service sector and the employee working in service sector are so-called white-collar labor and based on brain power well-trained laborers. The two expectations of this sector employee are the standards for sufficient income and sustainable life (good health services). With this respect the third approach aims to increase public expenditures to protect the white collars who are deemed to be their natural base; and this is the first reason.

Secondly, and more important one particularly in employment field is the third approach claiming of the increasing in education level leads to decrease in unemployment an increasing in incomes. The task of the state is to balance the cyclical fluctuations and to avoid stagnation in accordance with Keynes's theory (Vaut et al, 2014: 64). According to this

approach, the key to combat with unemployment is the investments for education sector financed by state, because the increase in education lead to much qualified people in society and it increase the possibility to earn much higher incomes. Providing more money for education, improving situations of the schools, increasing technology at schools and make it reachable the new technologies, improving working conditions of academicians, spreading the qualified education to the base, stimulating of higher education, improving the scholarships were the basics of the education understanding of long-term target of third approach for providing employment.

Third approach, different than liberal thoughts, rejected the idea that market mechanism is a naturally created; and claimed that the market, which is occurred by human activities and financial actors, stimulates the financial initiatives and collaborations by meetings, persuasions, interactions between these actors as well as providing the humanitarian needs as functioning socially. In this regard, the state is determined as narrow-scoped social state which covers the most disadvantaged part of society even though all the struggles.

CHAPTER 2
THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY

2.1. Transition to the Multiparty Life In Turkey

Turkey's politics and society commenced to undergo a comprehensive change following the Second World War. Existence of one-party rule since the establishment of the Republic in 1923 had created a deep discontent in the society. When the authoritarianism of the RPP (Republican People's Party) power combined with the economic difficulties of the war period, the search for alternatives to RPP power accelerated.

After several years of the Second World War, in 1950 the proportion of people living in cities in Turkey was only %18,8 (Ahmad, 2012: 117) The majority of villages were lacking electricity, water and transportation facilities. However, none of the villages had modern facilities to make agriculture efficient and attractive. Economic insufficiencies had accumulated a deep anger against one-party government in villagers who constituted most of the population.

İsmet İnönü, leader of the RPP, being aware of this anger and who did not want to relive the negative past experience of one-party thought that establishment of opposition parties would alleviate the anger of the community to RPP and a political relaxation would be maintained. On the other hand, the postwar international conjuncture had also a great role in Turkey's transition to multi-party life. Turkey, which has participated as a founding member to the San Francisco Conference, and which has undersigned the United Nations Convention has committed to be bound with the democratic ideals.

Soviet Union had become a direct threat to Turkey in the postwar period. Turkey considering that Soviet Union hosts the threat of communism was also disturbed due to the land claims of the Soviet Union from Turkey. Sure enough, Turkey was concerned due to the land claims of the Soviets immediately after the war in the northeastern Anatolia and the request thereof for reconsideration of the status of the Turkish Straits. Turkey which used its political choice favor of the Western bloc led by the USA after the World War II felt the need to adjust appropriate with the 'democracy' and 'free enterprise' ideals of the Western bloc to which the Western gave much importance with an eye to receive the support thereof in provision of national security and to benefit from the economic aid packages.

As such, Turkey's transition to multi-party system has occurred by being influenced through both national and international conjuncture and emerged due to the conditions and circumstances which have forced the RPP government.

2.2.   Social Democracy and Turkey: How Did Social Democracy Arise in Turkey?

Modernization of Turkey's political history was initiated by the rescript of Gülhane of 1839, it is called Tanzimat Reforms. This period which the Westernization becomes as state policy and political reforms are adopted as formal policy of state is also a period which the Intellectuals were impressed by Western movements of thoughts and begin to adopt these thoughts in Ottoman Empire. The thought developed in west aroused keen interest among the Ottoman Intellectuals and began to spread through.

Recent Era of Ottoman – The first organization under the name of "social democrat" in Turkish history is "Sosyal Demokrat Fırka" (Social Democrat Party) which was founded by Dr. Hasan Rıza in 1918.[6] There is not so much information regarding the organization' though it is known that it was a kind of short-lived political movement and couldn't be efficient enough due to the political situations of those years.

The notable presence of social democracy in Anatolia begins with the introduction of multi-party-political life in the term of Republic. During this period, Democrat Party (DP) was making propagandas of freedoms' social justice democratization while self-socialist movements were striving for forming organization.

The democratic demands of the RPP began with the overthrow of it from the government with the general elections of 1950. The Democrat Party who came power alone in 1950, began to apply oppressive regime especially in the second period with the ruling regime 1954. Universities, media and press, intellectuals and citizens were exposed to legal restrictions by the government. During this period, the RPP proposed some democratization suggestions against the oppressive DP government as ensure the autonomy of universities, regarding social justice in the constitution and more political freedom.

These requests of RPP herein, which were stated as articles in the party congress with the year of 1959, later were included into the Constitution with the year of 1961 prepared following 27 May 1960 coup d'état.

"**İlk Hedefler Beyannamesi** (The Primary Aims Declaration, 1959)" is the text to be the first democratization and social justice movement of the RPP.[7] This declaration herein should be regarded as conjectural political text prepared against the oppressive DP government rather than being a social democratic or more broadly, left-winger mentality. The DP who was in charge approximately for 10 years led to the RPP to clearly express some requests regarding social democracy and social justice.

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[6] "Siyasi Partiler", https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kutuphane/siyasi_partiler.html (date of access: 08.12.2013)

[7] "The Primary Aims Declaration had been issued at the 14th Congress of RPP on 14 January 1959, and foresaw most of the 1961 Constitution's reforms such as the Constitutional Court, proportional representation, the freedom of speech and autonomy of the universities (Emre, 2007: 83).

After the 27 May 1960 coup d'état the first elections were hold on 15 October 1961, and İnönü led three governments in the period from 1961 to 1965. In this elections, RPP's vote was %36,7 (173 seats). As one of new democrat parties JP's vote was %34,8 (158 seats) and New Turkey Party had %13,7 vote (65 seats) in the elections. (Ahmad, 2010: 222) The first İnönü government was established as a coalition government between the JP and RPP.[8] (Emre, 2007: 56) In this period, after 27 May 1960 coup d'état, anti – communist rhetoric was more popular than 1950's in Turkish politics against Soviet Union threat, because 1961 Constitution included liberal articles about basic freedoms and especially that provides political organization opportunity to students and workers. Therefore, leftwing political organizations started to be influential in political life with 1960's.

Table 1.1. 1965 General Elections in Turkey[9]

Party	Votes	Seats
Justice Party	%52,9	240
Republican People's Party	%28,7	134
Nation Party	%6,3	31
New Turkey Party	%3,7	19
Independents	%3,2	1
Workers' Party of Turkey	%3,0	14
Republican Villagers Nation Party	%2,2	11

The key word for the RPP and the progressive politics of the 1960's was "reform." (Emre, 2007: 61) "Reform" referred to various areas from land reform to the nationalization of oil and the discourse of this period's reformism was formed by radicalism and conviction in developmentalism and modernism. (Emre, 2007: 61) İsmet İnönü was aware of growth of leftwing political organizations and tried to improve a social just discourse to stop possible socialist and communist organizations.[10] Especially after the 1965 general elections, İnönü was decided to change RPP's policies and political discourse decisively because of TWP's election success.

The inclusion of the RPP to Turkish political life in permanent manner and self-definition of itself as social democratic for the first time coincide with the year of 1965. The

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[8] Justice Party (JP) was the right-wing political party in Turkey. It was founded after 27 May of 1960 coup d'état and adopted free market economy and parliamentary system.
[9] "1950-1977 Arası Milletvekili Genel Secimleri", https://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/1950-1977-yillari-arasi-milletvekili-genel-secimleri/3007 (date of access: 10.12.2013)
[10] İsmet İnönü was an anti-communist political leader and has supported Western Block in the Cold War Period.

leader of RPP, İsmet İnönü who is Ataturk's army friend and second man of the Republic, implied that the RPP party is based on social democracy by saying "**RPP, infact, is a statist party and as such, of course, has an understanding which takes a place on left side of the center**" **in** an interview with Milliyet Newspaper Chief Editor Abdi İpekçi on 29 July 1965.[11] The point of view here is that İnönü had always preferred to use the term "left side of the center" rather than "social democracy" besides, he had never used term "social democracy".

However, the principles defined as center-left by İnönü, were roughly correspond to the portion of the universal values of social democracy: To secure the authority of the state in economy, tenderness in relation between religion-state and in principle of secularism, fair and satisfactory distribution of income. On the other hand, İsmet İnönü emphasized the Kemalist traditions and anti-communist qualities of the CHP in her interviews. (Zürcher, 2000: 369)

Cyclical effects of reality are decisive in shifting of the RPP, which is the founder of the Republic, politically to the left side of center. Realizing the influence of socialism effect created by the Soviet Union and the east bloc countries in its guideless among the college youth and educated-urban-politicians, social and political elite people and the in rapidly growth of social movement, the RPP, as being the founder of the republic, aimed to arrogate the socialism sympathy of society and thus to remove as being a threat to the state, by shifting to the left of center.

During 1960's, there is a rapid immigration began from the villages to cities and urban working class was beginning to occur and for the first time, people were beginning to make demands on living conditions. In this conjuncture, İsmet İnönü proclaimed that the RPP took a place in left of center to avoid the tendency to socialism in college youth, white Turkish and new working class.

Therefore, İnönü's center-left preference was more likely producing response within a system against the responses of the socialists to the demands of society, by impeding development of socialist left, rising public and civil organization and preventing of them to find base in community, rather than being a political evolution.

Again, İsmet İnönü stated that the RPP is in left of center since the day defending of secularism and populism and said, **"They have assaulted us because of the social justice policy, have called us communist. We should say it.** (Emre, 2007: 56)**."**

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[11] Mehmet Barlas: "*Whereby your party has been on the left of center since it was established, why do you declare it in 1965 while you have not used this wording up to now in any elections?*"
İsmet İnönü: "*They have assaulted us because of the social justice policy, have called us communist. (Emre, 56)*"

2.3. RPP's 6 (six) Arrow icons, Kemalism and Social Democracy

RPP has adopted the six basic principles which are symbolized as six arrow icons in their party emblem. The first four of these principles were included in party program in 1927 and the last two principals were included in 1931 as well. The six principles as stated below were included in the Constitution in 1935.[12]

1) Republicanism:

Form of government which reflects the sovereignty of nation in the best way, is "republic". The party will retain the principle of republic in a stable manner.

2) Populism:

The source of the sovereignty is the nation. It is based on absolute equality before the law; It is unacceptable to grant privilege to any family, person, or group. The state and citizens have responsibilities to each other mutually.

3) Nationalism:

The party commits to protect the country's independent existence towards progress and development, international relations and contacts.

4) Secularism:

The party agreed in principles to make and implement all kind of practices of the state in accordance with the principles of science and modern civilization and the needs of the world.

5) Statism:

Although private entrepreneurship is accepted, it is also requirement that the state takes its place in economic life in order to ensure the development of the country and to provide the social welfare. Turkey's statism, not for socialism, statism is oriented capitalism[13].

6) Revolutionism:

The party guards the adoption, protection and development of the revolutions. The party also develops new methods according to changing situations and difficulties in accordance with science and reason.

If we examine these six principles herein of the RPP in the context of social democracy, we can see the tips of the evolution of RPP ontologically as social democracy[14].

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[12] Kabasakal, M. "Sosyal Demokrasi Ders Notları",
http://www.sodev.org.tr/Okullar/SDO/ders_notlari/turkiyede_sd_ve_chp.html, (date of access: 12.12.2013)
[13] Kongar,E. "Altı Ok'un Anlamı Nedir?"
http://www.aymavisi.org/guncel/Alti%20Ok'un%20Anlami%20-%20Emre%20Kongar.html, (date of access: 24.12.2013)
[14]"Dr. Mehmet Kabasakal, Sosyal Demokrasi Ders Notları (date of access: 12.12.2013)

a) **Republicanism and Social Democracy:**

The principle of Republicanism expresses the regime which social decree is dominant and public dominancy is principal. Social democracy is the ideology which adopts parliamentary democracy and supports representative democracy. Hence, Republicanism and Social Democracy are parallel political asserts concerning the public dominancy in the country governance.

b) **Populism and Social Democracy:**

After RPP adopted the left middle line, the ground of the strongest thesis concerning that the party is closer to social democracy, was the asset of the principle of populism. According to this thesis, the principle of populism repudiates all differentiation distinctiveness between the social layers, it brings an absolute equality in front of law and order, and with these characteristics it coincides with the equality and public justice of social democracy.

In contrary to the thesis, the principle of Populism supports the claim of creation of society without class difference that complies with early period republic's solidarist society understanding more than equity and justice concern. However, the principle of populism neither stimulates unions nor labor movements; the main concern of it was, to create classless, unprivileged and fused society under the shelter of powerful state.

c) **Nationalism and Social Democracy:**

No doubt, from the six principles of the RPP, the principle of nationalism is the most confronting one with social democracy. It is impossible to compromise of social democracy, which is an internationalist ideology, with nationalism which is a nationalist ideology. Although it is mentioned that Atatürk's nationality is equivalent with patriotism, it is impossible to reconcile the principle of nationalism with social democracy.

d) **Secularism and Social Democracy:**

Secularism is as well as being the principle concerning the source of sovereignty, in Turkish practice, in conjunction with arising from the secular sources; it also expresses the inclusion of religion of state to religious life. Hence, Turkish secularism reflects the understanding of interventionist and controller laicism. As to social democracy that evaluates the freedom of religion and conscience as a part of individual freedom, rejects the interventionist secularism understanding because of being the violation of individual freedom.

e) **Statism and Social Democracy:**

The second principle that is secondly referred by the theses regarding RPP was a movement mostly close to social democracy historically. Statism principle requires that the state should take part in economic life of state actively as an actor and if necessary, should

also undertake some works which in fact, should be done by private sector, while coming up with mixed economy model at same time.

For the newly established republic of Turkey, statism was necessity more than a choice. The lack of bourgeois class and private sector obliged the state to be active in economic life. In other words, statism was a necessity brought about the conditions of the time rather than being a denominational preference.

According to the social democratic theory, the efficiency of state in economic life events aims to strengthen social justice and improving living conditions of laborers.

f)   Revolution and Social Democracy:

Revolution is a principle developed by the founders of Republic to update the revolutions constantly and to reproduce in terms of the current time. However, social democracy adopts gradual change spreaded over a time rather than revolution/reformism.

Kemalism which is symbolized with six arrows is an authoritarian and enlightened methodology drawing ideological framework of republic of Turkey, rather than being an ideology. Kemalism which denies the existence of classes in society and defends the requirement of homogenous population in a solidarist understanding, while defending combative understanding of secularism which is shaped by state and explained that the rights and freedoms of citizens are practicable and can be meaningful if they are interpreted and implemented in favor of state/against citizens, in a state-centered perspective.

The main tension between Kemalism and social democracy based on that fact that social democracy was an ideology based on labor class despite Kemalism has a founder state ideology based on authoritarian modernization. Therefore, it is not easy in practice that Kemalism which has state-centered ideology to reconcile with social democracy originated in class struggle.

CHAPTER 3
THE TERM OF BÜLENT ECEVIT AND THE RPP

The ones who give the most support to İsmet İnönü's initiative of 'left of center' were the young politicians wing in the RPP. Bülent Ecevit who was the most prominent person of this wing was, brought the principle of populism to the fore in the Congress of 1966 with the support of İnönü and asserted that the claim of 'left of center' was meaningful.

The CHP performed poorly due to the division in this election (1969 general election) (Ahmad, 2012: 187), and the CHP's votes dropped to 27,4% due to uncertainties about its ideology (Ahmad, 2012: 190). After this defeat of selection, a serious uneasiness started in the right wing of the Party and it was said that the responsible for this defat was the expression of left of middle that Ecevit and his friends had admitted. However, İnönü stake a claim on this expression in the Congress of 1970 by supporting Ecevit.

The period which caused Bülent Ecevit to become general president had started with 12th March of military memorandum. Turkish Military Forces which gave warning notification to Adalet Partisi (Justice Party) government that was in power at that time, ensured the establishment of the government of technocrats and İnönü also supported this government of technocrats. The support of İnönü to this army-supported government drove a conflict between dual of Ecevit-İnönü and brought vis-a-vis these two names politically. Ecevit criticized İnönü by showing opposed stance against 12th March of Memorandum.

In the Congress of 1972, Ecevit who appeared before İnönü as the candidate of general president was selected as general president by the support of province and county communities and İnönü left politics after this defeat. The Congress of 1972 is meaningful regarding the achievement of certain victory of expression the RPP as left of center.

3.1. The Term of Bülent Ecevit and Social Democracy

After İnönü, Ecevit as being the party leader stated that he uses the terms of left of center, democratic left, social democracy and democratic socialism synonymously. Ecevit, by reinterpreting his populism, adopted an understanding which accepts the existence of classes, but rejects the conflict of classes. Ecevit was passionate about European social democracy and was thinking about applying German and Scandinavian model (Ahmad, 2012: 192).

Ecevit succeeded in the general selections in the year of 1973 which he entered first time after being general president and the RPP became the first party by having more than %30 of the votes. Ecevit realized that the expression of social democrat finds a response

in the society and found the Party more permanent to skid into left and tried to put the doctrinaire background on a strong ground.

The most significant document to evaluate the term of Ecevit is the declaration **'Ak Günlere Bildirgesi'**[15] which was comprehensive ideological and political manifest and prepared for the general selection of 1973. In this declaration, not only suggestions of solutions are brought to the country problems, but also ideas are also located in related to the ideological orientations.

The declaration in question begins with 5 years of development plan and continues with different suggestions:

> 'After 12th of March 1971, our democracy was severely damaged because of some constitutional amendments and democratic rights were limited.
> The restoration of democracy and the expansion of freedoms are the CHP's 1973 Election Declaration is one of its main problems.'[16]

According to this, the RPP demands the 5 years of development plans to be prepared more socially, more society oriented and economic growth centered. In contrast to right party's capital and profit focused development plans, The RPP defends the understanding of planning which strengthens social justice and democracy.

In the meantime, it can be said that the party wants to spread the current capital as far as to the basis and has the aim of all income group having a share from the production and capital. The RPP is against the system which the capitalist in the hands of limited people.

'In this regard, CHP emphasizes in 1973 Election Declaration that how associate economic development, social justice and liberal democracy in Turkey's facts.'[17]

In this declaration, the RPP attributes a special importance to public services and defends that the common and state financed public health, justice and education policies will be in favor of the society. With this aim, it brought comprehensive reform suggestions especially in education and health areas.

The RPP refuses the capitalism that is monopolist and profiteer. The RPP giving a place in this declaration suggested a budgetary policy as a solution which spreads the expenditure discipline, transparency and incomes to the bases.

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[15] Ak Günlere Seçim Bildirgesi"
http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/SIYASI%20PARTI%20YAYINLARI/197600453%20CHP%201973%20SECIM%20BILDIRGESI/197600453%20CHP%201973%20SECIM%20BILDIRGESI%200000-0019%20GIRIS.pdf, 1973, Ankara, TBMM Kütüphanesi (date of access: 12.11.2013)
[16] Ak Günlere Seçim Bildirgesi, 1973, Ankara, TBMM Kütüphanesi, Page 7.
[17] Ak Günlere Seçim Bildirgesi, 1973, Ankara, TBMM Kütüphanesi, Page 16.

The RPP refuses the understanding of development which does not protect social just and unjust income distribution and defends that society should be consulted and be put in the center during the development.

The one of the biggest problems in developing countries is the relationship between democracy and economic development. According to a view that is frequently shared; firstly, development and economic development should be provided, the democratization and freedoms should come after this. The RPP refuses this understanding and asserts that social justice, political freedoms and economic development will be meaningful and useful as long as they processed synchronously.

One of the discussed matters in the declaration was the proposal of land. This reform aimed at breaking the power of landlords and feudal forces as well as supplying lands to the landless and poor villagers and increasing the production.

3.2. Interpretation from the Perspective of Universal Social Democracy

The term of Bülent Ecevit in the RPP continued eight years and ended with the 12 September 1980 coup d'état. During this eight-year period, Ecevit participated two elections and the RPP won both elections as the leading party. In this period, there was big increase in interest to RPP from public and the principles of the party as social justice, democratization, freedoms and social sharing got big support from public.

The discourse of Ecevit term regarding social justice and fair distribution of income is in compliance with universal discourse of social democracy. The RPP who aims to spread the income to the base as well as increasing tax incomes by getting higher taxes from the wealthy and targeting more intensive investments to public services such as health and education, came closer to the social democratic principles.

The demands regarding recognition and extension of union rights are a policy recommendation which corresponds to social democratic principles. Encoring the organization of labor struggles, the RPP supported union movements and stimulated the unions to be more efficient in the party.

Today, the concept of "Equality of opportunity" is still among the universal principles of social democracy as well as in the past. The concept of equality of opportunities as considered to be main principle of social democracy became important theme for the RPP, who claims to adopt the left of center.

Regarding to the principles lay out in period of Ecevit;

a) It can be said that the subjects such as emphasizing the social justice in priority, stimulating of precautions to provide equality in distribution of income,

emphasizing of general equality of opportunities, supporting union rights, supporting land reform to give land to landless citizens, are in parallel with social democracy principles.

b) The RPP in Ecevit's term embraced the universal values of social democracy in social and economy and at same time, they reflected political values of social democracy into their party program with defense of political freedoms. The three main principles of social democracy as freedom, equality and justice were included into the party's program.

c) The main critic that can be revealed by Ecevit's leadership period was the defense of nationalism which was contradictory to internationalism. Ecevit, at every opportunity has not refrained from implying their nationalism as well as defending principle of nationalism in daily politics. For instance, Ecevit, after the military operation of Cyprus in 1974, said "We are party who wrote the nationalism on the mountains of Cyprus, not to the walls. We are the real nationalists." However, social democracy rejects all forms of nationalism, in contradictory; it suggests a political position exceeding nationalism as internationalism which is a partnership of values.

When we consider the policy recommendations in Ecevit period, in terms of politic and social relations, it can be said that the policy corresponding to universal social democracy is much more nationalist rather than the perception of social democracy of the world with internationalist and universal approach. In this respect, the social democratic claim of the RPP falls between universal social democracy and national left which is local values. Indeed, Ecevit frequently mentioned his beliefs regarding Turkish left based on national values and dynamics. Ecevit's using concept of "democratic left" instead of social democracy lies in this distinction. Democratic left represents a national left approach and put distance to international values.

In this regard, if we must give definition to the RPP in respect of Ecevit term, we can say that the party is in in national/local left-democratic left line based on basic social democratic values.

CHAPTER 4
THE TERM OF DENIZ BAYKAL AND THE RPP

With 12 September 1980 coup d'état, political parties were closed and most of the people engaged in politics before herein military coup were prohibited from politics for variable durations. In this period, the RPP was also close and Deniz Baykal was prohibited from politics.

Due to the prohibition of the RPP, first Halkçı Parti (Populist Party) than Sosyal Demokrat Parti (Social Democratic Party) was founded by politicians who were not banned from politics. In 1985 these two parties united as Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democrat People's Party - SDPP) and Turkish democrats unified under the SDPP. And Deniz Baykal began to engage in politics in the SDPP after the completion of his prohibition of politics.

Deniz Baykal, who is at the same time a science professor, had taken all the attentions with his doctoral thesis[18]. In his thesis which was name as "political participation" Baykal explained why the RPP could not come to force as government party and could not achieved popularization and he emphasized the reasons of the RPP for not being adopted by the citizens as being a party who ignores the economic problems and making pressure to transform the society by making society engineering. Baykal´s thesis argues that the resolution for the RPP was in a place in left of center and he was suggesting the RPP should embrace political and economy-oriented discourse.

Baykal´s thesis took the attraction of Ecevit who was the leader of the left of the center in the RPP and Ecevit invited Baykal to take an active role in the party. Deniz Baykal, who was just 36 years old, became minister in the RPP –National Salvation Party (NSP) government in 1974.

In 12 September 1980, with the closing of all political parties as well the RPP, many politicians including Baykal were banned from politics. Baykal, who begun to engage in politics after completion of his prohibition, became the leader of nationalist opposition against Erdal İnönü who were the SDPP leader in that time. After quitting the SDPP with some other nationalist fellows of him, in 1992, Baykal re-established the RPP after 12 years and he became the chairman of the party. With the efforts of Baykal, in 1995, the RPP merged with the SDPP united and Baykal became the leader of social democrats. Baykal´s leadership

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[18] To see Deniz Baykal's doctoral thesis: Baykal, D. (1970). "**Siyasal Katılma: Bir Davranış İncelemesi**", Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Press

continued until 2010 and he resigned because of a tape scandal and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was assigned as chairman.

4.1. The Term of Deniz Baykal and Social Democracy

The doctoral thesis of Deniz Baykal has great effects for him to begin to engage in politics. In this thesis, it was claimed that the RPP should internalize the line of left of the center and should adopt a discourse which is consists of more freedom, solidarity and equality and the party should less emphasize its qualification as being the founder of the republic, but, somehow, the term of Baykal between 1992-2010, had been a period which the RPP diverged from the basic principles of social democracy and based its emergence on being the founder of the republic, and having secularism and nationalism as its motivation.

The new claim of the RPP in its 1994 program was the adoption of `civilized and modern social democrat` named as `new left. ` The commitments in 1994 program were as stated below:[19]

Free and high qualified education a health care,

Strengthen union movements and organization,

Ensuring equality in distribution of incomes,

Implementation of comprehensive policy regarding poverty,

Accepting cultural and ethnical diversity in society as heritage in unitary state structure and to ensure its right to co-exist.

Resolution of Kurdish problem,

Legislative changes required in the context of EU accession,

The abolition of earth penalty and state security courts,

Removing barriers for students and academicians in actively participating to politics,

Ending the State of Emergency situations,

Removing obstacles for freedom of expression and speech.

During this term, the RPP impressed by new social democratic movements increasing in Europe and came up with a new left model combining market economy and social justice. In this regard, in 1994 program, the aspects such as reform suggestions for justice in distribution of incomes, strengthen union movements were comprehensively mentioned. With this regard, his 1994 program should be deemed as the party program of RPP which is most close to the social democratic line.

[19] "CHP 1994 Programı", http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/SIYASI%20PARTI%20YAYINLARI/200305414%20CHP%20PROGRAMI%201994/200305414%20CHP%20PROGRAMI%201994%200001-0009%20GIRIS.pdf , Ankara, TBMM Kütüphanesi, (date of access: 12.11.2013)

Another significant point in the Program of 1994 was the suggested solutions of the party to the Kurdish Problem. On the contrary with the declarations of 2002 and 2007, in the Program of 1994, in which Kurdish problem was approached democratically, and together with this, the message of the RPP, as being the founder of the state, will guard the state, was given by emphasizing of unitary state and ideal integrity[20]. Also, being active in war on terrorism was also included again the program and security policies were not being excluded completely.

The RPP which joined the selection of 2002 and 2007 as being the only competitive party to the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party – JDP) and being substantially the only party of the left, preferred to be far away from its expression in the program of 1994, by establishing its expression completely based on guarding of laicism, security and unitary structure and by pushing the expressions of social justice and social solidarity to the backward. The JDP which was established in 2002 and rising rapidly as soon as it was established and because of JDP as being the party that comes from an Islamic political bases and because of the army-civil bureaucrat elites were having anxiously against this rapid rise of the JDP, it has played a significant role of the RPP to produce motivations with the laicism and nationalism. The RPP preferred to be situated as being the owner and the guardian of the laic Republic against the JDP which has Islamic bases. In this term, the emphasis of 'brightness', 'laicism' and 'modernity' were remarkable.

The RPP that renewed its Socialist International membership and searching the ways for strengthen its relationship with European Social Democrat Movements in the period of preparation of the 1994 Program, has given up from this view in the programs of 2002 and of 2007[21] and supported the full membership in the EU which is a supranational union by annotating the emphasis of 'national state, unitary state'.

Both in Ecevit term and in the program of 1994, the emphasis of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk remained in the background, the main principles of social democracy that are liberty, equality, justice were emphasized, and the targets of democratization were determined. However, in the programs of 2002 and of 2007, Atatürk emphasis was increased in parallel with the settlement of politics and expressions of the RPP to the 'founder' qualification.

'It will be embraced with achievable social rule of law which was established by the leadership of Atatürk, on fundamentals of laic and democratic republic.'

The RPP of Baykal term take a strident stand against ethnic pluralism and states in

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[20] "CHP Genelkurmay'ın Partisi", http://www.taraf.com.tr/nese-duzel/makale-hasan-bulent-kahraman-chp-genelkurmay-in-partisi.htm – (Interview, Hasan Bülent Kahraman- 05.11.2012), (date of access: 24.12.2013)
[21] "CHP 2007 Seçim Bildirgesi" http://www.chpizmir.org.tr/index.php/anasayfa-2/chp-secim-bildirgeleri/chp-2007-secim-bildirgesi, Ankara, TBMM Kütüphanesi, (date of access: 12.11.2013)

every opportunity that guarding of nation-state comes prior to the pluralism. For instance, the Article 66th of Constitution which regulates citizenship states that everyone who is banded to the state with citizenship is Turkish. The JDP claims that this article includes an ethnic definition and is not inclusivist and suggested the definitions of 'Türkiyelilik' (to be part of Turkey) or 'Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlığı' (The citizenship of Republic of Turkey). However, the RPP refuses this suggestion on the grounds that it will prepare a constitutional ground for ethnic differences in Turkey and will destroy the integrity in the country and insisted on the definition of homogeneous 'Turkish'.

4.2. Interpretation from the perspective of Universal Social Democracy

Deniz Baykal is the politician who made longest time of general president of the RPP after Atatürk and İnönü. Deniz Baykal as becoming the answer to the seeking of the RPP for social democracy was effective for him to get involved in politics.

If we draw the general picture of Baykal's Term;

a) The expressions of liberty, equality and justice were remained as an detail beside the fact that the RPP is the founder party of the republic, it couldn't be go beyond further than superficial liberty and democratization.

b) The expression of pluralism was not accepted as an expression and policy. In particular, the RPP rejected the constitutional changes which aim to take ethnic differences under constitutional guarantee that provides the Kurdish problem to be solved based on constitutional citizenship.

c) Although there are suggestions of democratization in Kurdish problem, some expressions such as 'war on terrorism', 'make no compromises from nation unity' came into prominence and the RPP of Baykal term preferred to see Kurdish problem as an terror and security problem, which is an ethnic pluralist problem in truth.

d) In economy, the model of social market was adopted and was emphasized that private enterprise should be framed with in powerful state institutions and the relationship with IMF should be continued.

e) Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was put forward as a figure that resembles the founder character of the party more than a figure who carries the party until today and the historical power of the RPP was emphasized. However, it should be recalled that one of the most significant milestones of Ecevit's term in the transition process to the universal social democracy was, keeping its distance from historical accumulation and founder characteristic.

The produce a political expression as being the founder party of the Republic, puts the party in a politically conservative structure within the reflex of guarding the party as being its founder, and the RPP of Baykal's term was emphasized as an party which struggles against democratization, demands of liberty and to the innovations. Hence, because of the coming of his main political competitive from Islamic bases, Baykal expected that this perception was going to put him into power.

CHAPTER 5
THE TERM OF KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU AND THE RPP

Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who was selected as general president in the congress of May 2010, after 18 years of general presidency of Deniz Baykal, starts to follow a policy that is emphasizing the social democratic base of the party.

In the period of Deniz Baykal, with nationalism and laicism oriented political view, the emphasis of the party as being the founder of the state became prominent and the policy was built upon that the RPP is the party which 'guards of the republic and the state'. However, Kılıçdaroğlu, as being selected as general president after Baykal, made his first speech that is unemployment, income injustice and democratization oriented and he did not emphasize any terms such as safeguard of laicism and Republic.

Hence, Kılıçdaroğlu, after being selected as general president, plenty of social democrat politicians turned back to the party and started to take an active work in the party again. Like Bülent Ecevit in the 1970s, the rise of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu to the leadership of CHP was a turning point for the party, marking its departure from state-centric understanding of security to a human security perspective (Erdemir, 2014: 59).

The RPP has brought the expression of social democrat again to the center of the politics that was being ignored since Ecevit term, by updating its party program, guidelines, and declaration and while it was adopting a social judicious and libertarian expression, it put the nationalist and laicism-oriented expression on the back burner.

Herein, the term of 'new' indicates that the party has diverged from its militant laicism and nationalism line in Baykal term and starts getting close to social democrat line in Ecevit term and became integrated with social democracy.

5.1. The Term of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and Social Democracy

The most significant document to analyses Kılıçdaroğlu term is the Selection Declaration of 2011 in which all political goals and expressions of the party are summarized. This declaration was detailed with party policies, main goals and expressions and the inner part of the 'New RPP' term was tried to be filled up.

The Selection Declaration of 2011 of the RPP starts by being summarized in the 6 main principles:[22]

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[22] "CHP 2011 Seçim Bildirgesi", http://www.chp.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/secim_bildirgesi-web.pdf , Ankara, 2011 – (date of access: 14.11.2013)

'For free man, for sustainable development, for social democracy and humanely life, for happy society and happy citizen, for modern settlements and developed civic society, for fair and secure world is, the RPP'.

For Free man...

1. Libertarian Democracy

For sustainable development...

2. Productive, Growing, Participative, Environment friendly Economy

For social democracy and humanely life...

3. Equality and Social Solidarity

For happy society, happy citizen...

4. Qualified Public Services, Governance in the daylight

For modern settlements and developed civic society...

5. Developing intercounties, Urbanization of Anatolia, the world city of İstanbul

For fair and secure world.

6. Foreign Politics that is based on Peace, Democracy and Development.'

There are 6 main articles that summarize the approaches in the Selection Declaration of the RPP. In the first article, 'libertarian democracy' is being emphasized, in the second article the economical productiveness and development is emphasized and in the third article, the equality and social solidarity that are main principles of social democracy is expressed obviously and in the last three articles are about increasing of quality of social services and the necessity of democratic development.

Herein, the basic difference is that the terms of social democracy and justice are the first time included comprehensively to the program of the RPP since Ecevit's term. Increasing the quality of social services and being mentioned of income justice coincide with the principles of social democracy.

Besides, the traditional 6 arrows of the party were also included in the Declaration of 2011. However, narrow scope was left for these principles that are known as 6 arrows and it was emphasized that the party is 'libertarian, egalitarian, solidarist and pluralist'. The main principles of social democracy were being reflected to the selection declaration:[23]

'ATATÜRK'S REFORMS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SIX ARROWS'

Our passion of independency,

Our claim of being modern society based on popular sovereignty, liberty of citizen and modernization,

Are the sources of our purpose to protect and develop the ideals of Republic-Laicism-Democracy?

THE RPP IS LIBERTARIAN:

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[23] "CHP 2011 Seçim Bildirgesi", http://www.chp.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/secim_bildirgesi-web.pdf, Ankara, 2011 (date of access: 14.11.2013)

According to view of the RPP, liberty is the main condition for the development of personality, thought, talents and creativity of human being. It is also the necessity for the human being to be realized himself/herself in society and to become a citizen.

THE RPP IS EGALITARIAN:

To provide the social justice between different social layers, to guard justice in the share of wealth, to decrease imbalances in regional development are the prior objectives of the RPP.

THE RPP IS SOLIDARIST:

According to view of social democracy of the perspective of human and society, the liability is common; solidarity is the necessity of this liability perspective. The prior objective of the RPP in the perspective of solidarity is the balanced income justice, social security for everyone, guidance of orphans and support to the ones who needs to be guarded.

THE RPP IS PLURALIST:

To deepen social democracy is the pre-condition of inner peace and development in our country where there are different social classes, beliefs, cultures and ethnic identities.

On the contrary of the expression in Baykal term which is secured oriented and puts the anxiety of dichotomy, the Kurdish problem was first time mentioned and stated that the solution of this problem will be possible by pluralist democratic system in the same declaration:

'*We will come over the obstacles in front of our Kurdish citizens preventing them to live their identities by establishing the pluralist and libertarian democracy. We will provide all of the citizens to use all their rights equally arising from being equal citizens regardless of their language, religion, ethnic identity, belief, communion, gender, sexual orientation and sexual identity, age, political view* (Election Declaration, 2011).'

Also, suggestions for the economy were included in the Declaration of 2011. Some suggestions such as the wage rise, the income tax reform for the justice of taxation, the strengthen of social security system found a place in this declaration:

"We will provide the state to take an active liability in the solution of problems such as high unemployment that lies behind the poverty, working informally, low wage, inactive social security, insufficient health and social support systems, the problems of saving education and talent.

We will differentiate tariff and rates of income tax, decrease the tax burden of wage earners, we will from everyone and every sector tax according to their power capacities.

During the term of the RPP;

We are giving a promise of Turkey which is,

- increasing rapidly the production in sectors which is competitive,
- activating all the physical and human sources,

- based on productivity and having economy structure creating employment and added value,
- state activity is limited with transparency and accountability,
- citizen rights and security is in priority,
- employers are not dependent to arbitrary treatment of the government and free from the government's intimidation,
- the priority is to fight with poverty and unfair distribution of incomes.

Presentation of poverty and inequality in society is process which has important humanitarian, economic and political results. Development of democracy, economic and social development can be accomplished through independent individuals who have more opportunities. Besides, the prior goal of the development is individuals' liberation and providing more opportunities for them. Individual liberation is determined through political and civil rights as well as social and economic arrangements in society. Our common goal is a strong Turkey having solidarity, citizenship, brotherhood; strengthen the sense of national unity and having equal opportunities for all citizens."

If we are to sort the properties of declaration of election dated with 2011;

a) Emphasis on the development of social pluralism and freedom is extraordinarily strong in the declaration. In this regard, there is affinity with Ecevit period and differentiation with Baykal period.

b) During Baykal period, the Kurdish issue which was met with national and secure reflexes was recognized as a problem of democratization and plurality in a non-security-oriented perspective.

c) Principles of Ataturk and secularism were taken its place in party`s declaration as symbolic and historical value.

d) Since the Ecevit period, for the first time the party text is processed in such a wide range of economic issues. Ensuring equality in income distribution, considering income differences in tax collection, strengthen social security institutions, and providing institutional reforms to prevent the poors were taken a place in the party program.

5.2. Interpretation from the perspective of Universal Social Democracy

After long years for the first time the RPP, which prepared a party program and a close election declaration to universal social democrats, came as second with vote rate of %25,9 in 2011 general elections and managed to increase its votes approximately 5 points.

Kılıçdaroğlu expressed clearly that he intends to line the party to Ecevit´s period an got support of many social democratic academicians for the re-arranging the party`s program. But the problems continued in Kılıçdaroğlu term.

Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was expected to lead the transformation built the RPP on social democrats' accumulation and redefine political orientation falls to the social democracy. Since he was selected as the leader in 2010, Kılıçdaroğlu is struggling to create a balance policy to monitor the party to split by creating a combined living area between nationalist wing representing bureaucratic apparatus tradition and innovative wing representing accumulation of social democracy which can in fact, constitute a paradox but putting them together. Therefore, the party could not get rid of the secularist and nationalist pressure causing a kind of abstract obstacle among social democratic accumulation and Kılıçdaroğlu's credibility was questioned.

In Turkey, nowadays, the lacking and the required politics is a leftist politics, which defends the pluralism, bringing particularly Kurds/Alevis/religious/non-Muslims and all other magnetized ethnic/religious/gender group grievances into the political arena and hence policy making, having something to say for the women movements and producing policies, not being unconcerned with ecological problems, aiming to democratize state-individual- and individual-state relationship, building comprehensive social policies, considering to discuss the opportunities of alternative globalization in local platform, producing an effective and constructive opposition. The expectations from Kılıçdaroğlu were a new RPP which will be democratic and liberal to the extent that these criterias are met.

Another important point is it would be insufficient to qualify the RPP only as an bureaucratic apparatus embodied in an understanding of only being a founder of the republic. Indeed, the RPP, both with the experiences in 1970`s with Ecevit and with the SDPP party after 12 of September, accumulated a remarkable political orientation on behalf of social democratic policy. The problems which is we are having its extensions today since 1933 when Baykal and his team re-activated is, the RPP putting forward the bureaucratic apparatus function of founder decree as a policy style and ontological reason in society bounding processes and pushing the accumulation of social democracy since last 40 years. In other words, inner orientation having the RPP today is absolutely the consequence of its political preference and it is possible to turn completely to the contrary of this preference in a way that could historically be supported.

CONCLUSION

Whether RPP is a social democratic party or not, has always been an issue in scientific and recent current literature. We can itemize the statements below regarding to our previous explanations:

a) The claim of the RPP to be social democratic does not occur because of ideological separation or intra-party debate; it occurs with the decision of İsmet İnönü who was the leader of the party. So, RPP's social democratic policy implementation has no theoretical or class-based background.

b) Due to be the founder party of the Republic, the RPP mentions this in every opportunity. Therefore, to protect the Republic in changing political conjecture and re-produce is its priority target as being the founder of the Republic. At the time when the time when student movements, political movements and union activities were raising rapidly, the RPP stated that it was in the left of center, in order to stabilize the rapidly increasing left and to prevent the emergence of Bolshevism like in Soviet Russia and to channelize the political demands of left wingers into itself. The motivation for shifting towards to social democratic line is due to the concern in protecting the state, not because of any theoretical reason.

c) The social democratic claim of the RPP beginning with Ecevit term, continued in terms of Baykal and Kılıçdaroğlu as well. Baykal, who possessed the claim of Ecevit regarding creating a national and local social democracy, much less emphasized the secularism and nationalism motivations and the universal values of social democracy. Following to this, Kılıçdaroğlu, who came in charge after Baykal, attempt to approach the party closer to the social democratic values by giving wider coverage to the discourse of labor and denomination.

d) For the RPP, social democracy is a relationship which is almost fifty years old. The beginning of this relationship has been caused by the strategically concerns of the party and protecting the state and regenerating the request under varying conditions has played a primary role. Young social democrats (named as Ecevit, Baykal..) who were invited to the party in accordance of their left-centered stands, considered the social democratic values as second to the state's continuity and with this regard, refrained to apply the social democratic discourse and principles and they began to strive for building a social democracy 'peculiar to Turkey'.

It is also possible to verify the determinations such as to what extend the RPP adopted the social democratic values, whether the party corresponds to real democratic line or not, through the historical history. The chart of free and multi-party general elections from the year of 1950 to nowadays is stated as below[24]:

Table 1. Electoral Performances of RPP (1946 – 2007)

Seçim Tarihi	1. Parti	%	2. Parti	%	3. Parti	%	4. Parti	%	5. Parti	%	Diğer %
1950	DP	52,68	CHP	39,45	MP	3,11	-	-	-	-	4,76
1954	DP	57,50	CHP	35,29	CMP	4,84	TKP	0,63	-	-	1,74
1957	DP	47,91	CHP	41,12	CMP	7,08	HP	3,84	-	-	0,05
1961	CHP	36,74	AP	34,80	CKMP	13,96	YTP	13,7	-	-	0,81
1965	AP	52,87	CHP	28,75	MP	6,26	YTP	3,72	TİP	2,97	5,43
1969	AP	46,55	CHP	27,37	GP	6,58	MP	3,22	MHP	3,03	13,25
1973	CHP	33,29	AP	29,82	DP	11,89	MSP	11,8	CGP	5,26	7,94
1977	CHP	41,39	AP	36,89	MSP	8,57	MHP	6,42	DP	1,85	4,88
1983	ANAP	45,14	HP	30,46	MDP	23,27	-		-	-	1,14
1987	ANAP	36,31	SHP	24,74	DYP	19,14	-	-	-	-	19,81
1991	DYP	27,03	ANAP	24,01	SHP	20,75	RP	16,8	DSP	10,7	00,59
1995	RP	21,38	ANAP	19,65	DYP	19,18	DSP	14,6	CHP	10,7	14,44
1999	DSP	22,19	MHP	17,98	FP	15,41	ANAP	13,2	DYP	12,0	19,19
2002	AKP	34,43	CHP	19,41	-	-	-	-	-	-	46,16
2007	AKP	46, 58	CHP	20,88	MHP	14,27	-	-	-	-	18,27

In the period which is the most intensive time of trade union movements, student movements and left demands, even in the general selections of 1977 when left is the strongest and the RPP's vote rate reaches to %41,39, the vote of right parties was at %54. This situation also did not change in the selections of 1973 when the RPP was in the first row and in the selections of 1999 when the DLP (Democratic Left Party – Demokratik Sol Parti) won, the vote of right parties was over %50. The reality which this chart points out is that the claim of social democratic politics and popularization which the RPP presents stayed as limited. These reasons need to be exposed.

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[24] Aslan, E. "Sağ Neden Kazanır, CHP Neden Kaybeder?", http://www.tuicakademi.org/index.php/yazarlar1/105-emrah-aslan-tum-yazilari/3139-sag-neden-kazanir-chp-neden-kaybeder (date of access: 23.12.2013)

Being the political party or movement to be government and even realizes this in frequent gaps shows that this movement is respected at society and finds bases, creates a permanent bind with the society. Therefore, it should be read that the reason of the RPP that could not become the self-government approximately for 64 years corresponds to the problems of the Party regarding of being social democrat.

The first factor that brings a political movement in control of the government was, in every period they somehow took the concept of "**freedom**" to their center of politics and produced an expression which emphasizes successfully that they are sharing the society's worries and. It is in debate of their comprehensiveness and such problems they managed to solve in practice, but, the common property of 4 of the right centered government was that in problems concerning the society closely, they took a part in same side beside society and mostly took distance to the "status quo" in problematical areas.

The RPP that is claiming of being social democrat, preferred to protect the state continuation and produce again, to the freedom of universal social democracy And, in Baykal period adopted a completely, in Kılıçdaroğlu period partly secure, secularist and state protection-centered expression.

The second factor that should be paid attention is that the "tongue" which the politics expressions of parties established has the specialty of establishing connection with society, coming inside from society, accordingly, seeing of voter itself in the candidate party. Either in expressions of leaders or in the expressions produced during selection terms and in the period of governments, the RPP adopted an expression which is far away from society; this expression could not find response in the society.

The universal principles of social democracy that are freedom, equality, justice can make sense with expression of freedom which is not hierarchic and with expression which has response in the society and with persuasive expression of justice.

What RPP has made in the period of having its social democratic claim was, establishing hierarchy between freedoms and other things and possessing some of them, defining other sufferers as the "others" of the system which the party and the sufferers that it possessed, consequently both to keep its status quo-based position and becoming the preference focal by producing societal hostility and chaos climate. Therefore, the RPP represents an problematic unity in respect with its relationship with freedoms and democratization; not only a problem with its managerial staff and also it is a problem with its mentality.

On the other hand, it is the extension of Turkey's social conditions that the RPP's claim of being social democrat does not have a denominational and doctrinaire basis, and also

its practical basis is weak. The RPP that is based on student and worker movements that exist in cities and can establish connection with the society by its expression of freedom and can have a more agreeable position with traditional values of society could build the universal principles of social democracy upon this equation.

The left movement which could manage this, would accept the existence of fallibility concerning society, human, political life, and all other things, would get into the habit of reasoning through persuasion and compromise instead of absolute and universal values and by overcoming the most important obstacle that prevents the popularization of left movements, able to come to a situation that could connect with the society. Transferring of complex problems, solutions and political solutions to the society with clear tongue is also the complementary of this period.

For RPP to define itself as social democratic, it should refine itself from the constituent party and should adopt a libertarian view by constructing the principles of freedom-equity-justice with synthesis of universal values and local realities. The defense of interventionist laicism understanding, and nationalism are the conception expressions of protecting the state continuity and essentially, they express the protection of state aid. Social democrat is the understanding of including denominational values together with libertarian expression and policy to the program of the Party.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my original research.

None of the part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree of any other qualification at this University or any other institution

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