

## THE PARADIGM OF REPUBLICANISM AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

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### ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to reveal the center-periphery dichotomy experienced in the process from the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye to the present day, the development processes of the concepts of republic-democracy within the scope of political history and the composition of the way they are implemented. To enlighten the reader by going into the historical background of the rupture in Türkiye. Comparative analyses were used as a method. For example, how the idea of the Republic was imposed especially after the First World War. As mentioned in the article, US President Wilson stated that those who entered the war on the side of Germany would only come to the table with a democratic government. In Türkiye, on the other hand, the transition to the Republic was not an imposition, but was led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his staff. In Türkiye, the Constitutional Revolutions served as a political laboratory for the idea of the Republic. In order to consolidate the thesis, the study utilized local and foreign sources. Since the establishment of the Republic, the reforms introduced by the Republican elites have brought about social opposition. The Republic defined equal citizenship through concepts such as popular sovereignty and the rule of law, but why was this ideo-political idea not embraced by the society at large? Why did the establishment of a nation-state under the name of Turkish national identity lead to the beginning of the problems? The answers to all these questions are explained causally in the article. The study concludes that the basis of today's social polarization is based on the center-periphery opposition during the Republican era. The fact that the top-down deconstruction revolution in Türkiye was adopted only by an elitist group and did not spread to the bottom constitutes the basis of the problems we are experiencing today. When the revolution in Türkiye is analyzed from a socio-psychological perspective, it will be seen that the periphery has not adapted itself to the system. Concepts such as the nation-state and national Turkish identity, which form the basis of the Turkish state, were also formed during this period, and therefore the source of the oppressed morale-motivation of the people who oppose the Turkish state in society was the events that took place during this period.

**Keywords:** *Republic, Democracy, Liberalism, Turkey, Atatürk.*

## CUMHURİYETÇİLİK VE LIBERAL DEMOKRASİ PARADİGMASI

### ÖZ

Çalışmanın amacı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin kuruluşundan günümüze kadarki süreçte yaşanan merkez-çevre dikotomisini, cumhuriyet-demokrasi kavramlarının siyasi tarih kapsamında gelişim süreçlerini ve uygulanış biçiminin kompozisyonunu ortaya koyabilmektir. Türkiye'de yaşanan kırılmanın tarihsel arka planına inerek okuyucuyu aydınlatabilmektir. Metot olarak karşılaştırmalı analizlere yer verildi. Örneğin; Cumhuriyet fikrinin özellikle 1. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra nasıl dayatıldığı gibi. Makalede değinildiği üzere ABD Başkanı Wilson, Almanya'nın yanında savaşa

girenlere ancak demokratik bir hükümetle masaya oturacağını dile getirmiştir. Türkiye’de ise Cumhuriyet’e geçiş bir dayatma ile değil bizzat Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve kadrosunun öncülüğünde gerçekleşmiştir. Zira Türkiye’de Meşrutiyet Devrimleri, Cumhuriyet fikrine siyasi bir laboratuvar vazifesi görmüştür. Çalışmada tezi konsolide edebilmek için yerli ve yabancı kaynaklardan yararlanıldı. Cumhuriyet kurulduğundan bu yana Cumhuriyetçi elitlerin ortaya çıkardığı reformlar toplumsal muhalefeti de beraberinde getirmiştir. Cumhuriyet halk egemenliği ve hukuk devleti gibi kavramlarla eşit yurttaşlığı tanımlar ancak neden bu ideo-politik düşünce toplumun geneli tarafından benimsenmedi? Türk milli kimliği adı altında ulus-devlet kurulması neden sorunların başlangıcına neden oldu? Bütün bu soruların cevabı makalede nedensellik içerisinde anlatılmıştır. Çalışmada günümüzde yaşanan toplumsal kutuplaşmaların temelini Cumhuriyet döneminde yaşanan merkez-çevre zıtlaşmasına dayandığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Türkiye’de üstten alta yaşanan yapı-söküm devriminin sadece elitist bir kesim tarafından benimsenmesi ve alta yayılmaması günümüzde yaşadığımız sorunların temelini teşkil etmektedir. Türkiye’de yaşanan devrim sosyo-prikojik açıdan incelendiğinde çevrenin sisteme kendini adapte etmediği görülecektir. Türk devletinin temelini oluşturan ulus-devlet, milli Türk kimliği gibi kavramların da oluşumu bu dönemde olmuştur dolayısıyla toplumda Türk devletine karşı olan insanların ezilmişlik moral-motivasyon kaynağı da yine bu dönemde yaşanan olaylar olmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Cumhuriyet, Demokrasi, Liberalizm, Türkiye, Atatürk.

## INTRODUCTION

Although the concepts of republic and democracy are seen in an intertwined unity of meaning, there are differences within the concepts in terms of content. The way of application of the concepts of republic and democracy and the area it covers are discussed in our article within the development processes within the scope of the history of the Republic. It is seen that the most discussed concept in the political platforms of today's Türkiye is democracy. In addition, democracy does not offer any clear and distinct structure for governance. In addition to this, no one knows what kind of future the liberal democracy and its aftermath will be defended with great self - confidence. However, it is also seen that liberal democracy is a political project. It is also understood that the debates that started with the establishment of the foundations of the Republic of Türkiye, the strategic haste in practice of the tutelary republican regime created in the world conjuncture of that day, and the problems created by the transition from the single-party system to the multi-party system created a confrontational political environment. It all depends on how ideology is conceived (Laclau and Mouffe, 2017: 117). When the theoretical content of ideologies is comprehended, it will find an application area. With the proclamation of the Republic, a period that redefined itself in the socio-economic-cultural framework had occurred in Türkiye. Considering the political debates, which have become the most important problem of our country, it can be said that the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye as a Turkish national state revealed these problems. The dynamism of the process we are in today has been reflected in the political discourse in the form of ideological opposition in different dimensions, which emerged with the establishment of the Republican revolutions and the Turkish State and created a social opposition. The political parties' stance against the tutelage regime against the uncompromising implementation of the principles and reforms of the secular republic became the main problem of the political environment. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Constitution of the Secular Republic and the indispensable principles of the parliamentary regime that bind the structure of the Turkish state to one another, assigned duties and responsibilities to the army, the military bureaucracy and the undisputed power of the CHP's elite cadres in the state to protect and preserve the Republic. The mixed nature of the regime in Türkiye can be described as a pretorian republic (İnsel, 2009: 45). The aim was to raise virtuous Turkish citizens who are loyal to the Turkish identity with their language, historical awareness and social structure. Language, culture and history are the strongest symbols of our time in the formation of national identity. The problems Türkiye faces today have revealed a situation arising from the socio-cultural structure inherited in the thought and mind of the society. If the Republican political view had developed from a historical background and turned into power during the early Republican period, most of the problems we face today would have been resolved spontaneously (Kongar, 1983: 309). However, as a political force, Republicanism

seems to be the driving force of all breakthroughs in making political revolutions from the top down. In her statement from. It can be stated that a process that will bring the end of autocratic empires has begun in Europe, where concepts such as the republic and more democracy are brought up for discussion. Before the start of the First World War, political groups in Europe had increased their criticism of the covert methods and elitist prejudices of "*old diplomacy*". Demands for the development of a system in which the people were open to their representatives in political decisions began to increase rapidly. According to the "*principle of self-determination of nations*", which is seen as another reason, the demands of creating a coexistence in a new world order in peace with democracy were accepted and became an effective pressure factor in forming public opinion. In the face of the development and organization of socialism as an attractive view among the working class in Europe in line with the effective criticisms brought by the 1917 Bolshevik revolution to the current world system, the Western powers began to implement new policies in favor of the workers, both at home and abroad. International relations between 1914-1918 and 1930 showed a situation that was divided into ideological and political blocs. The problems originating from the European countries and the economic and strategic conflict of interests among the countries themselves turned into global wars, and these wars had direct effects on the change of the interstate order. In addition to the economic effects of the greatest wars in the history of humanity, they caused deep inquiries in political, cultural and moral aspects.

The First World War brought the end of authoritarian empires in its aftermath. This meant not only a change of power, but also a change of power systems and forms. It was accepted as a precondition that US President Wilson said that he could "*sit at the peace table with Germany only with a democratic government*" (Akşin, 1987: 305). Then the defeated states, Bulgaria, Germany, Austria and Hungary, declared their transition to the republican regime. The effect of external pressure brought about a change in the form of government. It is seen that a different process is followed in Türkiye. The future of the Ottoman Empire after the war depended on the decision to be made between the lips of the British Government. Türkiye was the only country to cancel the Treaty of Sèvres imposed on it after the war (1918) (Akşin, 1987: 308). First of all, Türkiye had to wage a national struggle against imperialism. After a long and difficult struggle, Türkiye had won a decisive victory against Greece, which was under the control of England, in 1921. With a new agreement signed in Lausanne in 1923, the Anatolian lands were liberated. After the national struggle was won, the transition to the republican system, which already existed in the ideological world of thought of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends, would take place. With the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, a more appropriate system was adopted from the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908), which started with the Young Turks and developed during the Union and Progress period. The expression Sina Akşin quoted from Tarık Zafer Tunaya was as follows: "*The Second Constitutional Monarchy became the political laboratory of our Republic*". Indeed, the "*floating line*" of Turkish History was 1908 (Akşin, 1987:308). With the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the ideological and sociological structure of Türkiye's political history would develop in a different direction.

The concept of republic determines the structuring of state institutions with the rules of law and the sovereignty of the state on the basis of law. The concept of hegemony emerged to fill a gap that occurred in a historical chain of necessity (Laclau-Mouffe, 2017: 31). It is seen that the Republican regime, which has built a new sovereignty status, has an aspect that is open to innovative change. Republic is a style of government in which legislative and executive powers are separated. It brings to mind how and by whom the management style will be governed in such regimes. In all regimes, the administration applies different republican systems. There are differences in the concept of democracy and the way it is applied. The main problem is to be able to bring human rights to a legal basis in the context of universal values. In England, it is known that the monarchy tradition continues and it carries out democracy practices without a written constitution. In many European countries, the traditional monarchy structure continues. In the concept of the Republic, which is among the political goals of the Atatürk period, secularism and modernization within the framework of the constitutional state of law constitute an important paradigm. In this sense, republic means the rule of law.

In the traditional sense, the concept of sovereignty has been defined as the basic feature of the state for a long time together with the state. In the West, the concept of sovereignty was developed and turned into a doctrine after a long struggle. On the other hand, it provided the rationalization of power by unifying the divided powers during the feudal period. In the modern age, the classical theory of sovereignty has lost its validity and universal human rights have become an increasingly stronger demand in world societies. At the same time, political power does not mean absolute sovereignty. Within the framework of constitutional supremacy and legal norms, human rights mean equality and sharing the sovereignty of freedoms in state-society relations. A concept that needs to be developed and analyzed by synthesizing the republican regime with democracy should be emphasized.

### **The Early Period of The Republic Regime and Its Legal Framework (1923-1950)**

The Republic of Türkiye emerges as a state that has gained its national independence and sovereignty in its early period, has established itself among the nations and has succeeded in establishing a constitutional government. The process of building a new republican system in Türkiye has a close relationship with the recent world history. The establishment of the republican system was organized with a narrow group understanding within the common mentality of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends. Their priority in the life of nations is to win the national struggle for independence. Democracy is not a priority. Rather, Democracy is a matter of last resort. In other words, democracy did not provide national independence. On the contrary, countries governed by democracy have produced democracy by providing economic and social development after gaining their independence (Aybars, 2014: 5). On the other hand, other meanings are attributed to "political theory". For example, it is the one that concerns the values of the symbolic system of its own creation, and hence moral questions (Köker, 2008: 11-12). In connection with the adoption of republican principles and the development of national consciousness, it is possible to build democracy. It is also known that the practices carried out in societies where the conditions of Republican Democracy are not formed bring chaos. In the early period of the Republic, the powers of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had an authoritarian appearance. The success in the War of Independence and the effect of the diplomatic success in Lausanne gave legitimacy to the Republican staff to have a say in the administration of the country. At the beginning of the War of Independence, there was an alliance around the principle of national sovereignty of the society. This alliance gained a negative and confrontational character in certain segments of the society after the radical and radical socio-cultural changes initiated with the establishment of the Republic. In the early period of the Republic, it created a paradoxical situation in terms of the immaturity of the national consciousness. The state cadres, who were trying to adopt the basic principles of the republic, also continued the practices that restricted the freedom of thought. In the long run, the secular Republic had a significant impact on the sociology of Türkiye and the political life of political parties. Secularism entered the Turkish constitution in 1924, and it was given a legal framework with the changes made in 1937. In his determination on the concept of "*Republic*", İlber Ortaylı stated that the word "Republic" is grammatically correct in Arabic, but it is a concept invented by Turkish. İlber Ortaylı said that the use of "*Republic*" belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and that the word "*Public*" as a regime, as a classification, was invented by the Turks (Ortaylı, 2018: 282). In the early period of the Republic, there was a conflict between the state cadres, the society that would be the foundation and defender of the basic principles of the Republic, and its references. Antony D. Smith's statement, quoting Person T, was: "*Naturally, a system includes normative structural values formed in the essence of society, and detailed norms and values that are differentiated and specialized. To be meaningful and legal, these elements need cultural references.*" (Smith, 1985: 10). From an objective point of view, if a society has managed to maintain its existence in the face of external pressures, it has the ability to learn from this experience and react rationally. Communities that have been destroyed, swallowed up, and fragmented are clearly societies that have failed to mature. To some extent, survival has been historically limited (Smith, 1985: 95). What needs to be understood here is that the founding leaders of the Republic initially established a Republic based on Written constitutional principles. Among its main principles, the Republic had gained a new character, which included secularism, the adoption of civil law, and citizenship. It is

important for the Republic to acquire a legal qualification, to move to a parliamentary system and to create an environment that prepares the democratic process. Because it is a serious problem that the transition to democracy without preparing the conditions for democracy creates a risky environment. In this sense, the modernization of the Republic has very different characteristics from the modernization of the West. While Western modernization was determined as the transformation of its economic-social structure and a political transformation following the simultaneousness of these two, Turkish modernization emerged as a result of political transformation that accelerated economic and social differentiation (Kahraman, 2010: 3-4). With the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the concepts of homeland and nation began to be expressed in a modern sense. Since democracy would not emerge spontaneously, certain conditions would have to be fulfilled. The Founding leaders of the Republic also had the feature of preparing the society and guiding how to overcome the difficulties encountered. By developing the Republic as a system, it was aimed to complete the Republican democracy process and to protect the system. When the Assembly reconvened on 13 August 1923, the aim of the party was determined in the first article of the People's Party, which was established on 9 September, as *"to raise Türkiye into a modern state"*. In the second article, the legal framework of the republican regime was explained with the following sentence: *"In the eyes of the People's Party, the concept of the people is not exclusive to any class. All individuals who do not claim any privileges and generally accept an absolute equality in the eyes of the law are our people. Populists are individuals who recognize absolute freedom and independence, preach laws that do not accept the privileges of any nation, class, community, or individual."* (Tuncay, 1981: 362).

The lack of a clear definition of the republic brought to mind the question of "what kind of a republican regime will it be". It is known that there are different republican forms of government. The meaning that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends found in the expression *"Türkiye's form of government is the Republic"* meant accepting the institutions and administration style accepted by the Western world. The Westernization adventure of the Turkish political structure had begun to undergo a systematic transformation since 1789, when the Ottoman Sultan Selim III came to the throne. In the process that started with the Tanzimat (1838), we see that the change continued, accelerating in a positive or negative way. Afterwards, the transition to the parliamentary system was experienced with the First Constitutional Monarchy (1876), the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908). There was a different modernization process from the West. If we list the transition of the West to a modern life, this process developed as follows: a- the development of the bourgeoisie b- the emergence of the concept of social contract c- the development of secular thought d- the functioning of the democratic parliamentary system. The Western world would use the democratic system it developed early on from other countries as a method to use the advantages of industrial development for its own benefit. Western countries had dominated important and key sectors in the economies of former empires and countries that were in decline. They also established a tutelage system by dominating the political powers. Although to varying degrees, the Ottoman Empire and Iran and China shared the same position. This economic tutelage resulted in increased foreign influence in Banks, Railroads, Mines and Public administration (Langlois, 2000: 36-37). It is also known that the progress of the West effectively used the economic tutelage and borrowing method. Although the countries that have not been able to develop have moved to liberal democracy, it can be said that it is very difficult to implement democratic principles without fulfilling their social, cultural and economic conditions. It should not be overlooked that democratic opening is a difficult process. The inability to achieve national unity, the lack of a common political consciousness, the lack of experienced management staff, and the low literacy rate make the democratic process difficult to reach large masses. The democracies of countries that have not completed the democratic process emerge as tutelary democracies. It has dire consequences, such as changing political powers, which they deem harmful to the interests of powerful countries, through a coup or other methods. It is necessary to see modernity as an approach that will be constantly recreated according to the challenges of the age and society, rather than as a final data that we must reach by erasing everything or bowing before it (Bilgin, 1997: 19). In this thought, it is necessary to understand the Republic well and to constantly reinterpret it. This does not mean breaking ties with past history and tradition. It is to find

universality and modernization by synthesizing identification with a superior culture. It means making the system suitable for the conditions of the age by synthesizing the efforts of the founding leaders of the Republic to create a Republican Türkiye, today's Türkiye, an innovative and change-oriented structure for the future. The founding leaders, who re-established the social-economic structure from the beginning, also have their own ideological and thoughts. However, it should be seen that the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye is a process that started the continuity and continuity of the transition to democracy.

### **Difference of Opinion in The Common Part Of The Republic And Democracy**

Regarding the issue of how and in what way the concept of sovereignty will be established in the republican regime, some thinkers have said that *"the republican form alone is not complementary to the concept of sovereignty, but can be established with the concept of democracy"*. The first question here is whether democracy is oligarchy and to what extent. Another question is whether democracy inevitably turns into demagoguery. The third problem is that Democracy is destroyed in anarchy and degenerated by a tyrannical administration (Aron, 1976: 120). The transformation of democracy into demagoguery and intolerance, the fact that professional politicians put a mortgage on the will of the people within the framework of capital-media relations and the national will is not fully realized poses a serious problem. In the distribution of votes with the voters who cast their votes from election to election, the minority votes take over the political power. An environment in which unreal manipulative discourses turn into demagoguery in the competition of political parties with each other is seen as a problem of democracy. The development of knowledgeable and mature voters is related to the continuity of education and the development of the economy. The development of democracy is not a system to be implemented by taking it from outside; it has a close relationship with knowledge and culture. Despite all these negativities, *"Republic and democracy are defined as a system that includes universal principles in the history of political doctrines"*. However, Santa Fe Institute, which carries out scientific studies on an alternative system in France, is working on developing an alternative system to liberal economic democracy. In this institute, scientists who do research in economics and other sciences show how wrong the free-market economy is within the framework of liberal democracy (Ertuna, 2005: 236-237). As a regime, the Republic recognizes the sovereign's power to hold power within the framework of legitimacy given by the consent of the people. Likewise, in countries where there is no Republic, there are countries where the principles of democracy work. In other words, although it is said that the concepts of republic and democracy are not related to each other, there are points where they differ on the basis of freedoms. Although democratic principles are seen as having unlimited power of representation in the wider field of freedom and human rights, there are discourses in Republican thought that unlimited freedom harms the specific values of the state and society and creates a cosmopolitan society within a separatist structure.

Today, the debate between Republicans and supporters of Democracy is the claim that Republicans are the biggest obstacle to the expansion of freedoms. Unlimited expansion of freedoms between republicans and democrats or the fact that they develop in a limited direction made reconciliation impossible. Republican supporters in Türkiye have a stance towards the implementation of Atatürk's founding principles and reforms with full commitment. In addition, the opposition front formed by Kemalist left, Democratic left, social democrat, Liberal left, conservative and conservative nationalist democrats and marginal left groups has definitions of democracy within the framework of their own ideologies. Democracy supporters, on the other hand, want an environment of unlimited freedom to be created. It should be noted that Democracy is defined and evaluated according to differences such as people's ideology, worldview, belief system and ethnicity. Democracy in the world is considered both as a system of government and as a political value. The extraordinary wealth that today's democracy has turned into liberal democracy as a political goal, and its self-confidence, has created a risky situation for nation states and political powers. If democracy is rejected, you may see yourself and your country as outside politics and isolated from international relations. While Democracy was an excluded concept in Western countries at the turn of the eighteenth century, today democracy has such a broad and powerful

appearance. Although it is not a dominant view in the political conversations of the modern world, this view should be questioned. America and Britain said they were doing it to bring democracy while they bombed Iraq; Or were they doing it to encircle the whole world? (Dunn, 2017: 11-16). What comes to mind is that the concept of democracy has been turned into a power that surrounds the world because it has a position that is more suitable for instrumentalization due to its inability to provide an adequate definition to bring a certain system. Is it to realize a political goal on the countries of the world? Now, it is seen that there is an effort in many regions and countries to attribute functionality to the concept of liberal democracy rather than the concept of democracy. The controversial element in the restriction of freedom in the frequently used definition of freedom is that freedom is often an internal factor as well as an external factor. People with upper and lower selves want to achieve instant satisfactions rather than long-term goals (Woodcock, 2021: 171). Today, when the republic is questioned as a developmental, progressive and modernizing structure, it should be questioned to what extent the concept of modernization, instrumentalized by liberal democracy, constitutes a structure for society as an indeterminate abstract concept, and to what extent it exhibits an integrative function. The parable of David Marquand (1988), quoted by Andrew Heywood, was: "*Democracy was to adults what chocolate was to children: it was always seductive, harmless in small doses, but sickening in excess.*" This is what Samuel Birittan (Economic Consequence of Democracy) stated: "*Politicians, burning with the desire to gain power, were also competing with each other to bid more, by promising more generous spending to the electorate. The economic consequences of unrestrained democracy, high borrowing encouraged by public debt, economic enterprise were tax burdens that destroyed and undermined growth.*" (Heywood, 2013: 119). The new lifestyle introduced by the unlimited liberal democratic system imposes a lifestyle that includes a radical break from all cultural accumulations. Republican democracy will function integrating the society in a culture based on social reality, with a high level of development and maturity.

### **The Polarization of The Republic and Democracy In Turkish Political History**

In the political sense, the change of the basic order of the Republic since the Ottoman period and the construction of the new social structure covers a painful and difficult period. Social development, industrialization, urbanization, literacy, secularization of culture, increase in per capita income, political participation and political organization are complementary qualities of Republican democracy. The point where the concepts of republic and democracy differ in that they have different meanings and correspond to different political life is the thought that the concepts of republic and democracy will be complementary to each other. There are points where the concepts of republic and democracy completely contradict the concept of liberal democracy. The republic defines the process of becoming a nation in line with the principle of citizenship, which rises above the basic values of the political society, such as the rule of law of the people's sovereignty. With the principle of "*people's sovereignty*" brought by the Republic, political participation, multi-party-political life and democracy entered Turkish society life. The contradiction between the concept of liberal democracy in the intellectual life of Turkish society and the concept of republic and democracy created an irreconcilable polarization. The problems faced by today's world societies have become increasingly complex. It seems very difficult to overcome these problems. However, it is also seen that today's Republic of Türkiye has an open will to develop towards democratic values, human rights and adherence to the rule of law, and to become a secular and social state.

Social-cultural changes in the Republican and Democracy processes also have historical backgrounds. In today's Türkiye, there are stages of renaissance, enlightenment, reformation, information and information society. We must protect and develop the secular Republic, which is the guarantee of our existence and future. Democracy is the process that can be formed within the framework of cultural maturity rather than the concept that can be reached by law. The republic is the predecessor of participatory democracy. The official attitude of the Republic directly rejected the complex structure of Anatolia. The generations that were indoctrinated with the Republican ideology thus rejected local, religious and ethnic groups as unnecessary remnants (Mardin, 2016: 65). The most distinctive feature of the republican thought is to catch the common benefit for the benefit of the individual forming the

society and to position the human life in the center. Making the society created by the individual competent is related to the internalization of different cultures and ethnicities, the recognition of difference and the creation of a public space through these values. It will be formed by bringing together the integration of the differences guaranteed by the Republic in the public sphere (Güvenç, 1997: 28). Among the political goals of the Republican Atatürk period, secular state, secular and rule of law and modernization constitute an important paradigm. In this sense, republic means "state of law". The developments on how and in what form the concept of sovereignty should be established in the idea of the republic, is the management of the state under the administration of the elected executive staff in line with the principles stipulated by the parliamentary system. The representative authority of the people, which determines those who will use their sovereign power for a certain period of time, clearly shows the necessity of strengthening the complementary position of the republican form with the concept of democracy. The increasingly complex problems in contemporary societies reveal a chaotic nature. While the founding leaders of the Republic were establishing the social-economic structure in the political sense, they were influenced by the Western political system and built it according to their own ideological thought and mental structure. The systems that have developed in today's world countries and that have not provided sufficient contribution to the assimilation of concepts such as human rights, which are determined as democratic values, adherence to the rule of law, secular and social state, bring about a dissolution sooner or later.

Although the concepts of Republic and Democracy correspond to different political life, our country also corresponds to a process that complements each other. It defines the process of becoming a nation in line with the principle of citizenship, which rises above the basic values of the political society such as the people's sovereignty and the rule of law. The principle of the sovereignty of the people brought by the Republic has entered the life of Turkish society with civil society, political participation, multi-party-political life and democracy. At the same time, this new situation has put many problems on the agenda of our country. The republican regime determined the principle of secularism as the life order of the society and wanted to build a sovereignty on the rule of law by dismantling the different dominant structure on the society. There are over three thousand ethnic and religious origins in the world. Since it will not be possible to establish a separate state for every ethnicity and religious origin, it will be necessary for every ethnicity and religious origin to live in a secular and democratic environment within large national communities. It is known that international imperialism is making an intense effort to create a thousand states in the world within their own programs (Naisbitt, 1995: 27). It is known that the source of the political turmoil in the nation states is the imperialist countries' production of new policies through the powers that dominate the society, and the fueling of the micro-nationalism feeling that develops in the nation societies. Nation states have also tended to develop security policies that will prevent dissolution processes. There will be differences in social life in terms of social and economic aspects. At the same time, there is an obligation to establish social life in line with democratic principles based on peace without being separated from political life. Although representative democracy means self-government with the decisions taken with the participation of the whole society, as a form of government, it means the institutional implementation of political societies being both free and equal. Societies and States, like every organism, have mechanisms to protect themselves. In political developments, the state's self-defense in an attack on its security will inevitably emerge. In this sense, the Republic, as a form of political understanding, has been tried to be adopted by the society as a life principle. In an environment where the modernization processes of today's world are increasingly being compared to the West, the modern democratic tradition offers two choices from the very beginning: The first is assimilation and the other is elimination (Arslan, 1997: 178). In the environment of thought created by social and economic changes, the reflections of nation-state understanding and individualism on public policies, which coincided with the rise of modern economics, were observed. In addition, social and economic mobility in international relations forces all countries of the world to adapt. It is also known what happens to those who resist. It is clear that we are faced with a new modernization paradigm. Many illegal dynamics of democracy have been put into practice.



## **The Problem of Corporate Ideology of The State of The Republic of Türkiye With Society In The Transition to Liberal Democracy**

The Ottoman Empire was an obedient society with weak consumption, woven with religion, customs and traditions. Individual enterprise did not develop because the Ottomans left the material, that is, the world, to its own devices. These were the institutional elements that left their mark on the Ottoman world (Sayar, 2000: 64). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends expressed the form of government as follows: *"The form of the Turkish State is the Republic. The President of the Republic is the head of the state and is elected from among the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly."* The republic is a style of administration organized by a certain authoritarian structure and a narrow group of certain abilities. İlber Ortaylı gave the following answer to the question of *"What was the perception of the public about the Republic in the conditions of 1923? Did the people know what the Republic was? Turkish people are only concerned with public order, they are concerned with the smoothness of the authority they will obey. They look at whether it is really strong and, most importantly, whether it is just and whether it can bring prosperity to the people."* (Ortaylı, 2018: 287-289) It is seen that the Republican Regime is in an effort to create a developmental-progressive and modernizing structure. It should also be questioned to what extent it demonstrates an integrative function in the social structure. It follows a process that shows the inter-period interaction of the cultural roots that the Turkish society inherited from the Ottoman Empire. In the social-political reality of Türkiye, politics is an independent and decisive phenomenon. Politics, which is a superstructure element in Türkiye, is not a phenomenon that is predominantly determined by the economic infrastructure and undergoes changes with the effect of the change that occurs from it (Vergin, 2003: 136). Politics, which is an element of the superstructure, has succeeded in transforming the regime of the Republic in Türkiye into an institutional structure with the complexity of the social structure and its dynamism. The developing ideological structure could be accused and seen as both a very emotional and a very emotionless dream, and a dogma that puts people in a straitjacket at the same time (Eagleton, 2015: 22). The internal balance change in the society that was transferred from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic would start a new era with a serious radical change. However, the transition of social life to a different property system would also activate very different elements of private property in the economy. The conditions of the world economic system have changed radically, and the rich countries that have taken the world economy under control started another process in all countries of the world, including Türkiye. This situation brought with it the conditions in which a serious transformation was required. The founding leaders of the Republic had acted as the Gendarme of the Republic with a tutelary approach from the early period in order to make the political regime and institutions the basis of the society. There was a divergence in practice between the ideology of the state and the references of the society. The countryside has become the home of conservative ideology. Not only because it draws its support, votes and cadres from there; the provinces have always been regarded as the last bastion of tradition (Bora, 2018: 52). The fact that the basic principles of the Republic became uncritical principles during the single-party period led to serious practices in the restriction of freedoms. The elite cadres of the state, which dominated the rhetoric of the republic, formed a tutelary system as a bloc. The principles of this tutelage system were not fully accepted by the society at the desired level. According to Bernard Lewis: *"The aim was to teach them that Anatolia, Türkiye, was their true homeland and the center of the quality of nationhood they had carried since time immemorial. Therefore, the aim was to accelerate the development of that ancient and intimate relationship between nation and country in a mystical and practical way as soon as possible. This relationship was the basis of patriotism in the sovereign nation-states of the West."* (Lewis, 2011: 488).

However, the post-World War II period had an important role on political change in Türkiye. The focus of the discontent against the single-party system in the society on the Republican People's Party was the biggest reason why the Republican People's Party was in a tight connection with the state ideology. President İsmet İnönü was aware of this tension. Recalling Atatürk's Free Party experience in 1930, he decided to allow some political liberalization as a safety valve to allow the formation of political opposition. International developments also played an important role in the decision of İsmet İnönü and

the government in this direction (Zürcher, 2011: 306). The end date of the friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, which was one of the most important international developments, was 1945. In order to extend the treaty, the Soviets wanted the return of some places in North East Anatolia and the establishment of a joint Turkish-Russian defense force in the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (Oran, 2002: 502). Against these requests of the Soviets, the West and the USA supported Türkiye, and in 1946 they gave a refusal to these requests of the Soviets. This rapprochement would develop in the form of acceptance of democratic values. By participating in the San Francisco conference held in April 1945 as a founding member, Türkiye also promised democratic ideals (Zürcher, 2011: 306). On November 1, 1945, President of the Republic İsmet İnönü said in his speech in the opening year of the Assembly: *"The Republic has always had a democratic character, the only thing we lack is that there is no opposition party to the government party."* (Erer, 1966: 224) Because the USA and the Western world saw the ideological aspect of the Soviets as a universal danger, they tended to take a responsibility for the continuation of their ideology in the international arena. A process that would lead to the start of the Cold War was also being started. In this context, US President Truman's Truman Doctrine emerged on March 12, 1947: *"It declared that it would defend the Free Nations and help their economies."* Thereupon, Britain drew a memorandum to the American government in February. The British Government declared that both economic and military aid should be given to Greece and Türkiye for the defense of the West. Britain stated that it could not provide these aids and that it had to withdraw its military presence in Greece, and that this responsibility rests with the USA (Ülman, 1981: 93-94; Armaoğlu, 2017: 397). The Marshall aid plan, named after US Secretary of State George Marshall, was presented to the United States at the conference of 16 Western Countries, including Türkiye. By enacting the foreign aid law of April 3, 1948, economic aid amounting to six billion dollars was given to 16 states in the first place. With the emergence of foreign aid, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation was established on April 16, 1948, with the participation of 16 European countries (Armaoğlu, 2017: 399). With the decision taken by the government of the Republic of Türkiye, it began to benefit from the economic and military aid of the United States. With its policies that it is important to comply with liberal democracy and free trade initiatives, which the USA attaches great importance to, Türkiye was entering a new formation in its political history. Two hundred years of change had begun with the period of 1923. With the establishment of the Democratic Party in 1946, a new order would be formed with liberal initiatives, and with the election held in 1950, the liberal economy process would begin with the Democratic Party Government. The dynamism of the current period was determined by the Republican revolution. The Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan seem to have three complementary goals: First, to help Europe recover economically, secondly, to create a profitable export market for American industry, and thirdly, to eradicate the poverty that led to the development of Communism (Zürcher, 2011: 306). The results of the Truman doctrine and the Marshall aid plan as an extension of the US foreign policy still have positive and negative effects today.

It is understood that the principle of secularism as a means of national integration was regulated with the 1924 Constitution of the Republic. The abolition of the "Constitutions of Islam" took place in 1928. As a republican system, the basic characteristics of religious references that prevented certain segments of the society from adopting were expansions that contradicted the basic principles of the Republic. *"Was it possible to realize the basic principles of the Republic with a synthesis with the references of the Society, and to build a more inclusive and unifying Türkiye?"* This is a separate topic of discussion. The state staff of the republic was trying to control religion by looking at religion from a narrow framework, and religion was seen as an obstacle to modernization. In the modern paradigm, it was determined as a radical break from traditions and religious dogmas, making society a lifestyle within the rationality of science. Nur Vergin uses the purest implementation of secularism in the concept of *"Laicism"*, the French model. Since the French model has an openly targeting religion, it has created an environment that directly confronts religion rather than secularism (Vergin, 1994). In Turkish society, the religion-state relationship had a strong tradition since the Ottoman period. In Türkiye, the implementation of French-style Laicism, with the transition to the multi-party system, has been and

continues to be one of the serious topics of discussion in politics. The only remedy for this is to resort to a form of mass education (Mardin, 2014: 303).

## CONCLUSION

It is seen that a balance cannot be established between the Republic and democracy in Türkiye. It is a thesis that political scientists and sociologists jointly defend within the framework of development theory that there is no democracy system that fits every country. The Republic and Democracy debate creates a deep depression in culture and politics in Türkiye. It has become necessary for Party Politicians to prepare a new civil constitution in order to establish a healthy balance that will be able to carry out state affairs within the framework of the constitution and laws and that includes universal principles based on individual freedoms. Within the unitary state structure, the necessity of granting wide rights to local governments and securing the constitutional rights that will prevent the problems of today's Türkiye has emerged. It can also be stated that the problems started with the emergence of the Republic of Türkiye after the establishment of the Turkish national state identity. The aim was to create a citizen under the name of Turkish identity, within the framework of language, history and culture. It was the state's responsibility to save the people of a country that emerged from long-lasting wars, who lack infrastructure and capital, from poverty and to put the necessary steps into practice. A competent bureaucracy to work in the service of the state had to make the power of the state felt over the society. They took on important duties responsible for making the basic principles of the republic functional in the institutions of the state. However, the fact that should not be forgotten was that it was unrealistic to expect the cultural accumulations inherited by the Society to suddenly change. The mental and informational reference of democracy is never fed from external sources; rather, internal resources change and develop in the interaction of knowledge and culture.

The proclamation of the Republic in 1923 brought an integrated approach to the concepts of homeland and nation in a modern sense. It was not possible for the concept of democracy to emerge spontaneously, and some conditions of its own had to be created. First of all, the republic had to develop as a system and the democratic process had to be completed and the conditions had to mature, as the founding leaders of the republic had a preparatory and guiding character for the society. In today's Türkiye, the majority of the society has no major problems with the basic principles of the Republic, except for some marginalized groups. The definition of unlimited freedom arising from the application of the liberal democracy concept poses a problem for political parties and the state. . Language, history, culture and limited areas of common life have been the strongest symbols of our time's national identity. Today, Türkiye has had to deal with different problems through these common national symbols. No Western country can even think of such a thing. A state like the USA, where the people of many nations came together, made the English language a common national language, and created a national consciousness based on its economic success and constitutional principles. The attempt to make Spanish, which has Latin roots in the USA, as a second language next to English was rejected. After the unlimited developments in liberal democracy practices all over the world, no one knows how and in what way this will develop and what it will bring. In addition, Democracy itself does not present a clear and decisive structure for government. It should also be questioned that liberal democracy impositions of the West and the USA have become monopolistic and have reached an astonishing sanction power. However, it is clear and clear that there is a political target regarding this issue.

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