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ve Araştırma Merkezi Adına Sahibi**
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Gazi üniversitesi Rektörlük Kampüsü
06500 Teknikokullar/ANKARA / Tel:0312-2023787
E-Posta: asyam@gazi.edu.tr / **Web Sitesi:** asyam.gazi.edu.tr
E-dergi: asyaarastirmalari.gazi.edu.tr

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Cover and Page Design
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Printing and Binding
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Certificate No
0105846

Correspondence and Communication
Gazi University Asian Studies Application and Research Center
Gazi University Main Campus
06500 Teknikokullar/Ankara/TURKEY / Tel:+ 90-312-2023787
E-Mail: asyam@gazi.edu.tr / **Web Site:** asyam.gazi.edu.tr
E-Journal: asyaarastirmalari.gazi.edu.tr

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SUNUŞ

Gazi Üniversitesine bağılı olarak 2011’de kurulan ve Orta Doęu ve Orta Asya Arařtırmaları Uygulama ve Arařtırma Merkezi olarak faaliyet gösteren merkezimiz görölen lüzum üzerine 30 Temmuz 2017’de Resmi Gazete’de yayımlanan yeni yönetmelik ile *Asya Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Arařtırma Merkezi* adını almış ve çalışmalarına devam etmektedir. Merkezimiz Asya sınırları içinde yer alan tüm bölgelere yönelik arařtırmalar yapmak, Asya Ülkelerinin çeşitli üniversitelerinde faaliyet göstermekte olan arařtırma ve uygulama merkezleri ile birlikte arařtırma ve geliřtirmeye yönelik projeler üretmek, yürütmek ve uygulamak, üniversite çatısı altında faaliyet göstermekte olan tüm sosyal ve beşeri bilimler bölümlerine çalışma alanlarıyla ilgili kaynak temin etmek ve akademik destek vermek, Asya ülkelerindeki benzer arařtırma kurumları arasında disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımla arařtırma yapmak, Asya ile ilgili tarihi ve güncel olayları akademik bir bakış açısıyla deęerlendirerek kamuoyuna takdim etmek, güncel bilgileri toplayarak deęerlendirmek, uygun görölen arařtırma sonuçlarını ve uzmanlar tarafından hazırlanan güncel raporları Türk ve dünya kamuoyuyla paylaşmak suretiyle Türkiye ile Asya ülkeleri arasında karşılıklı güven duygularını geliřtirmek, ortak tarihi miraslarımıza birlikte sahip çıkmak, ve korumak amacıyla hareket eden merkezimiz, Asya ile ilgili düzenli olarak yapmakta olduęu uluslararası kongreler, sempozyumlar konferans ve panelleri sürdürmekle birlikte Asya’nın tarihî, coęrafiyası, kültürü ve arkeolojisi gibi tüm sosyal ve beşeri bilim alanları ile ilgili konuların arařtırıldıęı, tartışıldıęı ve analiz edildięi *Gazi Üniversitesi Asya Arařtırmaları* adlı Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi çıkarmaya karar vermiş ve elinizdeki bu Güz 2017 sayısıyla yayın hayatına başlamıştır.

Geçmişten günümüze kadar Asya ile ilgili olarak yazılan kaynaklardan, arkeolojik bulgulardan ve doğrudan ana kaynakların ışığında yapılan arařtırma eserlerinden yararlanmak suretiyle Asya’daki devletler ve akraba topluluklarının tarihini, siyasi, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel hayatını, tarihi süreç içinde dünya medeniyetlerine katkılarını, Asya’daki millet ve toplulukların dünyanın dięer kıtalarındaki milletler ve topluluklar ile olan ilişkilerini ve bu ilişkilerde yařanan tarihi ve güncel sorunları bilimsel yöntemlerle inceleyerek çözüm yollarını ortaya koyan makalelere, her sayıda bir Asya ülkesi ile Asya ile ilgili olarak neşredilen uluslararası üne sahip bir kitap tanıtımına yer vereceğimiz dergimiz şuan için yılda iki defa yayınlanan uluslararası hakemli bilimsel bir dergidir.

İlk sayımızda Prof. Dr. Salim KOCA’nın kaleme aldıęı “*Eski Orta Asya’da Tabiat, İklim, İnsan Unsuru*” başlıklı makalesine, Prof. Dr. İlhami DURMUŞ’un kaleme aldıęı “*Bozkır Kültür Çevresinde At, Göçer-ev ve Demir*” başlıklı makalesi, Prof. Dr. Varis ÇAKAN’ın kaleme aldıęı “*Yeni İpek Yolu Projesi: Beklentiler Sorunlar ve Gerçekler*” başlıklı makalesi, Dr. Oęuzhan BİLGİN’in kaleme aldıęı “*The Analysis Of The Constitutional Amendments And Discussions On The 2017 Presidential System Referandum As An Example For The Problems Of Turkey Political Culture*” başlıklı makalesi, Arařtırma Görevlisi Kadir Ertaç ÇELİK’in kaleme aldıęı “*Çin İstihbaratı; Deskriptif Bir Bakış*” başlıklı makalesi, G.İ.KARPOV’un kaleme aldıęı ve 1919-1920 yıllar arasındaki Türkmenistan’daki iç savařın konu edildięi

“Türkmenistan’da Sivil Savaş” başlıklı makalesi ile Gazi Üniversitesi Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü öğrencisi Manolya PAKER’in kaleme aldığı *“Uluslararası Hukuk Bakımından Çin’in Uygur Özerk Bölgesi’ndeki Politikasına Bir Bakış”* başlıklı makalesi yer almaktadır. Kıymetli zamanlarını ayırıp makale göndermek suretiyle dergimizin ilk sayısına katkıda bulunan kıymetli bilim insanlarına huzurunuzda teşekkür eder ve dergimize katkı sağlamaya devam etmelerini istirham ediyoruz.

Dergi editörlüğü olarak dergimizin her sayısında bir Asya ülkesine ağırlık vermeyi ve o ülkeyi tanıtmayı düşündük ve bu ilk sayımızda 21.yüzyılın en büyük ekonomik ve kültür projesi olan Yeni İpek Yolu Projesi’nin mimarı ve lokomotif gücü olan Çin ile ilgili makalelere ağırlık verdik ve ülke olarak da Çin’i tanıtmaya çalıştık.

Bu vesile ile değerli bilim insanlarının ve okuyucularımızın yayın hayatına yeni başlayan Gazi Üniversitesi Asya Araştırmaları Dergisi’ne katkılarını bekler, birbirinden kıymetli yazar ve saadetler getirmesini dileriz.

Editörler Kurulu

PRESENTATION

Established in 2011 in the Gazi University and operating as Research and Application Center for Middle East and Central Asia Studies has decided to implement the new regulation published on the Official Journal on July 30, 2017 and continues to work as the *Asian Studies Application and Research Center*. Our Center conducts research on all regions within the Asian borders, produces, conducts and implements projects for research and development together with research and application centers operating in various Universities of Asian Countries and works with all the social and human sciences departments operating with the universities to provide relevant resources and academic support, to conduct research among similar research institutions in Asian countries through an interdisciplinary approach, to evaluate the historical and current incidents related to Asia with an academic view, to present it to the public, to collect and evaluate current information so our center has decided to publish "*Gazi University The Journal of Asian Studies*" the International Journal of Social Sciences has started publishing this issue in Fall 2017.

We publish our articles with the history, political, social, economic and cultural life of Asia's states and relatives in Asia, their contributions to the world's civilizations and Asia in the historical process, through the use of research sources made from the past to the present in relation with Asia through archaeological finds and direct research of the main sources. We publish promotion of a book with an international reputation about Asian country by examining the relations between nations and communities in the world and their historical and current problems through scientific methods. This journal is an internationally recognized scientific journal published twice a year.

The articles of this first issue are, "*Nature, Climate, Human Element in Ancient Middle Asia*" by Prof. Dr. Salim KOCA, "*The Horse, Nomadic Dwelling and Iron in the Context of the Steppe Culture*" by Dr. İlhami Durmuş, "*New Silk Road Project: Expectations, Problems and Truths*" by Varis ÇAKAN, "*The Analysis Of The Constitutional Amendments And Discussions On The 2017 Presidential System Referandum As An Example For The Problems Of Turkey Political Culture*" by Dr. Oğuzhan BİLGİN, "*China Intelligence: A View of Deskriptive*" by Research Assistant Kadir Ertaç ÇELİK, about civil war in Turkmenistan between 1919-1920 "*Civil War in Turkmenistan*" by G. İ.KARPOV, "*In terms Of International Law; An Overview Of China's Politics on the Uyghur Autonomous Region.*" by the student of Gazi University International Relations Department Manolya PAKER. We would like to thank you precious scientists who contributed to the first issue of our journal by posting precious time and posting articles, and we would like to ask you to continue contributing to our journal.

As editors of the journal, we decided the emphasis of an Asian country in every issue and to introduce that country and we have focused on the articles about China which is the architect and locomotive power of the New Silk Road Project which is the biggest economic and cultural project of the 21st century. We also introduced the China.

We hereby invite the precious social scientists, academics and readers to Gazi University Journal of Asian Studies, which has just started publishing life, and we wishes to bring precious writers.

Editors Board

THE ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS AND DISCUSSIONS ON THE 2017 PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM REFERANDUM AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE PROBLEMS OF TURKEY POLITICAL CULTURE

Oğuzhan BİLGİN*

Abstract

One of the most important political change in Turkish politics is the shift from parliamentary system to the presidential system. This shift caused a lot of discussions but these discussions failed to analyze the content of amendments. Moreover, the discourse of the discussions became an important case for analyzing the Turkish political culture. In this work, both the content of the amendments and the discourse of the discussions on the system change will be analyzed.

Keywords: *Presidential system, political culture, 2017 referendum, political discourse*

Özet

Türk siyasetindeki en önemli siyasi deęişikliklerden biri parlamenter sistemden başkanlık sistemine geçiştir. Bu geçiş büyük tartışmalara yol açmıştır ama bu tartışmalar anayasa deęişikliklerinin içeriğini analiz edememiştir. Üstelik, Türk siyasal kültürünün analizi için bu tartışmalardaki söylem önemli bir vakıa örneęi oluşturur. Bu çalışmada, anayasa deęişikliklerinin içerięi ve sistem deęişiklięi tartışmalarındaki söylem analiz edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Başkanlık sistemi, siyasi kültür, 2017 referandumu, siyasal söylem*

1-Introduction

Turkish political life, unlike the European encounters, consists of intense political polarizations and unending political issues of cultural separations and conflicts. Turkish political identities are mostly built on cultural identities and political representations are indeed the reflections of cultural identities. This is a fact that political scientists face in almost every topic of political cases. The shift to presidential system with a referendum on 16 April 2017 is one of them.

On 16 April 2017, Turkish people voted to transform parliamentary system to presidential system. 18 constitutional amendments were prepared by the alliance of AK Party and MHP and presented for the final decision of the public.

The process of the debates in the parliament and media was interesting to see how the whole process went without discussing the content of the amendments to a large extend. The content of the debates was composed of mutual accusations and cultural discriminatory discourse. Without referring to each of the amendments, the debates

* Dr.Gazi Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyoloji Bölümü, oguzhanbilgin@gazi.edu.tr

turned out to be the competition of paranoia, fears and unreal political scenarios of assumptions. The amendments are composed of the change of 18 articles in total, which is not a high number and not hard to understand. However, the political atmosphere in Turkey led people to focus on political polarizations instead of concrete discussion of the amendments.

In this study, in the first part, the constitutional amendments including the shift to the presidential system that were accepted with the referendum on 16 April 2017 are described and briefly discussed. In the second part, the methodology of the discussions is analyzed. And in the third part, the discourse and contents of the both Yes and No campaigns and debaters are evaluated and discussed in terms of the political culture of Turkey.

The basic methodology of this work is the combination of the content analysis of the constitutional amendments and the discourse analysis of the political discussions of political parties on the constitutional amendments and the 2017 referendum.

2-The Constitutional Amendments of 2017

In this section, each of the 18 constitutional amendments will be described and discussed briefly. The translated text of TRT World, official TV Channel of Turkish State, broadcasting in English, will be used as a source of an official translation.

1st Change: Article 9: Judicial Power

The Previous Version

Independent courts, on behalf of the Turkish Nation, shall exercise the judicial power.

The New Version

The judicial power shall be exercised by independent and impartial courts on behalf of the Turkish Nation (TRT World, 2017)

This amendment adds the feature of impartiality to the judicial power. This emphasis might be said to aim to increase the credibility of Turkish courts after the degeneration of the image with the Gulenist conspiracies into the judicial power.

2nd Change: Article 75: The Grand National Assembly

The Previous Version

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall be composed of 550 deputies elected by universal suffrage.

The New Version

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall be composed of 600 deputies elected by universal suffrage (TRT World, 2017).

This amendment that increases the number of MPs in Turkish Parliament from 550 to 600. It has been argued that this increase depends on the increase on the population of Turkey in recent decades.

3rd Change: Article 76: Deputy Eligibility

The Previous Version

Every Turk over the age of 25 is eligible to be a deputy. Persons who have not performed compulsory military service shall not be elected as a deputy.

The New Version

Every Turk over the age of 18 is eligible to be a deputy. Persons (at the time of election) having affiliations with military service shall not be elected as a deputy (TRT World, 2017).

This change decreases the age of being MP in the parliament to encourage young population to be involved in political structures.

4th Change: Article 77: Election Period

The Previous Version

Elections for the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall be held every four years.

The New Version

Elections for the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and elections for the presidency shall be held every five years and on the same day (TRT World, 2017).

Even if the previous referendum of 2007 changed the time intervals of elections from 5 years to 4 years, AK Party withdrew this decision and proposed 5 years of time intervals between each election to maintain the political stability.

5th Change: Article 87: The Grand National Assembly's Duties and Powers

The Previous Version

The duties and powers of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey are to enact, amend, and repeal laws; to scrutinize the Council of Ministers and the ministers; to authorize the Council of Ministers; to issue decrees having the force of law on certain matters; to debate and adopt the budget bills and final accounts bills; to decide to issue currency and declare war; to approve the ratification of international treaties.

The New Version

The duties and powers of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey are to enact, amend, and repeal laws; to debate and adopt the proposed budget bills and final accounts bills; to decide to issue currency and declare war; to approve the ratification of international treaties (TRT World, 2017).

This change is a legislative aspect of shifting to Presidential system, which removes scrutinizing or authorizing the Council of Chambers as in the previous parliamentary system.

6th Change: Article 98: Ways of the Grand National Assembly's Information Acquisition and Supervision

The Previous Version

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall exercise its supervisory power by means of a question, parliamentary inquiry, general debate, censure and parliamentary investigations.

The New Version

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall exercise its supervisory power by

means of parliamentary inquiry, general debate, parliamentary investigations and written questions (TRT World, 2017).

With this change, the Grand National Assembly could not overthrow a member of the cabinet as it used to be in the parliamentary system. Written questions are started to be more functional and institutionalized.

7th Change: Article 101: President's Candidacy and Election

The Previous Version

The President of the Republic shall be elected by the public from among the members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey who are over forty years of age and has completed higher education, or from among Turkish citizens who fulfil these requirements and are eligible to be deputies.

If the president-elect is a member of a party, his/her relationship with his party shall be severed and his/her membership of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall cease.

The New Version

The President of the Republic shall be elected directly by the public from among Turkish citizens who are over forty years of age and have completed higher education and who are eligible to be deputies.

The President-elect's membership of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall cease (TRT World, 2017).

One of the most debated changes is about this change of the article. The membership of the president to a political party ceases after being elected to be the president. Furthermore, the elected president could hold the seat of the presidency of the political party. This was criticized as the dominance and hegemony of the president over the party and deputies.

8th Change: The Major Change: Article 104, the President's Duties and Powers

The President of the Republic is the head of the State. The executive power shall be exercised by the president.

He/she appoints vice presidents and ministers and dismisses them.

He/she appoints senior public executives, dismisses them, and regulates the procedures and principles of their appointment by presidential decree.

He/she designates the national security policy and takes the necessary measures.

The president can issue decrees regarding its executive power.

The basic rights, personal rights and duties, and political rights and duties that are in the constitution cannot be regulated by presidential decree.

If there are conflicting provisions in presidential decrees and laws; laws prevail.

If the Grand National Assembly issues a law on the same topic, the presidential decree becomes obsolete.

The president can issue bylaws to ensure application of laws and with the condition of non-contradiction with laws (TRT World, 2017).

This change openly established the presidency as an institution in Turkey. The relationship of the president and parliament is defined. The emphasis on the prevalence of the laws and the decision of the parliaments over the president is seen.

9th Change: Article 105: The President's Criminal Liability

The Previous Version

No appeal shall be made to any judicial authority, including the Constitutional Court, against the decisions and orders signed by the President of the Republic on his/her own initiative.

The President of the Republic may be impeached for high treason on the proposal of at least one-third of the total number of members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and by the decision of at least three-fourths of the total number of members.

The New Version

A motion for initiating an investigation of the president on allegations of a crime must be given with absolute majority of the members of the Grand National Assembly.

In case an investigation is opened, the investigation is carried out by a 15-member committee made up of the political parties in the parliament in the proportion of their power.

The Grand National Assembly can take the decision to send the president to the Supreme Court with two-thirds of its members' secret votes.

A president under an investigation cannot take the decision to take the country to elections.

A president's term is ended if he/she is sentenced to a crime, which is among the conditions of presidential eligibility (TRT World, 2017).

The criminal liability and immunity of the politicians has always been a matter of debate. This debate continued during the referendum campaigns. Previously, the only reason for impeaching was high treason, however, with this change the president became responsible and open for judiciary process for other types of crime, if necessary secret votes are sustained in the parliament.

10th Change: Article 106: Vice Presidents and Ministers

The Previous Version

In the event of a temporary absence of the President of the Republic on account of illness, travel abroad or similar circumstances, until the President of the Republic resumes his/her functions, and in the event that the presidency falls vacant as a result of death or resignation or for any other reason, until the election of a new President of the Republic, the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall serve as Acting President of the Republic and exercise the powers of the President of the Republic.

The New Version

After his/her election, the president can appoint one or more vice-presidents.

In a case of the vacancy of the presidential post for any reason, the presidential election is held in forty-five days.

In the event of a temporary absence of the President of the Republic on account of illness, travel abroad or similar circumstances the vice president shall serve as Acting President of the Republic and exercise powers of the President of the Republic.

Vice presidents and ministers are appointed by the president from among the ones who are eligible to be deputies.

Members of the Grand National Assembly cease to be members in case they are appointed as vice presidents or ministers.

Vice presidents and ministers are responsible to the president (TRT World, 2017).

The change in article 106 proposed the legislative roles played by vice-presidents in the case of vacancy of the president in any extraordinary cases. In the situation of vacancy, the speaker of the assembly had become the acting president in the previous system and this is changed that the vice-president becomes the acting president in the case of the vacancy of the president.

11th Change: Article 116: Renewal of the Elections of the Grand National Assembly and the Presidency

The Previous Version

In cases where the Council of Ministers fails to receive a vote of confidence under Article 110 or falls by a vote of no-confidence under Article 99 or 111, if a new Council of Ministers cannot be formed within forty-five days or fails to receive a vote of confidence, the President of the Republic, in consultation with the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, may decide to call new the elections.

The New Version

The elections can be called either with a three-fifth majority of the Grand National Assembly or by the president.

The elections are held together.

Both the terms of the president and Grand National Assembly members terms are five years (TRT World, 2017).

This change also led the beginning of some further debates about holding the presidential and general elections together. This is criticized that the elected president and the deputies in the parliament probably tend to be from same political party and this will stop the mechanisms of scrutiny of the parliament. On the other hand, the change targets to increase the harmony of the parliament and the government.

12th Change: Article 119: Emergency Situation Management

The Previous Version

In the event of natural disaster, dangerous epidemic diseases or a serious economic crisis, the Council of Ministers meeting chaired by the President of the Republic, may declare a state of emergency in one or more regions or throughout the country for a period not exceeding six months.

The New Version

In cases of war or a situation necessitating war, mobilization, insurrection against the country or the Republic, threats to the indivisibility of the country and the nation,

widespread violence against the constitutional order or basic rights and freedoms, natural disaster, dangerous epidemic diseases or a serious economic crisis; the president can declare a state of emergency in one or more regions or throughout the country for a period not exceeding six months. It is to be published in the Official Newspaper and presented to the Parliament for the vote (TRT World, 2017).

The state of emergency is another hot topic in Turkish polity and media. The right of declaring a state of emergency has been saved in the article under the new mechanisms of presidential system.

13th Change: Article 142: Establishment of Courts

The Previous Version

The formation, duties and powers, functioning and trial procedures of the courts shall be regulated by law.

The New Version

Law shall regulate the formation, duties and powers, functioning and trial procedures of the courts.

Military Courts cannot be established except to deal with military disciplinary. Court martials can only be established in cases of military personnel committing crimes in situations of war (TRT World, 2017).

Military courts remind the anti-democratic heritage of Turkey that sometimes intervene in the sphere of civilian courts. The boundaries of military courts have been drawn clearly with the change.

14th Change: Article 146: The Constitutional Court

The military members are removed from the Constitutional Court, and the number of its members decreases to 15 from 17.

The names of the Military Court of Cassation and the Military High Administrative Court are removed from the article (TRT World, 2017).

This change aims to transform the supreme judiciary level to more civilian formation. This is important to collapse the militaristic political culture

15th Change: Article 159: The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors

The Previous Version

The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors shall be composed of twenty-two regular and twelve substitute members; and shall comprise three chambers.

The members are elected for four years. Four regular members by the president, three regular three substitute members by the court of cessation, one regular one substitute member by Turkish Academy of Justice, seven regular four substitute members by judges and prosecutors.

The New Version

The Council of Judges and Prosecutors shall be composed of thirteen regular members and shall comprise two chambers.

The Council's four members are appointed from among judges and prosecutors by the president. Seven members are appointed by the Grand National Assembly.

The minister of justice is the head of the council and the undersecretary is its natural member (TRT World, 2017).

The separation of powers is the keyword for the democracies. The plan that the Minister of Justice is the head of The Council of Judges and Prosecutors is the target of criticisms by the opposition.

16th Change: Article 161: Budget and Final Account

The Previous Version

The Council of Ministers presents the budget to the Grand National Assembly.

The New Version

The president presents the budget to the Grand National Assembly (TRT World, 2017).

This change is a procedural change as a part of a shift from parliamentary system to the presidential system.

17th Change: Changed Statements in the Constitution

With this change, some statements and phrases are either removed or modified to make it more compatible with the new version.

18th Change: Election Dates

Elections are to be held on 3/11/2019. Until that time, the existing president and deputies hold office. If the Grand National Assembly decides an election is to be held, then the two elections are held together.

The Council of Judges and Prosecutors members are elected within 30 days and they assume office within forty days from this law comes into force. From this law comes into force onwards, Military Court of Appeals, Military High Administrative Court and Court Martials are repealed (TRT World, 2017).

Both of the 17th and 18th changes are technical changes of modification of words and phrases and selecting the dates of both the presidential and general elections.

3- The Analysis of the Problems of Discussions on the Amendments and Campaigns for the Referendum

Turkish politics had spent the most of the first half 2017 by discussing the Constitutional amendments on the presidential system and the Referendum dated April 16, 2017 to be held concerning these changes. There is almost unwritten, unsaid word on this subject.

The level, content and discourse of these discussions were as interesting as the proposed changes to make. It was claimed to cause a dictatorship by this constitutional amendment, the one man cult, to abandon secularism, to change the Republican regime, to restore the monarchy, to facilitate the work of those who want to make a coup in Turkey. It was remarkable that while these claims are being made and the language used included a variety of hate discourses from sectarianism to racism and xenophobia.

There were also allegations that the Presidential System would remove the problems of Turkey in many areas, from terror, to military coups and economic problems.

We will first focus on the methodological problems of the discussions before the content of these discussions.

3.1. Methodological Problems

Until now, in general, it is possible to observe two basic methodological problems in discussions about system change: The first is that pro-system change and anti-system change people holds the issues on a ground of discussion consisting of valor and abstract assumptions that are not relevant to the changes.

Constitution amendments proposed to be made regarding the Presidential System, which was presented to the public, composed of 18 articles and It was expected that discussions about these articles which are not difficult to understand and to read the discussions would be in the content of the no long article. There were not many references to these articles in the context of the discussions of groups that advocate and oppose changes. We will hold the discussions that are examples of othering language of hate, full of valor, and abstract-symbolic narratives of campaigns.

The second methodological problem in the debates about the presidential system is a mistake people who are seen in many debates in Turkey and people who claim that they have the notion of social science do many times. While discussing any social issue, in particular the change that would be created by a social or political incidents, it is a mistake to treat this social and political incident as an unidentified object coming from the space, without taking its past and l context into account. To be more concrete, the problem is that people compare and evaluate the different systems of government that have emerged in different historical-social conditions or the systems in their own heads instead of making a comparison of the current government system with the changes to be made about the Presidential System and discussing what and how to change it.

Instead of thinking about issues such as harmony, efficiency, elected-appointed relationship, separation of powers in the current parliamentary system and instead of making a debate about what kind of positive and negative conditions would be, as if a foreign constitutional text was written for an African tribe, but as if it marking the text of constitutional amendments according to their utopian constitutional texts, it does not only make it difficult for the current change to be understood and discussed, at the same time, the basic discussion platform has ceased to exist. Thus the platform of discussion turns into a sort of utopia race and a strange orientalism that ignores all social, historical practice.

A reason for the formation of a presidential system corpus composed of delusions, paranoids, and assumptions is the lack of this unit of analysis instead of analyzing what changes in what category. In the last row, the question of “will the government system be better or worse than it is now,” has not been answered; people left without asking this question ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. What did the people vote for?

3.2. Two Sides of Referendum Campaigns

3.2.1. Analysis of ‘No’ Campaign

Groups that oppose the government system change have an interesting diversity and the common discourse that arises as a result of this diversity put in the face of an

interesting view of No front. This front consisting of from HDP to CHP, from PKK to FETÖ, from DHKP-C to ISIS, from the group that established the Good Party, to the Communist Party and to the Aydınlık Group has caused great debate even of those who are in the front of themselves.

The most prominent argument was that the arguments and slogans used by so many different political groups were highly parallel to each other. When we enter into a content and discourse analysis around the slogans and the arguments used by the no campaign it seems possible to summarize the main objections in a few. It is argued that the province and perhaps the most heard country will go towards a “one man dictatorship” (Kılıçdaroğlu, 2017). Before entering into the realism of this claim, it is necessary to ask. Is there a dictatorship of two men or three men in the world? Has it ever happened? Did not it create a weakness of credibility that the most popular slogan of the No campaign is actually an oxymoron?

Moreover, in which of the 18 items did this result come from? How a concrete, empirical relationship can be established between any of these 18 items and “one man dictator”? These are questions that have not been answered until today.

A second claim that the No campaign was the continuation of the claim of ‘one man dictator’ was arguing that the separation of powers would come to an end as a result of public acceptance of constitutional amendments by referendum (Gözler, 2017). After this assertion, the following question is being considered: Is there a division of powers in the current parliamentary system? Or has it ever happened? Is there a straight-forward division of powers in order where the judiciary determines the political powers, the legislative be under the sway of executive and instrumentalize it? The No Front has ignored and trivialized the problems of the present system for changes regarding separation of execution and legislative of the new system and did not suggest alternative models and considered the new system as part of the daily political struggle. As a result, they failed to make direct reference to the items as to whether the proposed changes would be better than now and it is a big lack that they cannot say anything about this subject. On the parliamentary system of Turkey, political parties formed the entire list of candidates for the deputies by the party administrations, and in particular their leaders and this caused that party leaders and the executive have established an absolute dominance on legislation. This has removed the possibility of a separation of powers between the executive and the legislative. It is a big question that the Presidential System of 18 articles proposal has not produced a solution on this issue. It is indisputable truth that whatever government system is in force for the development of Turkish democracy, this problem is a great obstacle

However, it is a big problem to talk about the previous parliamentary system as if there was a separation of powers and to evaluate the constitutional amendment as diminishing it.

The absolute dominance of the leaders of the current parliamentary system over party parliamentary groups and the power of the executive over the ruling party group are against the principle of separation of powers for long years of our parliamentary system for many years.

Moreover, problems related to the separation of powers in the current parliamentary system are not limited to this. Party closure cases, political bans, judicial coup initiatives with corruption claims have been transformed into intervention in the Turkish politics in a manner contrary to the principle of separating the powers. Turkish political history has faced with many incidents as the closure of the ruling political party, the imprisonment of the Presidents and the Prime Ministers, political bans on politicians, international forces from time to time intervene in Turkey by the judiciary.

‘Juritocratic’ interventionism has been witnessed to attempt coup against legislation and execution. The criticism of the new Presidential System will only be more convincing if these facts in the current system are expressed.

Another objection concerns “the authority to dissolve the Assembly given to the President”. According to this claim, the assembly may terminate upon the request of the President in the new system.

The owners of this claim do not only know the current parliamentary system but also the new system change. Because what they are talking about is not in the new ‘termination authority’ but in the existing parliamentary system and just as it was used by President Erdogan after the General Elections on June 7, 2015, because the government could not be established and elections were renewed on 1 November 2015.

April 16th Amendment to the Constitution adopted by referendum to repeal the legislative, executive against Turkey for the first time in history has achieved a great power gave the authority to the Assembly President. The current termination authority of the President is broadly limited, and it is clearly stated that Presidency will terminate his presidency when the Assembly is annulled. The power imbalance lost by parliament in the current parliamentary system of living and to President has been removed in a certain way.

Another criticism of the constitutional amendment is the criticism of the “hurriedly” and the presentation of the presidential system to the public without giving enough time for the system change. How long does it take to be able to decide how Presidential System debate over the last 40 years of Turkish political history and its embodied outlines for the last 3 years and a constitutional amendment that allows for the evaluation of articles in concrete terms for 4 months are positive or negative? Can it be given a full time interval? When we wait for this much time, for example, Political party leaders who have not had the opportunity to find out that there is no institution called the Prime Minister could have this knowledge? Another objection to the referendum on the constitutional amendment was to be made when the referendum was in the state of emergency. It will be enough to remind that long presidential and parliamentary elections were held when soldiers of long barreled guns and tanks sat on the streets of Paris in France during the state of emergency period in 2017 for critics and politicians asking “Will there be a referendum when there is the state of emergency?”

Making the Presidential system and authoritarianism debates together attracted interest in the referendum process. How to establish the correlation between author-

itarianism and the presidential system is not put forward by strong arguments. When you think of dictators, especially Mussolini and Hitler, in the world, they did not emerge in the countries where the presidential system is practiced, this is a distortion beyond ignorance. We must also say that the referendum process is somehow the process by which the Syrian refugees are centered on the debate by the No campaign. Here, a group that wants to spread provocation and xenophobia through the Syrians with absurd and disgusting allegations left a question mark in the head, especially when they did it before the referendum. What is interesting about defending the parliamentary system of the people being sent to hatred and hostility with false provocative news against the Syrians?

On eccentric claims a special bracket is needed to open the opposition then exported from the MHP, which has established the Good Party. One of claims of the group is that unitary structure of Turkey is transformed into a federal structure of the Constitution Amendment. When asked, “Which of the 18 items is this mentioned in?” The answer is “not now but is it clear what the person to be elected president will do in the future?” Now, is it clear what the parliamentary system is going to do in advance of the choice of the President or the Prime Minister today? There is no answer.

As can be seen, there is a series of objections consisting of a number of hypotheses lacking direct references to a constitutional amendment package consisting of a total of 18 articles and it soon turned into a crisis of paranoia and delusion that was not based on a concrete reality.

The strange mood bursts was that the regime of the country will be transformed from the republic into a monarchy, that that secularism will be abandoned and that the country will be divided and even the possible serious objections mentioned in the meantime were not heard in this noise. We think that the ultimate responsibility for the inability to discuss the highly respected objections to the presidential system and the criticism is provocative, exaggerated, paranoid No campaign to be dominated by the opposition.

3.2.2. Analysis of ‘Yes’ Campaign

This part of the article will not be as full of speculations as the previous part. But it’s certainly worth discussing as before. The most striking aspect of the ‘Yes’ campaign that the supporters of the Presidential System conducted for the referendum is actually the campaign being an ‘anti-campaign’

Reason for defining it as an ‘Anti-campaign’ is that there is no attempt to transfer such a large political reform effort through neither content nor language or symbols. I do not specifically and deliberately mention the content of this reform, and an entire campaign is being introduced into the valor. It would not have been so difficult to provide basic information about the changes on the various platforms of the referendum campaign and at an introductory meeting of a political change program consisting of 18 articles and that is about to abandon the imbalanced and inefficient power distribution between the executive and legislative executive mismatch in Turkey. The debate made over the epic symbols from past to present damage the Yes front

as if he gives the image of hiding content. Particularly, tough words for No front is contradictory that it provide how much voting and social legitimacy.

Claims of those who support the changes about the impact of which support the changes now in Turkey and claims that there will be terror, an otherized language to the Constitutional amendment from time to time, especially in the social media, are another example.

It is a research value that these discussions are not related to 18 articles and how they are involved in the subject. It is not known whether this is due to “how are we majority” or simply because of an inadequacy in the campaign organization but if nationalist-conservative politics is not only political power, but also wants to be a cultural, economic and intellectual power, it must realize that it will be not only vote superiority, but ideological / discursive superiority.

This is something that will be intellectually and scientifically quite possible. Transforming this intellectual capital into practice, bringing politics and society together is the second step. The dimensions beyond organizational and intellectual inadequacy of anti-campaign and passivity on Yes front result from a psychological syndrome. It is a well known fact that the Turkish right is in general in an inferiority complex against the left. This perversion has also shown itself strangely despite they have no direct concrete criticism of 18 items and all their objections are heroism. When the Presidential System arrives, the ineffectiveness of the AK Party against a main opposition, which is not known as a prime ministry, is a very interesting situation.

It is surprising that the representatives of the AK Party, who are unaware of the changing substances, cannot show anything outside the heroism in the discussions and campaigns. So why did the MHP fail to explain on the public platform what issues the Presidential system would solve the matter of substance? Is not there a qualified representative to tell this? While almost all the objections of the people are composed of irrelevant delusions, paranoids, It was expected that the yes campaign would obviously dominate the referendum public opinion. This interesting situation was revealed as “the sayings of No front” are correct and the AK Party and the MHP must have to defend yes “and it has come to a stage where he has suffered great damage to the votes of Yes and social legitimacy.

4. Conclusion

The constitutional amendments, both in the stages of parliament and referendum, caused an extensive discussion on media, politics and daily life and these discussions took place most of the actuality of Turkish politics in the first half of 2017.

These discussions, mostly, lacked concrete references to the amendments and formed a discourse of otherization, discrimination and mutual accusations. These problems are reflections of the political culture of Turkey that turns out to be a platform of the conflicts of sub-cultures. Also, the problem of the lack of methodology caused, as almost every subject of Turkish politics, is seen in this topic which is about holding the issues in an irrational way by without referring to the concrete arguments, amendments and building a reason – result relationship. The discussions on the new presidential system and other amendments went on this ground.

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