

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND ERDOĞAN: A REVIEW TO 27 APRIL E-MEMORANDUM PROCESS

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Abstract: After the 2002 general election in Turkey, Justice and Development Party has received significant vote percentage and the Party has become single ruling party in Turkey. Under these circumstances, after long-term coalition period Turkey has started its transformation. At the beginning, like every newly established Turkish government, the AK party started to have problems with the Turkish army. The initial conflict emerged from democratic reforms aimed at harmonization with the European Union requirements. Actually, it was a classic disagreement, which has been seen all the time in Turkish politics because of the sharing of administration power between AK party and the army. This article investigates the role of Erdoğan's policy and his political leadership on Turkish Army.

Keywords: Erdoğan, Turkey, Election, Army, Secularism.

POLİTİK LİDERLİK VE ERDOĞAN: 27 NİSAN E-MEMORANDUM SÜRECİNE BİR BAKIŞ

Öz: Türkiye'de yapılan 2002 genel seçimlerinden sonra, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi kayda değer bir oy oranı elde etti ve Parti, tek başına iktidar oldu. Bu koşullar altında, uzun dönem devam eden koalisyon hükümetleri devrinden sonra Türkiye dönüşümüne başladı. Her yeni kurulan hükümette olduğu gibi, AK Parti'de ordu ile sorun yaşamaya başladı. İlk tartışma konusu, Avrupa Birliği gerekliliklerine uyum sağlamayı amaçlayan demokratik reformlar nedeniye ortaya çıkmıştır. Esasen, AK Parti yönetimi ile ordu arasındaki bu yönetim gücünün paylaşımı sebebiyle ortaya çıkan anlaşmazlıklar Türk siyasetinde hemen hemen her hükümetin yaşadığı bir durumdu. Bu çalışma, Erdoğan'ın politikasını ve siyasi liderliğinin Türk ordusu üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erdoğan, Türkiye, Seçim, Ordu, Laiklik.

I. Introduction

After the general election which held in 2002, Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- AK Parti) immediately started to work on necessary reforms. During the 2002-2006 reforms, General Hilmi Ozkok, who served as Chief of the Army, was not involved in any open clash with AK party to prevent reforms to constitutional and traditional positions of army generals. However, some other important officers clearly preferred to argue with AK Party, such as Tuncer Kılınc, Secretary General of the National Security Council, who was criticised the liberal reforms and the solution for the Kurdish issue, Army Commander Aytac Yalman, Gendarmerie General Commander Sener Eruygur and first Army Commander Hursit Tolon. (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009:82, Hurriyet, 14.09.03)

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The attempt to resolve the North Cyprus issue in the framework of the Annan Plan, Turkey's response to the US occupation of Iraq in March 2003 and the policy that the United States imposed on Iraq have caused tension between the Army and the government to strain further.

The President of the Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic, Rauf Denktas, played an important role in blocking the solution of the referendum as much as the army. Land Forces Commander Aytac Yalman made it clear that during his visit to Northern Cyprus, he commented that the Annan Plan was unacceptable. The army started to involve in politics as it usually does. At the same time, the army commanders stated their discomfort about the Justice and Development Party's policies. Also, they tried to increase public opinion against the party by saying that party politics would cause harm to the country, (Çelenk, 2007: 356) meanwhile Mehmet Ali Talat was elected President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 2004 and the commanders stepped back at the 23 January 2004 National Security Council meeting and announced that the Annan Plan was supported. (MGK, 2004)

Another problem that arose between the army and the AK Party government was also about sending military troops to Iraq. The army did not seem as enthusiastic as the government. The military agreed with the government that Turkey would assist the USA in the Iraq intervention and that Turkish military forces would send troops to the buffer zone in northern Iraq. However, the army did not want to take responsibility for the emerging social and political opposition either. In this way, parliamentary discussion on giving permission for the US military troops to enter Iraq through Turkey had begun. Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) could not get enough votes required for acceptance of the resolution with little difference. For this reason, the resolution was not adopted by parliament. The USA reacted to this decision. US Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz critiqued Turkish soldiers, saying the army did not play the necessary leadership role. (Radikal, 07.05.03) On the other hand, Chief of the General Staff Ozkok made it clear and said that the army can only give suggestion to the government, they cannot affect parliamentary decisions. According to Hale and Ozbudun, Turkish army replied that US policies in northern Iraq were disturbing to the army. (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 154)

Actually, the main conflict between the army and the government was the headscarf issue, which has been seen as a symbol in secular-Islamic problem. One way or another, the headscarf issue would become a problem. (Straw, 2013: 22) This was clearly stated in the election promises of the AK Party. President of the Parliament, Bulent Arinc started this conflict when he went to the airport with his headscarfed wife to send off President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, who was participating in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) meeting in Prague. The army commanders felt that accepting a woman, who attended an official ceremony in a headscarf, was a curse. (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 85) In response, the commanders of the army were paid a courtesy visit by Bülent Arınç on 28 November 2002. But, the visit was extremely silent. The commanders chose not to talk much. It was a cold meeting. (Radikal, 29.11.02)

Bulent Arinc gave a reception for National Sovereignty and Children's Day on 23 April 2003. His wife was expected to be headscarfed that was why army commanders and President Sezer did not attend the reception. In the following process, Sezer started not to invite members of the Justice and Development Party, including the President of the Parliament's and the Prime Minister's headscarfed spouses to official invitations. (Sabah, 22.10.03) This precisely clarified the attitude of the secular state bureaucracy, which claimed to support freedom and equality. The people and institutions who were so-called representatives of the secular system had obviously begun to oppose the AK Party government.

These behaviours of leading figures of the state were highlighted by state bureaucracy in order to create public perception and expectation that the government and the parliament were not adopted and legitimate. They were trying to show to AK Party, to reject the elected legitimate parliament and the government and to try to make the political party and its members unreliable. Recep Tayyip Erdogan became the first target. This created a new dispute between the army and the government. These secular segments had begun to ignore the government's authority because wives of government members were headscarfed.

The government prepared a draft about Higher Education reform, which wanted to correct the injustice for vocational high schools students prior to taking university entrance exams. Although he did not have any authority and liability, Land Forces Commander Aytac Yalman held a meeting with the university rectors to determine the strategy of the opposition against the design of this law. The rectors of universities, during the rule of the Justice and Development Party, made an intense effort to protect the historical block in alliance with the army. They clearly supported the coup attempts. According to General Staff Ozkok, this movement was made in the name of the General Staff and that observing developments in the national education system by the army was natural. (Hürriyet, 01.11.03) This conflict and tension lasted until the spring of 2004. Chief of General Staff Ozkok said that students, who graduated from Imam Hatip School can only take part in religious services. This idea was supported by Land Forces Commander Yasar Buyukanit. Despite these open oppositions, the law draft which the government had passed through parliament was vetoed by President Sezer. The government temporarily removed this law from its agenda. (Radikal, 28.05.04)

In the early periods of the AK Party, state bureaucracy united entirely against the AK Party. Army officers, university rectors, professors and the President clearly tried to neutralize the government and Erdogan. These sections, especially the army administration, did not want to be under the control of the government. The only reason for this was the AK Party's conservative identity. There was a clear dilemma and contrast. Universities, which politicized before and during 28 February 1997 process, were able to easily oppose. In every opportunity, they were saying "do not worry; there is the army in this country".(Star, 27.02.17) Unfortunately, Turkey under the AK Party administration, was still showing the 1970s dominant secular bureaucracy signs. The university rectors and the secular front emerged as supporters of

current status quo by preventing to reform of laws which prevented the development of Turkey for a long time. (Akdoğan, 2017: 28)

One of the reasons which negatively affected to AK Party and military relationship was the minority problem, especially the Kurdish issue. As its policy, Justice and Development Party had accepted Turkey's cultural differences. Therefore, it became cause of tension.

AK Party government adopted the sixth reform package including minority rights, such as right of Turkish citizens to use different languages and dialects to broadcast, which they used in their daily lives on private radio and television in 2003. In this regard, the Secretary General of the National Security Council, Tuncer Kilinc sent a "Secret Appeal Letter" to the Prime Minister and the President stating that he did not accept the said amendments. (Radikal, 01.08.03)

In 2005, PKK terrorist attacks started again and security forces demanded from the government the reinstatement of Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Act. However, the Prime Minister rejected this proposal. At the meeting of the National Security Council dated 23 August 2005, it was decided that the government would continue to struggle against terrorism with social, economic and cultural measures, not only the armed struggle. (Radikal, 21.07.05)

In August 2005, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan attended a meeting in Diyarbakir where the majority of the population were Kurds. He accepted that Turkey has a "Kurdish problem" and also stated that mistakes were made in the past. (Güney, 2013: 74) It was an unendeared of statement as Prime Minister of Turkey. This was a result of the leadership qualities of Erdogan. For the first time these ideas were spoken by a Prime Minister in the history of the Republic of Turkey. This statement disturbed many in the secular front. The first harsh response to this explanation came from General Staff Özkök. The National Security Council had a long debate concerning this issue. (Radikal, 24.08.05) These explanations affected the new Anti-Terror Law and penalties of the propaganda of terrorism made by the press had been aggravated.

II. Decrease of the Turkish Army's Reputation

A bomb has exploded in a bookstore in Hakkari-Semdinli, in 2005. According to the public's observation, they were army members involved in this crime. So, it started a "deep state" debate among the citizens again. After this, the image of the army continued to decline among the public. Although northern Iraqi operations had been carried out to increase the image of the army, these operations could not prevent that image from being worn out. The prosecutor of the Semdinli incident was taken off from his official duty when he accused General Yasar Buyukanit, the second person in the army, in his indictment. State bureaucracy thought that the army was untouchable. In the following process, the prosecution shifted from civil judiciary to military judiciary. The army never accepted these claims. (Yenisafak, 05.04.05)

General Buyukanit intervened the criminal justice organs by siding with suspects of the Semdinli case saying "I know them, they are good boys" and "the criminal case of Semdinli is a legal scandal" (Sabah, 13.11.06) in front of the press. It seems they had developed a kind of understanding, which believed

that the army can intervene in everything in their subconscious. According to them, there was a new psychological operation against the Turkish army. But the public was not impressed by the description of the army. Unprecedentedly, the army began to lose its credibility. (Haberler, 01.01.11) Retired Lieutenant General Altay Tokat commented on the Semdinli incident. He said that *“that bomb was a message, but they messed...”*, also, he said that, *“during my official duty, I have bombed one or two critical places. My aim was to send a message. Western officers and judges did not understand the seriousness of the issue. They were thinking simply. They were moving everywhere. I set bombing a couple of places close to their houses, in order to bring them in line.”* (Sabah, 27.07.06)

In March 2007, Turkish newspapers published coup logs allegedly belonging to Admiral Ozden Ornek who served as Marine Corps Commander from 2003 to 2005. Allegations described military coup plan. During the AK Party era, the economy and politics were beginning to recover so, the reacted to the said secret coup plan of the army.

These allegations had made considerable affect on military-civilian relations. Balances changed in favour of the civilians. AK Party started to gain increasing support from the people. According to alleged diaries, Commander of the Land Forces General Aytac Yalman, Air Force Commander General Ibrahim Firtina and Gendarmerie General Commander Sener Eruygur had prepared a coup conspiracy. According to the coup plan, firstly, the press would be pressured and pulled to their side, then university rectors' support would be taken. Rectors would take university youth to the streets and start a rebellion. Workers' unions and non-governmental organizations would start to show their side against the government. Thus, a political crisis environment would be created and a coup would be prepared. The abovenamed three force commanders and the General Commander of the Gendarmerie retired in August 2006. However, instead of investigating these alleged coup operations plans, the military prosecutor's office arranged a military operation to news magazine and then magazine closed. The editor of the magazine was sued. (En Son Haber, 06.07.08)

The fact that the state bureaucracy did not accept AK Party as government, was also criticized by the public at the same time. The nation, who was put to sleep by the terror tale, started to discuss that intervention to politics is not an obligation of the army. The army began to lose support from the nation because of the absurd opposition to the AK Party. People began to think the army, which was the cleanest institution of the state. They were saying same thing to save their image after every mistake. This unchangeable attitude of the army was never accepted by the AK Party and especially PM Erdogan. In fact, this power sharing was one of the greatest causes for the conflict with the army. Considering the history of the Republic of Turkey, the army has always been decisive. If the government's relation with the army was good, they were able to protect their position. If they were in dispute with the army, they would be destroyed. They followed the same policy within the AK Party. The said indifferent attitude in the army when they had a disagreement with the government, had involved them more radical behaviour against JDP and Erdogan. They made bigger mistakes when they wanted to cover their mistakes.

The bureaucracy, which lost in the elections against to JDP, did not want to follow the same democratic system to win the elections. For this reasons the crisis appeared.

III. Presidential Elections

The commander of the Land Forces, known as an extreme nationalist and secularist, Yaşar Büyükanit took over the role of Chief of General Staff from Hilmi Özkök in August 2006. Firstly, he stated that since the day Turkey was founded there was no such threat. Apart from the armed separatist terror, there was also organizations such as unarmed terrorism and for the first time they had planned to attack the unitary structure of the Republic of Turkey. He pointed out that the threat of radicalism was still ongoing and the task of the army was to maintain the basic qualities of the secular Republic. (Akşam, 29.08.06)

These harsh messages belonged to the new army chef, encouraging the secular wing and army to think about military coups and it signalled that government-military relations, which were already in a bad condition, would continue.

Erdogan had repeatedly criticized the army's insistently acts of seeing themselves as he supreme mind over the government. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Gul said that Turkey cannot close its eyes to developments in Iraq. He also said that Turkey would do what was necessary, referring to face-to-face meeting to correct direction for Iraq groups in February 2007. Büyükanit responded to this thought very strongly. (Hürriyet, 17.02.07) These examples shows that at least until the end of 2007, the authority was still in the hands of the army and it was proof that the government had not taken control of the army completely.

The presidential election, which was to be held in May 2007, had left a shadow on the conflicts in Cyprus and northern Iraq policies. The state-centred and anti-reform opposed coalition were against this election because they knew that the Justice and Development Party had parliamentary majority and could elect the President. The above named coalition started provocative and manipulative acts to block the Justice and Development Party's presidential election and force them to early general elections. They believed that when they constantly criticize JDP government's policies, the image of JDP and Erdogan in public opinion would be damaged.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan announced his party's presidential candidate as "my brother, Mr. Abdullah Gul" in April 2007. Following this, the election process started in the Parliament. (MacLean, 2014:12) Sabih Kanadoğlu, the former Chief Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals, who was a well-known secularist. He wrote an article in the Cumhuriyet newspaper, which was a famous and the most secular newspaper in the country on 26 December 2006. He stated that the number 367, which was mentioned in the Constitution, was not only referred to the round of voting but also the quorum for meetings. (Özbudun, & Gençkaya, 2009: 97) If there 367 deputies did not attend to the assembly, the result would be invalid. It started a new debate. (Radikal, 05.03.06)

At this point, however, the secular wing put forward a thesis that a quorum of at least 367 deputies must be present in the Parliament in order to elect Gul. The judiciary, the army and even President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, sometimes openly and sometimes indirectly, criticized the JDP during the election period, feeling an anti-secular threat for the country.

General Chief of General Staff Yasar Buyukanit, who did not want the presidency of Abdullah Gul or Erdogan, said at the press conference held on 12 April that "as a staff member of Turkish Armed Forces and as a citizen, I hope someone as a president who will be tied to the main values of the Republic will be elected as President".(Radikal, 13.04.07) President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, in a speech which he made at the Army Academies on 13 April 2007 said that: "*The reactionary threat, which has followed our Republic as a sneaky shadow, is causing concern and attacks to secular regime of Turkey has been increasing to social tension of the Republic. The rights and duties of the State are to protect from enemy of the Republic and to continue its indivisible integrity as democratic, secular and social state of law in its nation and its territory forever.*" (Yenisafak, 30.07.07)

It was an extremely ridiculous where firstly he mentioned a state of law and he referred to social chaos afterwards. Actually, it was a proof of the weakness and lack of state bureaucracy against JDP. Fear and anger towards Erdogan and the JDP government was affecting their speech and behaviour.

Erdogan did not think to determine a common candidate. One of the reasons for this was the brutal politics that the opposition had followed at that time. Erdogan showed a strong stance in his leadership. The President had wanted to set the candidate in a non-negotiable manner by the JDP. Clearly, Erdogan challenged the entire bureaucracy which proclaimed him as an unwanted man. For these reasons, after 36 years, the President's position in the election was once again turned into a state crisis.

Until the presidential election, there had been many debates between the government and the army, the judiciary and the President, issues of including the headscarf and secularism. During that time, Erdogan had stepped back on these issues but he did not show any sensitivity in a critical position as the President.

The Republican People's Party's leader, Deniz Baykal, believed that if Erdogan had determined a presidential candidate without compromise, he would not participate to the Assembly sessions and that the 367 debate would be taken seriously.

Abdullah Gul received 357 of 361 votes on 27 April 2007, when the first round was held. However, the Republican People's Party boycotted the Parliament and did not attend the first round of the session. After the results were announced, the RPP immediately carried the session to the Constitutional Court for cancellation. According to them, 367 was both the number of elections and the number of meetings, whereas in the first round 367 deputies did not attend the election. Therefore, the first round must be cancelled.

While these developments were taking place, a text published at the General Staff's website called "e-memorandum" and the General Staff determined its side in the election debates. Tension continued to increase. The Constitutional Court annulled the first round of the Presidential election by

deciding that 367 was a sufficient number at the same time, arguing. The second election was held on 6 May 2007 at the assembly, but the number 367 was not reached. Once again, the Assembly was unable to elect the President after many years. This new crisis locked the Parliament. When debates continued, early general election decision had been taken with the support of all parties.

IV. Republican Demonstrations

The presidential election was the main reason for these meetings. Secular wing members and anti-reformists came together and tried to change public opinion to deactivate the government. Recep Tayyip Erdogan had shown uncompromising leadership during this time. He thought that JDP had reached the road separation. Apparently, Erdogan and JDP members were humiliating this event.

Essentially, the secular wing was using its power by raising fear in the citizens. They were constantly saying that Turkey was under threat. Prime Minister Erdogan described the people who participated in this meeting as a gathering of people who were not related to the subject.

The JDP's Vice President Eyup Fatsa said that "if the JDP gathers the people, it would be more crowded ten times". He also said that "Will the Assembly change its decision after every meeting? This means interfere to the Assembly".(Milliyet, 20.05.07) Some people who organized and supported the meetings were alleged to have links to military coup attempts.

Among the participators there were some marginal groups who supported these meeting such as Turkish Revenge Brigade (TIT). The involvement of these committees was also criticized by the citizens who were against anti-democratic and extreme nationalist groups. Among the organizing committee there were some retired high level soldiers.

Different slogans had been used in these meetings. Some of them were "Neither US nor EU, just fully Independent Turkey. Neither sharia nor military coup, just fully independent Turkey. We are the soldiers of Mustafa Kemal. How many people are we? Army to the duty..."

Civil society representatives of the anti-reformist coalition organized these republican meetings in Ankara (NTVMSNBC, 16.04.07) on 14 April 2007; in Manisa, Çanakkale (Radikal, 06.05.07) and Mersin on 5 May, in Izmir on 13 May, and in Samsun on 20 May. During these meetings, participators carried banner, which called the military to duty. For these meetings, Presidency and some organizations transferred money to the main organizer as "Atatürk's Thought Association" and the How Many People Are We Platform". (Vakit, 22.05.09) During this time martyrs' funerals provoked at different times and government members had attacked. According to Tarhan, the period of directing politics with fear by the deep institutions was over. The result of the 2007 early election shows that these republic meetings were not accepted by the wider community. (Haber7, 14.02.11)

A. E- Memorandum

Despite all provocations, General Staff Büyükanıt did not comment on Erdogan's presidency. He said that "We hope that the President will be a president who is bonded to fundamental values of the Republic. Not only so-

called bonded but also entirely.” With these words, the army expressed the criteria for the presidential candidate. (Radikal, 13.04.07)

Thus, the military intervened in the discussions on the presidential election specifically in a controversial atmosphere about the candidacy of Prime Minister Erdogan who came from the National Outlook Movement. Against Büyükanıt's criterion, President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Bulent Arinc criticized his presidential criterion and he replied that the president should be "civil, religious and democratic". His description has further increased the tension. (Hürriyet, 16.04.07)

Unlike Prime Minister Erdogan's intense expectations on Arinc, he showed as candidate, who was one of the important former directors of the National Outlook Movement, Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gul on 24 April 2007. Nomination of Gul by Erdogan resulted in hard criticisms by the army and the secular wing. One of the main reasons for this, if Gul was elected as President, he would appoint Islamic bureaucrats to the upper echelons of the state bureaucracy and this will eventually turn Turkey into an Islamic state. (Yavuz, 2002:18)

Another comment came from the army's second man, General Ergun Saygun. He repeated the statements of Buyukanıt about Gul's candidacy on 12 April 2007. He mentioned the secularism threat and fear of Islamic bureaucracy. (Vatan , 25.04.07)

In the first round of the presidential election held on 27 April 2007, Abdullah Gül received 357 votes, and 361 deputies attended the General Assembly to vote. Thus, RPP applied to the Constitutional Court to cancel the first round of elections on the grounds that 367 deputies were absent in the General Assembly of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. On the same day, on the evening of April 27, around 11:17 pm, the General Chief of Staff posted a statement, which was recorded in the Turkish political history as e-memorandum, on its official website. The army warned every level of the state about secularism.

The General Chief of Staff statement was as follows: “...It has been observed that there is a part of society that is in an ongoing struggle to undermine the basic values of the Turkish Republic, secularism being at the forefront, and those activities have increased in the recent period. The following ongoing activities have been submitted to the relevant authorities under suitable conditions: the desire to redefine basic values, and a wide range of activities, which extend as far as to arrange alternative celebrations of our national holiday, which is a symbol of our nation’s coherence, the independence of our state and our nation’s unity...(TSK, 27.04.07)

Obviously, this press release shows that the army interfered in the electoral process and at the same time in civilian politics. In essence, this military interference by the army has been called e-memorandum because it was in electronic form. Because of this feature, it is different from previous interventions. If it were in the old days of Turkey, the government would have quickly left the task after such an army statement like this. But, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the JDP government strongly criticized this bold stance of the army instead of retreating.

Against the memorandum, the government responded to this military statement with a decisive statement read by the Minister of Justice and the Government Spokesman Cemil Cicek, a day after. This explanation was perceived as an open dissent against the JDP government. The government had declared that this explanation was completely wrong. He also said that in the Turkish democratic system, we cannot even think about such a big mistake. According to Cicek, the Chief of Staff, for an institution linked to the Prime Minister, it was unthinkable to use such explanation in a democratic state of law against the political circumstances in any matter. According to him, the Chief of General Staff is an institution whose position was designated by the Constitution with related laws and under the order of the government. (Balkan, & Öncü, 2015:14) He mentioned that, according to the Turkish Constitution, the Chief of General Staff is responsible to the Prime Minister. Another important feature of this memorandum, it was also very meaningful that the timing of the publication of this text in the media and in the publication of the General Staff on the Internet. In such a critical period, especially during the presidential elections, such behavior like this was seen as remarkable by the government. It is clearly understood that the army's memorandum was directed to influencing the decision of the Constitutional Court on the presidential election in such a sensitive period. Erdogan was able to understand this situation. (Besli & Özbay, 2010: 63)

The Constitutional Court decided that the presidential majority of the General Assembly must be 367, so the Grand National Assembly's presidential election was cancelled because it did not provide that number of deputies. The 367 condition was not sought in the first round of previous presidential elections. However, the situation changed when the JDP came along. The anti-JDP alliance mentioned earlier, seemed successful. There was a great effect of the e-memorandum of the General Staff on this decision of the Constitutional Court. (Besli & Özbay, 2010: 79)

The Prime Minister Erdogan described the Constitutional Court's decision as "a bullet which triggered the democracy". (Özışık, 2013:45) Thus, the decision of the Constitutional Court affected the declaration of the Turkish army and the government's policy regarding the presidential election, by being changed indirectly. Abdullah Gul did not reach 367 again in the first round of the presidential election in the Assembly, which was held on 6 May 2007 after the cancellation. Deputy Prime Minister and AK party's president candidate Abdullah Gul angrily commented on the issue. He did not want to openly conflict with the army and the Constitutional Court.

Gul said that the tour was pointless and announced that he had withdrew from being the presidency candidate. He criticized the RPP's policy, which they followed during the election process. Gul accused Motherland Party and the True Path Party for supporting the RPP. Gul considered all these problems as Turkey's growth pain. But Recep Tayyip Erdogan was more persistent; he declared that the AK party and his determination still continued in this regard.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that it was necessary to present the situation to the discretion of the nation as soon as possible and AK Party applied to the Grand National Assembly to have the elections sooner.

Erdogan continued to challenge. He said that the nation's will was the main source of democracy. If the Assembly could not elect the president, the government should decide on early elections or they should make an agreement on one single common candidate. Erdogan chose the second option.

B. Erdogan's Crisis Management

Due to the inability to the 11th president, in accordance with Article 101 of the Constitution, early elections were held on 22 July 2007. However, before the close of the Grand Assembly, regulation about the election of the President in the Constitution was changed by the AK Party. The regulation passed through the Parliament with the support of the Motherland Party. However, President Sezer did not accept that and he took this arrangement to the referendum.

Compared with the prime ministers who had served before him, Erdogan followed a effective policy during crisis that he turned to his advantage which were the army's intervention into civilian politics and the President's explicit opposition. There was no doubt he was a victimized leader and during the presidential election he was clearly victimized again, causing a great public reaction. Erdogan used this victimized politics very well. He stated clearly, that the decision of the public opinion was binding against conflicts with oppositions which included the military, the judiciary, the presidency and business associations. For this reason, Erdogan and AK Party decided to go for early elections. According to Erdogan's democratic conception, the ballot box's result is the most powerful factor in political life. He thought that if the voters approved the government's policy, they can continue with their targets. However, if they did not support their policy, the voters had the ability to punish them.

Erdogan realized that all problems stemmed from the economic issue. After AK party held power, economic indicators showed positive way for the country. The nation did not forget the 2001 financial crisis. Therefore, the fact that the JDP caused economic vitality caused people to support them.

According to Erdogan, this ideology was not national. It was anti-national. The decision of the Constitutional Court had blocked the election of the president in the Grand Assembly. This was a bullet which was fired at democracy. Actually, it was not invisible in Turkish politics. But, the unseen thing was Erdogan's reaction as Prime Minister. He said that, this decision shows that there is still some dark minority who really wishes to represent the majority of this population. At the same time, the opposition's emphasis on ignoring democracy had caused the rise of the JDP. Some of the important opponents which spoke on television or wrote in the newspapers were saying that the nation, which had voted did not mean anything. They were bravely mentioning that there are institutions of this country.

Tayyip Erdogan had beaten the opposition through democratic intervention through the secular wing's 27 April 2007 e-memorandum. He challenged his enemies openly. This was very effective on the ordinary people in Turkey. At the same time, Erdogan's biggest support came from the middle and poor classes of the population. He played a very active role during the elections' campaigns. *"We have this indomitable nationality. We started our way with love. We love these people. We love this state. Whatever it costs after*

the July 2007 election, the AK party will be stronger than 3 November 2002. So will this nation. We are not a religious party. The main purpose is the happiness of the citizens. In this regard, all systems are vehicles; also religions are vehicles to make people happy. Systems cannot be a goal.” (Milliyet, 25.07.07)

C. Relationship between Prime Minister Erdogan and President Sezer

When we look at the relationship between the Prime Minister and the President between 2002-2007, we can see that, because of the government's connection with conservative identity, relationship had never been normal. Sezer had caused a major crisis by throwing the Constitution booklet onto former PM Bulent Ecevit, who was the architect of the political consensus that chose him as president. This incident soused by which Ahmet Necdet Sezer is called incompetent state syndrome. (Yenisafak, 21.11.15)

Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party became the political party that for the first time on 3 November 2002 achieved the greatest representation in the Turkish Grand National Assembly after the 1950s. Ahmet Necdet Sezer had to work with a management whose mentally he never appreciated for five and a half years.

Sezer, in fact, was not the first person who was incompatible to government party as president. Kenan Evren did not like Turgut Ozal as Prime Minister who was elected after the 1980 coup. The 9th President Suleyman Demirel argued Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan. Demirel's statements had a signature on a large part of the newspaper headlines which made up the conditions for the 28 February 1997 coup. Firstly, Sezer tried to control AK Party by using his presidential position. However, JDP's political and sociological bases did not allow it. Therefore, President Sezer tried to establish a coalition against JDP. His political idea was supported by the secular environment all the times. The fact was that the AK Party did not lose its reputation in the public's eyes, further, he radicalized him against the ruling party. This radicalization had shown itself most clearly in the presidential elections.

President Sezer did not invite the Prime Minister's, President of the Turkish Grand Assembly's and other important cabinet members' spouses to official receptions when preparing for important dates such as Republic Day or National Day because of their headscarves.

At the same time, he forgave some PKK and extreme leftist members who were in prison for involving in terrorist and illegal activities, by his constitutional right. Later, many of those who were forgiven were caught by the security forces being involved in terrorism again.

Additionally, as the president of the country he could not show an impartial stance. Powerful connection with his secular state understanding affected his statements. Actually, it could be seen clearly in the presidential elections. Sezer's words about the presidential candidate described a secular person but Erdogan did not make any comments as he did not want to get involved in an argument directly by criticizing Sezer's words.

After the general elections, it was understood that Sezer's statements as President and the army's e-memorandum or justice system's worry did not affect the public's opinion seriously. After the presidential election, Abdullah Gul took his official oath with at a plain ceremony held at the Cankaya Place.

D. Erdogan's Leadership During the Election Campaign

Political leaders in Turkey are considered as a political whole with their physical appearance, image, rhetoric, and approach to subjects, life story, experience, education, party affiliation and family. Leaders are increasingly benefiting from the opportunities of communicating to create different things with other leaders.

The leaders' determining role in the political process does not only occur in Turkey but in many other countries as well. From now on, leaders are the main actors of politics instead of political parties. This irrefutable truth is independent of the political system. (Yildiz, 2002:45)

Simply describing leadership in the current situation's result will not be entirely correct. At the same time, there are some other elements, which are extremely influential on leadership such as to a likeable leader, confidence in a leader and the communication skills of the leader. In Turkey, the electorate should be able to perceive new plans, motivation and charisma towards the future in the person who they choose as the leader. At the same time, the leader must be able to feel the enthusiasm, wishes, hopes and excitement of the voters' inner world. The leader should be able to serve them to fulfill their expectations. (Özel, 2012: 3)

Yıldırım shows similarities of the programs of political parties as a factor which creates the new politics of the leader. According to him, this is the element which feeds the populist political techniques. According to Yıldırım, Recep Tayyip Erdogan is a leader who directly calls the masses as "the people". Based on his charisma, he is shown as the only person who provides and carries on stability, which is ensured by neoliberal populism. The personality of the leader is integrated with peace, trust and stability. His administration as a leader is perceived as the continuation of the state. (Yıldırım, 2009: 84)

According to Yildiz, the main reason for the rise of the JDP is Erdogan's personality and leadership. Yildiz also draws attention to the leader's discourse. This concept is perhaps the most critical feature of a leader. This is also true for Tayyip Erdogan. Erdogan's rhetoric is the fundamental tool of the JDP, which has remained unchanged for years along on the same political line but sometimes more radical or more moderate. Therefore, this tool has transformed invaluable issues into political value. In all his speeches in almost all party meetings which Erdogan held, before the 2007 elections, Erdogan is pictured as a leader who was oppressed, but never gave up, who struggled and demanded the power even if their rights were taken from them by the bureaucracy. (Yildiz, 2002: 138)

Erdogan, who strengthened and shaped his identity as a man who struggled against difficulties in the 2002 elections and emphasized that he would continue to face new challenges and struggles with the slogan "we will not stop, going ahead to way" in the 2007 elections. (Özel, 2012: 6)

According to Erdogan, there is a level of bureaucratic elite which prevents the development of the JDP and the nation. In spite of this, the people, like himself, will always fight against these untouchable elites and they will defeat them with democratic tools. Indeed, the image of a leader, who is always fighting an enemy which is invisible, can be seen in Erdogan. Erdogan has been demonstrated as a leader who is fighting against those who are against change.

To give a few examples of the content of this discourse, “There are black and white Turks in this country, your brother Tayyip is a black Turk” and “Elites cannot understand our services”. (Yıldırım, 2009: 84)

According to Yıldırım, Erdogan had drawn a very successful Centre-right leadership performance during the election campaign. He always kept a powerful connection with his supporters. In one sense, Erdogan was living like an ordinary person. He would sit at the table in a cafe or shop in the neighborhood market. Instead of staying in the Prime Minister’s Place, he preferred to rent the house to be near the people. Among the middle class people, he is not Mr. Ecevit, Mr. Baykal or Mr. Bahceli but he is “Tayyip”. (Yıldırım, 2009: 85)

During the election process, Erdogan was very active. He talked to people about continuing the stability. Specifically, economic development had been explained to the society during this time. He tried to create an active public memory; the 2001 crisis and the price paid by the Turkish society were mentioned many times.

In the program conducted by Tayyip Erdogan as JDP leader during the pre-election propaganda period, he applied challenging assertions and attacks on the opposition parties’ hard and uncompromising defense. He demonstrated an attitude which developed new moves to manage the process. He continued this policy in his television appearances. Erdogan joined every TV program alone and did not attend open sessions with other party leaders. With this preference, the AK Party leader had removed the possibility of a miscommunication and was able to give political messages more clearly. The problems which may arise from the multiple voices inside the party had been prevented. Although this affected the performance of the Party in the elections positively, it had damaged the intra-party democracy.

With the advantage of being a ruling party, the AK Party was more involved in the written media, making news and comments compared to other political parties. However, party administration was not content with this and a new style was preferred in Erdogan's election trips. When travelling by air for party meetings, only one or two representatives of the media were invited to the plane to receive special news and interviews. In this way, daily interviews were given to different newspapers. Thus, the visibility of the party in the newspapers and televisions had increased, compared to the past. Selected messages had been delivered in more intensive and healthy ways to the media.

E. Turkish General Elections in 2007

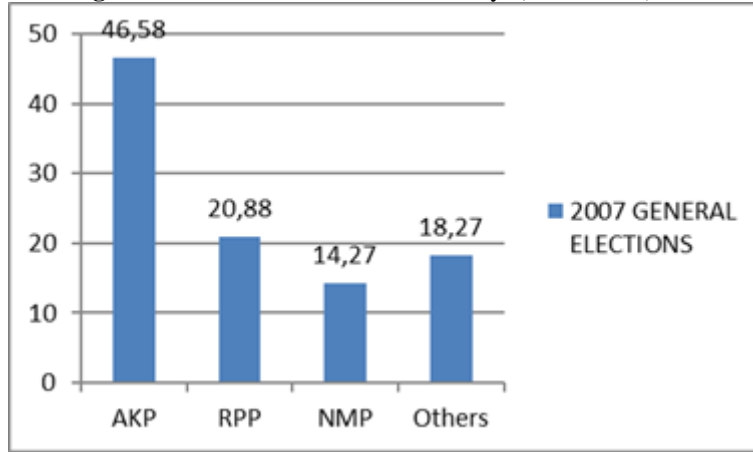
After the presidential election crisis, AK Party and Republican People’s Party decided to have early general elections in 2007. True Path Party and Motherland Party also supported this decision. In fact, although they were scheduled for November, the elections were pulled forward after General Assembly failed to elect Abdullah Gul as the new president to replace Ahmet Necdet Sezer. Before the elections, both army and the president as well as the judiciary, had clearly showed their opposition. JDP was stuck between what they wanted to do and the state bureaucracy which resisted them. Erdogan and his party decided early general elections was the appropriate solution.

The Turkish general election was held on 22 July 2007. In addition, 10% threshold had been applied in these elections. According to Turkish

election laws, a party must gain at least 10% of national votes to be represented at the Grand Assembly. This law is aimed at preventing a highly fragmented parliament which suffers from coalitions. Fourteen political parties attended the 22 July early general elections. But, only three of them passed the 10% election threshold.

The election result was a clear victory for the Justice and Development Party, which won 46.6% of the votes and 341 seats, became the ruler party. As a result, the JDP's leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan was re-elected as Prime Minister of Turkey. The opposition Republican People's Party came second with 20.9% of the votes' became the main opposition party and took 112 seats. A surprise of the elections was National Movement Party.

Figure 1: 2007 General Election Turkey. (YSK, 2007)



The Nationalist Movement Party, which failed to exceed the 10% election threshold in the 2002 election, re-entered parliament with 14.3% of the votes and 71 deputies.(YSK, 2007)

F. Comparison between 2002 and 2007 General Elections

While three political parties took part in the parliamentary general elections of 2007, there were two parties in parliament in the 2002 elections. There were nine independent deputies in the 2002 elections. But, in the 2007 elections, this number increased three times to 27. The AK Party, which emerged with 363 deputies with at 34.29% in the 2002 general elections, increased its votes to 46.50% in this election, but the number of deputies decreased. The AK Party won 340 deputies. The RPP, which emerged with 178 deputies at 19.38% of the votes in the 2002 general elections, increased to 20.89% in 2007, but the number of deputies decreased just like the AK Party. The Republican People's Party had 112 deputies. The RPP became the main opposition again like it did in the last election. The Nationalist Movement Party with only 8.35% of the votes in the 2002 parliamentary general elections increased by almost two times and exceeded the threshold. NMP was represented in Parliament with 71 chairs. The True Path Party, which entered the general elections of the 2007 under the name of the Democrat Party, was under the elections' threshold again. TPP couldn't go beyond the threshold in 2002 with only 9.56% votes. In this election, it was in a lower rate and 5.43% of the votes and the party lost its popularity completely. It was a clear victory for

JDP and it meant that AK Party's policy was approved by the nation. (Sabah, 23.07.07)

G. Second Election of the Presidency

The AK Party won a clear victory in the elections of 22 July 2007. In this way, the most definitive answer was given by the public to rebut all the criticisms the opposition had made, such as the heavy words of Ahmet Necdet Sezer in the presidential elections and the army administration's e-memorandum. After the elections, the new parliament convened its first meeting on 4 August 2007.

The expectation that the AK Party will be defeated in the election was completely out of the question. AK party government continued to carry out its duty more decisively. First of all, the first election, which had been conducted for the President of the Assembly, took place in the parliamentary programme. AK Party candidate Koksal Toptan was elected as Grand National Assembly President with 450 votes in the first round with the support of the opposition, on 9 August 2007. NMP's candidate as president of the parliament, Tunca Toskay received only 74 votes. (Yeni Şafak , 28.18.07) On the same day, AK Party's leader and Prime Minister Erdogan announced that the second agenda in the presidential election process in front of the Parliament would start again. After starting the electoral process, Abdullah Gul's nomination became a matter of debate again. (Hürriyet, 16.04.07)

At the same time, it was understood that there was Gul's influence on raising the votes of the Party and coming to power alone again. The election of the president and the victimization of the AK Party had been considered to be the main reasons for the increase of votes. Abdullah Gul mentioned that his presidential election process had significantly affected the votes for the AK Party. According to him, the election results were the clearest evidence that the people had endorsed his presidential nomination. (NTVMSNBC, 15.08.07)

The AK Party and Erdogan's 11th presidential candidate were confirmed by Abdullah Gül, on 13 August 2007. (NTVMSNBC, 26.07.07) A new 367 crisis did not emerge with the NMP's announcement that they would attend the Assembly. As the main opposition party, the RPP preserved its position like in the first election, declaring that they would not participate in the elections at the Assembly. But this policy, which was followed by RPP, did not affect the elections because the balances at the General Assembly had changed. (Akit, 26.07.07)

Two names appeared as candidates against Gul. They were Sabahattin Çakmakoglu from the Nationalist Movement Party and Tayfun Icli from the Democratic Left Party which entered to Assembly under the RPP's list. (Haberler, 17.08.07)

Gul won 341 votes in the first round of the presidential elections on 20 August 2007. He stayed under the number of 337 in the second round on August 24th. According to the Constitution, if a candidate cannot reach the number 367, which is a two-thirds majority of the Assembly in the first two rounds, the number 276 would be sought in the third round. (NTVMSNBC, 26.07.07)

Thus, the last election has been held on August 28, 2007. Abdullah Gul was elected as the 11th president of the Republic of Turkey, with 339 votes in

the third round. As a result, the presidential election process, which began in April, ended then. (Yeni Şafak , 28.08.07)

H. Transfer of Guardianship to the Judiciary after the 2007 Elections

In countries such as Turkey where difficult and complex relations prevail, it is not easy to establish military-civilian relations in a healthy way. As a matter of fact, after entering the multiparty period, political conflicts, interventions of the military forces and economic crises showed that this relationship was quite complicated. This difficulty applied not only to a certain political opinion but also to all civilians, all politicians, and all military-civilian bureaucrats. Most of the time, the right or left politicians were affected. If we think about the loyalty of Turkish army, judiciary and President to secularism, central right politicians affected more than leftist politicians. (Yeni Şafak, 09.01.09) This conflict continued between the government of Justice and Development Party and the military forces. The army has always resisted against JDP's steps towards democratic reforms, human rights and efforts of democratization. According to Heper, during the Chief of the Army General Hilmi Ozkok's tenure, the army accepted democratic reforms and re-evaluated its role and position in the political arena. (Aydın & Çarkoğlu: 2005:53) According to Heper, during Erdogan's tenure, military-civilian relations had created a more democratic environment than previously seen. (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009:96) According to Cizre, Justice and Development Party followed a strategy of avoiding conflict with the Turkish armed forces until November 2005. (Cizre, 2008: 135) In the following period, with strengthened civilian authority, the Justice and Development Party and Erdogan shifted to the Centre-right further and ideas of the army continued to be decisive on the state's politics. (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009:127)

During this period, Erdogan focused more on economic developments and worked towards the acceptance of his leadership by the people. Especially in 2007, the government of the Justice and Development Party took a backward step against possible intervention of the army. It should also be noted that after the 2007 elections and with the success of the presidential election, it has renewed its confidence and the army had abandoned its interventionist policy.

In 2007, the government had a solid posture on 27 April and Erdogan's stubborn and durable posture defeated the anti-reform coalition temporarily. The army felt that it had to stay a little further away from the political arena because the people supported the JDP more.

However, during the intervention process, which continued to 27 April 2007 by the army, it was also necessary to add that the secular bureaucracy started to use the High Court, which was under its control from 28 February 1997. However, just as the Constitutional Court's cancelled decisions in contradiction to the law regarding the amendments made in Articles 367, 10 and 42 of the Constitution, by using the justice mechanism as an intervention tool against the government, it played an important role to the passivation of the army's intervention of the government. The army, as a protector of tutelary democracy, was retreated. The judiciary began to stand as the guardianship of authority. While the elected were struggling to obtain their power in this process, the army faced the transfer its guardianship power to the judiciary.

As a result, the debates on "judicial tutelage" or "ruling of the judges" started to appear. Turkish armed forces were evaluating if they could overthrow the Justice and Development Party government, such as the WP-TPP government which they overthrew in 1997, with the 27 April memorandum. However, it did not happen as they expected. The army was not aware that the environmental conditions in 2007 were very different from 1997 and they did not see that the Justice and Development Party had serious public and international support. Citizens' interest in politics had increased and they could not evaluate the demands of the citizens for democracy. (Radikal, 27.01.08)

The army remained with its old attitude. It continued to intervene in such issues as the judiciary, education, protection of secular rights, minority rights and cultural rights; it continued to explain to the press without the permission of the PM. At the same time, the media continued to pay too much importance on the National Security Council meetings and the announcement made by the military forces.

This attitude continued on the headscarf issue after 2007. The beginning of the headscarf problem goes back to the mid-1980s. Under the Ozal's leadership, Motherland Party wanted to solve this problem. Some university administrations did not allow girls to enter the university with headscarves and with the support of the National Security Council, in 1988, the government prepared a law stating that girls could enter the university by covering their heads and necks in accordance with their religious beliefs. But this law was annulled by the Constitutional Court. In 1990, the government accepted that the provision of free costumes and clothes at universities was not to contrary to the laws.

Although there was social consensus on the removal, during Tayyip Erdogan's early governance he did not attempt to remove the headscarf ban because of lack of institutional reconciliation such as army, judiciary or higher education institutions.

After the elections in 2007, a speech made by Prime Minister Erdogan in Madrid and with the support of the Nationalist Movement Party, suddenly the issue of making a constitutional amendment emerged in order to solve the headscarf problem for female students. Deputies voted for headscarf freedom at 4-5.

The parliament changed the law on headscarves because of the earlier law, which was not written clearly. In the Constitution no one can be deprived of the right to higher education for any reason. The borders of the use of this right shall be determined by law. The AK Party and the NMP perceived these changes in the Constitution as a means of freedom of religion and the right to education. According to the secular wing, which was against the amendment to the Constitution, those reforms were perceived as attempt to destroy the secular republic.

Although, the Constitutional Court did not have the authority to review the laws enforced through constitutional amendments, these arrangements had been investigated by the Constitutional Court and had been cancelled with the intense oppression of the "secular block". (CHC, 2008) Shortly, the judiciary system became political.

With this cancellation, it may understood that Parliament cannot make any amendments to the Constitution, unless it is approved by the Constitutional Court. So, with this cancellation, the Constitutional Court gave the judiciary a more effective place from the government and parliament. According to Fendoglu, this development led to the country to "the judge's states". (Fendođlu, 2011)

The Army's tutelage over the political sphere, which constitutes the basic character of Turkey's democracy, transformed and the judiciary became the tutelage in the political arena.

The ban of the headscarf for public personnel was removed with the democratization package announced by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan on 1 October 2013. (Official Gazette, 08.10.13) With the amendment made to Article 5 of the dress code regulation, restrictive provisions were removed. (Official Gazette, 08.10.13) Soldiers, police officers, judges and prosecutors had been excluded from this regulation. Shortly after the ban on the headscarf was lifted with the democratization package, the problem was resolved in Parliament. Four JDP female deputies described that they would return to the General Assembly in headscarves after returning from hajj. They continued to work in the General Assembly while wearing headscarves on 31 October 2013. They joined the session completely without any tension. (Al Jazeera, 30.12.13)

V. Conclusion

Recep Tayyip Erdogan was talked about his name during the performance of the Istanbul mayor since 1994. He was able to keep the community's pulse very well, being one of the ordinary people. He was sent to jail because of a poem which he read and his political life was unexpected ended by the secular system. He returned to overturn of this victimhood, which he had lived during 28 February process. As a result the JDP became the government. (Brown, & Kramer: 2000)

The 3 November 2002 general elections were an important milestone for political life in Turkey. For the first time in these elections, a party, which defined its political identity as an Islamic, came to power with an important majority affected by 10% of the country's barrage. Before the elections, representatives of JDP had emphasized on fundamental rights, freedom, law, justice and liberalism. At the same time, they described themselves to the public as "changed" and "new". Despite these discourses, most of the party executives were coming from the National Outlook tradition and this reason did not destroy the suspicions of the secular wing.

The JDP, which stood on the political stage after the separation from the traditional movement, tried to purify its political rhetoric from Islamic symbols, although it could not be completely abstracted from being an Islamist. For this reason, JDP developed another language to communicate with the people. This language was publicly announced by Erdogan, which in turn led to the strengthening of Erdogan in the party and the country. Affection of the single party's ruling brought vitality to all sectors such as the economy.

Secular bureaucracy, which felt that the fundamental values of the secular republic would be damaged, intervened in different ways at different times. The number of supporters of the JDP increased after the 27 April 2007

military e-memorandum. With this, efforts to neutralize JDP authority by the secular bureaucracy continued. A new victory over the elections renewed its trust in Erdogan. With it, according to the secular bureaucracy, uncontrolled rise of JDP harmed the fundamental values of the republic. This idea or fear, showed itself especially in the presidential elections. After the open opposition to President Sezer, the army's intervention in the presidential elections summarized this situation. The army showed its resistance against the AK Party during this period. Also, this resistance affected JDP's policies.

In this regard, Tayyip Erdogan quickly changed the party's policy during the presidential elections. He took the risk of deciding on early elections. This unexpected decision satisfied the opposition wing. They had begun to exhibit a clear opposition against JDP administration. They believed that the politics which they followed would be accepted by the Turkish voter. According to the opposition wing, the public would give the necessary answer to the JDP in the elections. Before the military memorandum, it was partially successful that the AK party was pinned in this way. But the policy that the opposition followed during the presidential elections affected the choice of the people.

After JDP's victory in the 2007 elections, President Sezer handed over the task to Abdullah Gul. In this way the opposition at the presidential level had changed. Despite the republican meetings and army's policy, the electorate supported Erdogan and JDP. The justice system was introduced to prevent this rise of JDP. This time the justice system came into play to prevent the effects of JDP. Abdurrahman Yalçınkaya was sued to shut down the party as the Chief Prosecutor of the Supreme Court. He claimed that as a conservative democrats party, the JDP wanted to change the secular regime and the party became the center of the movements against secularism.

Another feature of JDP's first ruling phase is that external threats were reduced compared to previous periods. According to Akdogan, in a country where domestic threats are high and external threats are low, the military's intervention in politics is high. (Akdogan, 2017:5) This argument is acceptable for JDP's first ruling phase in Turkey. This situation is called to be in power but not to be capable. Actually, this issue is normal for secular environments in Turkey. The famous secular Saylan's words summarize secular bureaucracy's understanding. After Erdogan's victory, she said that "*We are the founder will, nothing will change in this country if we do not want to ...*", "*We are the essential element of this country*" and "*The state orders never change, just because of people want to.*" The fact that the army continued to intervene in politics by using non-institutional mechanisms due to internal threats is one of the factors that negatively affected the possibility of democracy during JDP's early period. There is a military coup tradition in Turkey that was formed by the military tutelage system (Levin, 2011:169) and its biggest supporter was the Kemalist section. Every coup to the democratization of society has had an adverse impact on society. Every military coup, which was made to avoid ideological structure, to protect the system and to gather in power certain centers, caused the system to be further questioned by the population. The questioning of the system usually resulted in support of the parties and leaders excluded by the system.

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