

# MIRAGE OF DEMOCRACY

## STUDY GUIDE



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## 1. Letters

### 1.1. Letter from Secretary-General

Most Esteemed Participants,

It is both an honor and a pleasure to welcome you to the ninth edition of GITOMUN, taking place on 23–26 October 2025. Serving as this year’s Secretary-General is a privilege for me, and I feel truly excited to continue the tradition of a conference that has inspired so many young minds over the years. From the first stages of preparation, our academic and organizational teams have worked with real dedication.

This year we are glad to introduce eight committees. Our English committees are HSPECPOL, UNWOMEN, F-ILO, WHO, H-UNSC, ECOFIN, and The Mirage of Democracy. Alongside them, our Arabic committee, الأوسط الشرق الخارجية وزراء لجنة, reflects the inclusivity and diversity that we always aim to uphold.

The theme of GITOMUN, “Power of the past, people of the future,” reminds us that the lessons of history are what guide us into tomorrow. Over these four days, I hope you will challenge yourselves, share new ideas, and also enjoy the atmosphere that makes MUN conferences special.

On behalf of the whole GITOMUN’25 team, I thank you for joining us. May these days be both rewarding and memorable, and may you carry the spirit of diplomacy beyond this conference.

Welcome to GITOMUN’25. Let us make this ninth edition truly unforgettable.

Yours sincerely,  
Secretary-General  
Sümeyye Tahmaz

## 1.2. Letter from Under Secretary-General

Precious representatives of the Mirage of Democracy Committee, it is my utmost honor and pride to welcome you all to the Special Committee of GITOMUN'25. If you have been allocated as a member of this committee, it means you have now taken responsibility for preparing,, studying, and doing research to make up for all the efforts served and all people who have sent applications that were not accepted.

I would first like to thank

The Ideal of me, and my dearest Academic Assistant Yiğit was to fully understand and explain one of the most manipulated, misinformed, and wrongfully told stories of the Modern Turkish History. As being the first ever non-puppet opposition party. Türkiye's adventure of democracy was of course did not come cheap. The toll of the first ever opposition governance was huge for the nation. Accurately understanding these events will help participants acknowledge the true background of today's Turkish Republic.

For the high honors of all figures present in the committee, the Academy team highly recommends and expects the delegates to do their best to prepare for such of an important reanimation. I wish you best of luck during your research, and please never hesitate to mail me with your questions regarding the special procedure or anything. Which, speaking of is available as a standalone document.

The stage is set, and the nation holds its breath. Will the People's Party cling to its dominion, or will the true party of the people seize the mantle of power? Or shall the army, ever watchful in the shadows, march forth to claim the destiny of the state themselves? The hour of reckoning approaches - choose your path, for history will remember. Let me not delay your actions any longer,

“Either the state to the head, or the raven to the carrion.”

Muhammed Yusuf Eser

Under Secretary General

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## 2. Key Terms

### Authoritarian Republicanism

Authoritarian Republicanism is a sub-form of rule in the modern world under the ideology of Authoritarianism. Just like its main form, Authoritarian Republicanism is made up of a dictatorship, or a hegemony, often manipulating its people by government-led media tools and propaganda, embracing their regime's supporters and supporting people who hate any opposers, and most importantly -in some cases like Turkey's National Chief Era and Baath Dictatorships- using brute force to get rid of opposition and different ideas too.

The difference between the two is the claim of being a democratic country. While a classic authoritarian government usually wouldn't make any claims of democracy and equal rights, the Authoritarian Republicanism countries claim that they have freedom, rights, and most importantly fair elections. While it is obviously visible that these countries are under oppression, the claim of democracy makes outer intervention by international courts and other countries nearly impossible.

### Populist Democracy

Populist democracy is an ideology adopted by leading parties that aims to implement actions that satisfy the highest proportion of voters and to encourage them to vote in elections, which will eventually foster the amount of supporters for that party and -if not countered correctly- make the Party win the elections consecutively. Adnan Menderes's 1950–1957 Democrat Party was a great example of a Populist Democracy.



As soon as the Democrat Party won the elections in 1950, Adnan Menderes risked escalating tensions with the army in order to consolidate his Party's position in the next elections. With Muslim conservatives and libertarians being the hugest proportion of voters, he reverted the Ezan back to Arabic, reinforced the free market and reduced government's share in the fields by privatization, enacted the Law for the aEncouragement of Foreign Capital, and introduced religious High Schools.

These actions caused a snowballing growth in voters which ended up in hundreds of thousands of people still supporting him and gathering at rallies in his more authoritarian years.

## Westernization

Westernization and Liberalization were one of the most important economic goals of the first Menderes government, between 1950 and 1954. Whilst recovering from the National Chiefdom Era and its highly controlled market, Adnan Menderes decided to seek support from the United States, continuing the process Inonu started in his last years by mainly chasing and finally getting applied to the Marshall plan which cost him his life. During westernization policies, the transforming -nearly always 3rd world- countries often sought support from Western countries, mainly the US, West Germany, and the UK, being their trustees. These periods in Türkiye also included a high amount of corruption in the process of privatization and tendering, just like most other westernizing countries.

## 3. Historical Background

### 3.1. The Liberal Republican Party (SCF)

Founded on August 12, 1930, by Ali Fethi Okyar and Nuri Conker with Kemal's request of establishing a multi-party tradition in the newly founded Turkish Republic. In the context of the One-party period, Kemal requested for Okyar to



create a new movement as an opposition party to confront the ruling Republican People's Party with the aim of establishing the tradition of multi-party democracy in Turkey. After the first tentative of Progressive Republican Party during the period 1924–1925, it represents the second attempt to create a pluralist system in the country.<sup>1</sup>

The main difference between it and CHP was their claims of advocating for liberal views in their policies. They manifested 11 points, which were very identical with those of the Progressive Republican Party (TCF - 1924). The ones that got the most attention and were the most important are below:

- Private at the expense of state enterprise, with the abolition of monopolies and the lower of taxes,
- More tolerant attitude toward foreign capital,
- Closer connection between Turkey and the League of Nations,
- Freedom of the press and thought,

These policies were carefully implemented in the party with the suggestion of Kemal as an experiment over the whole country to see “1. Whether the people were ready to transform into multiparty politics or not, and 2. Whether they were supporting an authoritarian and inclusive approach, or a libertarian, less inclusive approach.”

The results of this experiment were shockingly harsh and alarming for CHP. All opposers of the authoritarian rule supported the SCF against CHP, the conservative Anatolians, libertarian intellectuals, and oddly both the leftist socialist and the right-wing fascists. The SCF was slowly getting all of these groups' support along with the army, which worried Kemal about the misconception and misunderstanding of SCF's principles, and made him regret the establishment. Afterwards, he spoke to Conker about the need for its abolition.

After the infamous Menemen Incident on 23rd December 1930, which was an anti-secular uprising made by allegedly a group of Muslims led by Dervis Mehmed to reclaim Sharia, during the uprising,

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<sup>1</sup> 1 McCally S, P. (May 1956). "[Party Government in Turkey](#)". The University of Chicago Press Journals. 18 (2): 308–309. [JSTOR 2126986](#).

Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay, an officer was beheaded with an axe and then was paraded with a green flag, claimed to be the first step to the resurrection of Sharia. Tens of thousands of people were manipulated and embraced to join the uprising without being noticed about the beheading.

Upon hearing Kubilay's murder by Islamists, Atatürk proclaimed: "Thousands from Menemen didn't prevent this, instead joined with Tekbirs. Where were these traitors during Greek occupation?". The Turkish government expressed their shock over the people of Menemen not reacting to things like Menemen massacre as harsh as they did to secularization.<sup>2</sup>

**Controversies:** The account above is based on official documents from sites such as [tbmm.gov.tr](http://tbmm.gov.tr) , [atamdergi.gov.tr](http://atamdergi.gov.tr) , and [atam.gov.tr](http://atam.gov.tr) . However, investigations carried out in the late 1980s, and subsequent detailed field research introduced alternative perspectives on the uprising. Some of these accounts suggested that Derviş Mehmed and his followers were associated with the use of hashish (a drug derived from cannabis) and were allegedly not regarded as reputable or trusted leaders by the people of Menemen. These reports also argued that the number of actual supporters was significantly smaller than what had been officially recorded—possibly no more than a hundred individuals, including the sufis themselves. Furthermore, some conservative and intellectual circles have claimed that, especially in light of the Sheikh Said uprising of 1925, the government may have emphasized or exploited the Menemen Incident as a means of preventing potential future uprisings.

...Thus, after its participation in the 1930 local elections in which it won 31 of 502 municipalities, it was personally dissolved in November 1930 by Okyar, who was an ardent supporter of the reforms.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ataç, Onur (2020-12-14). [Seyh Ata-Talih Cesaret Edene Güler](#) (in Turkish). Destek Publishing and Media Group. [ISBN 978-625-441-034-5](#).

<sup>3</sup> Çetin, Yetkin (2004). Atatürk'ün Vatana İhanetle Suçlandığı S.C.F. Olayı. İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları. pp. 267–273. [ISBN 9789758410453](#).



### **3.2. Era of the National Chef**

Era of the National Chef, aka. Inonu's reign started on 11 November 1938, when he became the National Chef and President of the Türkiye. He continued Türkiye's one-party state and fostered Kemal's practices as a social government by supporting statist projects.

Some of the most important laws regulated under his regime are;

#### **3.2.1. The National Protection Law (1940, no. 3780)**

Which gave the government full permission of sweeping over control over production, prices, and labor during the Second World War. In the timespan of 1940 to 1945, the government highly used this law to arrange the country's needs, which grew larger and larger due to the war. With this, the statist social government of Türkiye was officialized, and the groundwork was laid for further actions.

#### **3.2.2. The Village Institutes Law (1940, no. 3803)**

Which established rural schools around the country to train newly graduated teachers, and mainly to spread the newly adopted (1928) Latin alphabet to the people. So the literacy levels could be increased [indeed, 24.5% (1940) to 33.6% (1950)] and more villagers could be integrated into the modern order. This also established the groundwork for rural-to-urban migration of 60's.

#### **3.2.3. The Wealth Tax Law (1942, no. 4305)**

Which targeted war profiteers and mostly non-Muslim minorities who were rich due to black market and jobbery. These were nearly all Armenian, Jew, and Greek merchants, landowners, businesses, and industrial enterprises who stocked their goods / speculated the market and brought up prices during the war, getting extraordinarily rich. The statist government replied to these people by taking 232% taxes from Christian Armenians, 179% from Jews, 156%

from Greeks, and 4.94% from Muslims. This should be evaluated while keeping in mind the fact that these merchants were already selling goods with profits of 200 to 300%, which meant now the black market money would not go to the merchants but to the government so that no extra profit would be made. Efforts were successful and the merchants eventually brought the prices down which ended up with the Law's abolishment.

#### **3.2.4. Agricultural Products Tax & Forced Labor (1944, no. 4553)**

Which put an initial 10% goods tax on agriculture and succeeded at 25%. However, the already near-starving farmers were mostly not able to afford paying these taxes due to the increased price with the taxes which resulted in them not being able to sell their goods, ending up with hundreds of thousands, even illegibly millions being forced into working forced labor in the construction of new motorways; turning Türkiye more and more into a statist and socialist government.

#### **3.2.5. Land Distribution Law (1945, no. 4753)**

Which aimed on giving landless peasants in countryside farmlands, opposing big landowners in an effort to increase state power and supporters in rural areas. Machiavelli's The Prince also supports disempowerment landlords and embracement of peasants as one of the most important steps to get higher control on a land. This was a theoretically successful policy, except for being out of date which led to its ignorance by many of the wealthy.

#### **3.2.6. Democratization Efforts (1946, no. 4918-20)**

(Political Amnesty Law, Law on Political Parties, Election Law Amendments)

Which released many political prisoners to foster controlled democratization. Then the formation of opposition parties was legalized after the Quadrumvirate Memorandum, and lastly adjusted voting age and technicalities but preserved the open vote, secret counting procedures. All these ways paved the way for the establishment of the Democrat Party, and foundation of democracy in the country.

### **3.3. World War 2**

#### **3.3.1. The Ideology**

Most of Inonu's reign was under the Second World War and its atmosphere. From 1939 to 1945, Inonu ruled the country with an iron fist in order to preserve it from the damage of getting into another World War, and to keep the country neutral at all costs. While his efforts were successful overall, they lacked the regionality of the policies which roused a huge hatred to Inonu during these years. As an example, he initially took sides with the Soviets and took an example from them, continuing the relations Kemal started. The increasing statism and socialism are examples of this. And in his last years, after WW2, it is openly seen of his alignment turning into the United States' and the Western Bloc. He established laws and embraced multi-party regime, getting closer to a Liberal government. Although these efforts were very last minute, and his party's foundations did not allow the ambience he might have wanted.

#### **3.3.2. Politics**

With the outbreak of WW2 in 1939, Operation Blitzkrieg, Türkiye went into a complete shock. The country only had 178.000 peacetime soldiers and 20.000 officer: making up 11 army corps, 23 divisions, and one armored brigade. The Airforce and navy technologies were alarming too, with having only 300 half modern aircraft and only a single battle cruiser, the Yavuz along with 4 destroyers, 6 submarines, and 3 minesweepers. Hence, Inonu had meeting after meeting with his cabinet and came to the conclusion of staying out of the war as long as possible.

First, they needed to become trade allies with foreign countries to increase their military's effectiveness. The allies found were England and France, whom Türkiye signed a tripartite alliance to deter Axis aggression. However, Inonu also stuck with his goals of staying neutral and did not declare war on the Third Reich. With the help and using the supplies from the pact, every soldier in service was extended for at least 2 years, taking the personnel count up to 1.3 million. Even though most of these soldiers were just basically trained, the manpower built a sort of trust.

Simultaneously, another factor was the Molotov - Ribbentrop between the Third Reich and Soviets. This was another occurrence that needed fast actions for Türkiye. Fearing the Soviet influence and empowerment in the Black Sea, Türkiye stood back from its half-allies, again becoming fully neutral. But being natural was also not enough, because despite not being affected by things like skyrocketing military expenditure and loss of manpower, Türkiye was still a victim of the war, not being able to do its import and exports. Because of this, Türkiye needed an ally, or at least, a safe door.



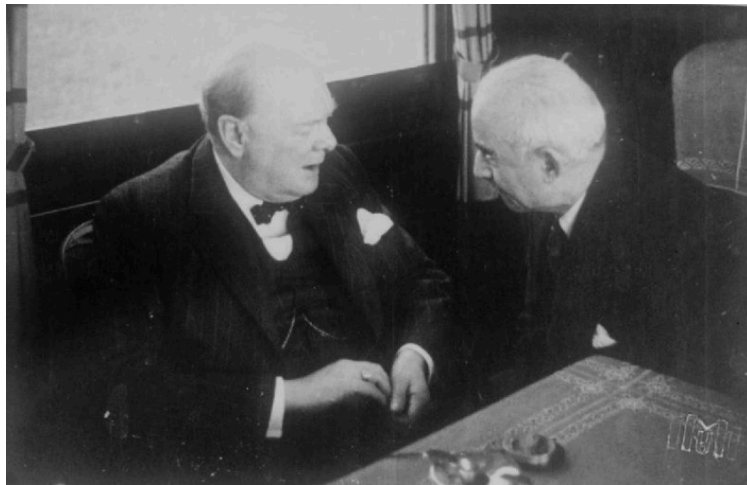
In June 1941, the long-awaited agreement was made; Türkiye and the Third Reich signed a nonaggression pact, and from now on, Türkiye would be exporting Chromium (a very important ore for the production of steel), and at the same time maintaining remaining neutral, now with the only possible danger being the West. During the following month, the Reich continued advancing in the Balkans and conquering Yugoslavia in 11 days and Greece in 21 days, coming border to border with Türkiye. These years were the most critical; the Parliament sessions became more and more tense, including long debates on Türkiye's desired side on the war.

While most -nearly all- of the Parliament was in favor of joining the Axis after Greece's fall, Inonu did not step back and kept holding the country back from war. After the full invasion of the Balkans, the Reich placed troops on Türkiye-Reich borders, increasing the tension even more, and getting Türkiye increasingly committed to the Armed Neutrality policies.

The following two years went by Türkiye keeping its state and continuing supplying Chromium to both sides until the Adana Conference of 30–31 January 1943 when the British Prime Minister, Churchill met with Inonu and urged Türkiye to join the war. Although he



parried Churchill by stating Türkiye's military equipment and inventory was underdeveloped



and needed support, which ended up with Türkiye taking aid from Britain to keep the relations warm, this was the starting point of the allied pressure on Türkiye, with Inonu's expectations becoming real about the Western Bloc.

On December 4, the Second Cairo Conference started, marking the

official pressure on Türkiye to join the Allies. Roosevelt and Churchill again suggested Inonu to join the war to possibly open a new front in Balkans, resulting in the Reich withdrawing army from the Eastern front and relocating them to Edirne, so that the Soviets could supply Türkiye from the east while it fought the Reich. Even though the offers were great enough to make any country accept; Inonu initially didn't show positivity about it. He again stated Türkiye was underdeveloped to fight Nazis and needed aid before possibly fighting. To overcome the problem, Roosevelt agreed to send aid to Türkiye under the agreement of reconsideration of Inonu after the aid. By the end of the Conference, Türkiye was clearly getting closer to the Allies, but it still did its best on maintaining neutrality. Chromium was still exported to the Reich and Allies, which resulted in Britain's stern warning against Türkiye's chromium transport to the Axis. This intervention of the British might have seemed needless, but the total exported amount was 250.000 tons, which is enough to produce 500.000 Panzers and 1.6 million aircrafts. Of course, the chromium was not spent all on a single expenditure; but it is safe to claim that without Türkiye's exports, the Reich could not make such strong defense nor offense. Considering this, the British warning and pressure were not even too much, and Inonu was forced to stop the exports and put an embargo on the Reich. By April 1944, Türkiye was shifting more and more towards the Allies.

The way Inonu folded under British pressure created a huge discomfort in the Parliament and caused many who were already hating on the British since WW1 to start supporting and advocating for the Axis. During the same time, Romania and Bulgaria held a really important role in the war. They both quit and joined the Allies, effectively ending Türkiye's diplomatic and economic ties with the Reich. Now on, Türkiye was shifting towards being an indirect

Axis supporter into an Ally. And finally on 23rd February 1945, Türkiye officially declared war on the Reich and Japanese Empire, making its way into the newly founded United Nations.

### **3.4. The Quadrumvirate Memorandum (4's Proposal)**

After the Reich's fall and Japan's surrender, the world was now getting into a completely new era. The intra-party opposition mentioned before, got bigger, eventually leading the parliament to have intra-party debates on many topics. With the rising atmosphere of liberalization and freedom spreading from the United States, the CHP opposition also sought reforms in the party to catch up to contemporary policies.

The officialization of their requests was by the Quadrumvirate Memorandum. On June 7th, 1945; Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan, Fuat Köprülü, and Adnan Menderes raised a motion during a CHP Parliamentary Group. Even though it did not directly aim for the transition to multi party politics, it had clauses concerning the government to be more responsible and accountable to the Turkish Greater Assembly, the reduction of tight state-party control, the establishment of a greater intra-party diplomacy and a few extra reforms.

The motion was immediately declined by the CHP Group, but it was the first time the opposers officially suggested. The fuse was ignited, and the bomb was going to go off anytime.

The following months were tense in Parliament. The opposition welcomed and Menderes and Köprülü's protests to the Group were topping it off. In the Autumn of 1945, they were tagged as dissidents and now being pressured to resign. Although Bayar and Koraltan stood away from the protests, they were not seen any different than Menderes and Köprülü at all.

On November 27th, 1945, Menderes, Koraltan and Köprülü were expelled from the Party. Bayar, being the last of the opposers, resigned from the Republican People's Party in December. With his resignation, the creation of an opposition was officialized, now the only thing left being the establishment of a party.

### 3.5. The Establishment of Democrat Party

Through late 1945, the four made a program promising respect for personal liberties, liberalization of economy, political pluralism, and the strengthening of parliament against executives. On January 7th, 1946, Democrat Party was founded in Ankara, legal registration under the Law on Political Parties (1945, no. 4819). Newspapers like Vatan and Yeni Şafak embraced it as a symbol of liberalization, and many audiences celebrated the day as the day they were finally politically represented. This spark of hope was felt all over the key cities.

Even in its early days, the party was getting more and more popular among the people, catching the attention of both landowners, businessmen, urban middle class, and villagers. Within only a few months, they became the main opposition and had fully founded structures in 12 provinces and 36 districts, getting ready for its first challenge, the 1946 elections.



## 4. Future Milestones

### 4.1. 1946 Elections

After the official foundation of the Democrat Party (DP), it became so popular and seen as a salvation among the public. However, to go against the Republican People's Party (CHP), the Democrat Party had to gain financial power to provide necessary sources. To solve this issue, Celal Bayar, later chosen as the first president of the Democrat Party, asked for help from the public. After his speech, the people poured into the Headquarters of the Democrat Party on Sumer Street. This event demonstrated the weariness of the Single-Party era.

After seeing the huge support given to the Democrat Party, CHP took some precautions. They gave students the right to organize, decentralized the universities, removed some restrictions, reduced some taxes that burdening villagers, granted an amnesty to press crimes and last but

not least, Ismet Inonu gave up his permanent president title to show the public that they were liberalizing as well. Alongside these actions, CHP decided to bring the elections forward by one year to catch DP off-guard. Furthermore, this action was preventing the DP from attracting more votes. The Democrat Party held an urgent meeting to criticize the current situation and upcoming elections, gathering delegates from every city. After the meeting, the Democrat Party decided to boycott local elections held in May, this caused some concerns that the multi-party structure would be broken once again. CHP supporters provoked this boycott and the tensions between two parties raised. Celal Bayar, who has many political experiences including being a Prime Minister, decided to attend the general elections to reduce the tension.

The people were thrilled by the participation of the Democrat Party in the elections, mainly due to it leading to multi-party democracy; they were flocking to Democratic Party's election rallies. Meanwhile, CHP did not stand still, they actively participated in the election campaigns with Ismet Inonu.

On July 21st, the first ballot box read on radio showed that the Democrat Party was getting the lead. However, as time went by, CHP took the lead and eventually they won the first multi-party election in the Republic of Türkiye. Yet, there were some rumors spreading that some votes in ballot boxes were changed during the counting process and fraud had been involved in the election. Hearing the events, DP headquarters' victory euphoria gave way to fury. They might still have lost because they did not have enough candidates to nominate but after elections, DP used these rumors as a tool for protest.

In the final, 62 parliamentary chairs out of 465 chairs were DP's. This conclusion was welcomed with joy on the DP side although they lost. The first DP parliamentarians' farewells practically turned into protests against the opposition. After parliamentarians arrived in Ankara, the Democrat Party arranged a meeting where they discussed the future stance of the DP against CHP and the new program of the party. Additionally, some parliamentarians suggested the concept of "Sine-i Millet" referred not only to returning people and continuing their fight for democracy, but also DP's walkout from Parliament as a political demonstration. However, Celal Bayar fully rejected the suggestion, explaining the destructive side of the method to democracy.

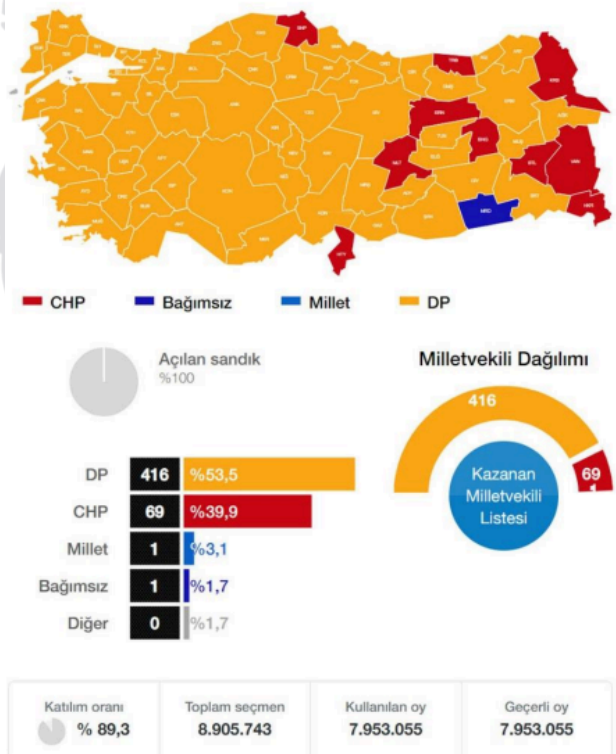


After all, the time for the first parliamentary session after the elections had arrived. Between two candidates, Ismet Inonu and Fevzi Cakmak, Ismet Inonu had been chosen as Head of State. Following this, Ismet Inonu came to the parliament with his official Head of State title. Unexpectedly, while CHP parliamentarians were standing up and applauding Ismet Inonu as he entered the parliament, DP parliamentarians refrained from standing up and applauding, emphasizing the parliament's supremacy over individuals. After the session, when Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes along with some other members of the party were heading out, they encountered a crowd pouring into Ulus Square. The famous slogan, “Yeter, söz milletindir!” meaning “Enough, people have the say!”, were chanted for the first time there along with other cheers.



## 4.2. Transition of Power

The 1950 general elections marked one of the most significant milestones in the history of the Turkish Republic, ending the twenty-seven-year dominance of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and opening the way for the Democrat Party (DP) to come to power. During the election campaign, the CHP misread the political atmosphere. The large crowds that filled their rallies gave them the false impression that they still enjoyed overwhelming public support and would easily secure victory. Yet the reality was different. When election day came and the votes began to be counted on the evening of 14 May 1950, optimism at CHP headquarters soon gave way



to despair. As telephone calls from across the country reported the results, the initial atmosphere of celebration quickly turned into disappointment and even shock: the Democrat Party was winning a decisive victory.

In the days following the election, Celal Bayar, soon to be the new president, visited İsmet İnönü. Although İnönü immediately offered to step aside, Bayar asked for a short period of transition. On 20 May 1950, the newly elected DP deputies gathered in parliament. Most of them had never met each other before, and the atmosphere was one of enthusiasm and excitement as colleagues congratulated one another and exchanged greetings with strangers who had suddenly become political comrades. On the same day, the party held its internal meeting to allocate positions. Although Adnan Menderes had privately suggested to Bayar that Fuat Köprülü should be appointed as prime minister, Bayar overruled the recommendation and chose Menderes himself for the office.

On 22 May 1950, the CHP held its last group meeting as the governing party. A sense of melancholy pervaded the room, and İnönü, with remarkable calm, congratulated his colleagues one final time before bringing the meeting to a close. Shortly afterward, Refik Koraltan was elected Speaker of the Assembly, and the first Menderes cabinet was formed. However, many DP members expressed dissatisfaction with this initial cabinet, arguing that it was composed only of well-known figures and neglected the loyal party members who had worked tirelessly during the struggle for power. Recognizing this criticism, Menderes soon dissolved the cabinet and restructured it. On 29 May, he read out the government program in parliament.

Only days later, on 5 June, while receiving visitors congratulating him on his new role, Menderes was interrupted by an urgent message from a colonel who warned him of coup preparations against the new government. Alarmed, Menderes immediately convened an emergency meeting. After intense deliberations, the Chief of General Staff was dismissed in order to neutralize the threat. This early incident reflected the fragility of the young multi-party order and the uncertainties surrounding the transition of power.

One of the first symbolic reforms was turning Ezan into Arabic back. Menderes strongly advocated this step, but Bayar initially rejected it. Feeling his authority diminished, Menderes even submitted his resignation. Bayar, however, swiftly withdrew the resignation and

supported the measure, thereby legalizing the return of the Arabic Ezan. This episode not only boosted DP's popularity but also symbolized the shift from CHP's secular revolutionary identity to DP's more conservative and religion-friendly outlook.

The Democrat Party also sought to erase many of İnönü's personal symbols of power. His white train, once reserved for official use, was opened to the public; his portrait was removed from banknotes; and even his private headset in the state concert hall was abolished. These actions were widely interpreted as attempts to weaken CHP's legacy in the eyes of the people. Meanwhile, the CHP convened its 8th Party Congress on 29 June 1950. İnönü was once again elected chairman, and on the proposal of Kasım Gülek, the party resolved to restore its image as a true "people's party."

International developments soon reshaped domestic politics. On 25 June 1950, the Korean War broke out. Eager to strengthen ties with the West, Turkey seized the opportunity by sending troops to Korea. This decision accelerated Turkey's integration with the Western bloc, eventually securing entry into NATO in 1952. Moreover, American assistance through the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan boosted the economy. By 1953, Turkey ranked fourth in the world in wheat production. Yet economic challenges remained. The Seyhan Dam, a key infrastructure project, required substantial funding. When Turkey applied to the IMF for credit, the request was denied—possibly out of fear that Turkey would become a competitor to the U.S. in cotton production. Eventually, with American mediation, a smaller loan was granted, allowing the project to proceed.

The government pursued further economic and legal reforms, passing the Foreign Capital Encouragement Law and the Petroleum Law to attract investment. At the same time, a new Press Law was enacted, initially presenting a conciliatory stance toward the media. DP's popularity peaked in the municipal elections of late 1950, when it won an overwhelming victory: out of approximately 600 municipalities controlled by the CHP, around 560 shifted to the DP.

Still, tensions with the opposition intensified. By 1952, the issue of "unjust enrichment" (Haksız İktisap) became a major source of conflict. The DP claimed that CHP had unfairly accumulated assets during its years in power and sought to confiscate them for the state. This provoked fierce debates in parliament, with heated confrontations between Menderes and

İnönü. Their rivalry reached a symbolic peak on 10 November 1953, when Atatürk's remains were transferred to Anıtkabir.

The strained relationship between the two leaders was visible, as they could hardly look each other in the eye. During these discussions, İnönü accused the government with the famous words, “You are acting with the anxiety of the guilty” (Suçluların telaşı içerisindeyiz). Menderes,



visibly angered, responded bluntly: “Paşa, enough. Take your hands off the people.” (Paşa, yeter artık. Düş bu milletin yakasından).

By 1954, the divide between the DP and CHP had become sharper than ever. While the DP strengthened its hold on power, the CHP struggled to redefine its role in the new political landscape. The period from 1950 to 1954 not only marked DP's consolidation as the ruling party but also set the stage for the deepening polarization that would shape Turkish politics in the years ahead.

#### **4.3. Authoritarian Drift**

The years between 1954 and 1957 represented a turbulent chapter in Turkish politics, marked by increasing authoritarian tendencies within the Democrat Party (DP), worsening economic conditions, and growing discontent both in society and within state institutions. Following its overwhelming victory in the 1954 elections, the DP initially appeared stronger than ever. Yet, the years that followed would reveal deepening cracks between the government, the opposition, the press, and even the military.

One of the most visible developments during this period was Turkey's foreign relations, particularly with the United States. President Celal Bayar's official visits to America aimed to reinforce the alliance and to secure financial assistance for Turkey's economic modernization



projects. Soon after, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes also traveled to Washington, where he was warmly welcomed, symbolizing the close ties between the two nations. However, beneath the surface of this cordial relationship lay economic tensions. The Turkish government requested a loan of 300 million dollars, but the U.S. provided only 30 million. The decision was partly influenced by reports from the IMF's office in Ankara, which warned Washington that the Turkish economy was in decline and at risk of entering a serious crisis. The disappointment of receiving only a fraction of the requested amount revealed the limits of American support and marked the beginning of Turkey's financial struggles.

Upon returning home, Menderes took a harsher stance against the opposition. Provinces that had given significant support to CHP in the elections were effectively "punished." Some provinces were downgraded to districts, and new laws were introduced that placed heavier restrictions on the press. Journalists faced harsh penalties, and critical newspapers were targeted. Observers noted that the DP no longer resembled the vibrant, reformist party that had once represented hope for democracy. Instead, it increasingly mirrored the repressive style of the old single-party era. These measures also disturbed the military, which had supported democratic reforms but was now unsettled by the government's growing authoritarianism.

Civil-military relations became particularly strained over judicial issues. Minister of Defense Refik Şevket İnce proposed that military officers should be tried in the same courts as civilians, a suggestion rejected outright by the top commanders. Sensing the rising tension, Menderes dismissed İnce from office. His replacement, Seyfi Kurtbek, advanced another significant idea: separating the Ministry of Defense from the Chief of General Staff to ensure a more balanced structure. Although Bayar and Menderes initially approved the proposal, Menderes delayed its implementation, prompting Kurtbek's resignation. Over the following months, a total of four different ministers rotated through the Defense portfolio, signaling instability. Meanwhile, though the government remained unaware, discontent within the armed forces was leading to the slow formation of clandestine groups, including an embryonic "coup committee" that began to recruit officers according to strict criteria.

In early 1955, a brief moment of political relaxation was observed as ruling and opposition figures showed signs of reconciliation. Yet this atmosphere quickly deteriorated. In May 1955, journalist Metin Toker, editor of *Akis* magazine and the son-in-law of İsmet İnönü,

attracted considerable attention. His sharp writings heightened tensions between the press and the government. Around the same time, another journalist, Cüneyt Arcayürek, was arrested for insulting the prime minister. By then, press censorship and prosecutions had become widespread, drawing criticism from across the political spectrum.

The DP also faced internal fractures. In the spring of 1955, allegations of corruption were raised against certain ministers. Some DP deputies proposed an investigation law to allow proper inquiry. Fearing that such legislation would unleash an uncontrollable wave of accusations, Menderes blocked the proposal. The nineteen deputies who had signed it were expelled from the party and soon established the Liberty Party (Hürriyet Partisi), further fragmenting the political scene.

Economically, by mid-1955, the situation had become dire. Inflation soared, black-market activities spread, and shortages plagued daily life. Public frustration erupted into violence in Istanbul's suburbs, spreading along major streets such as Hürriyet Avenue. The disturbances escalated into widespread looting and chaos, forcing the government to deploy tanks to restore order. Though the unrest was eventually suppressed, the scale of destruction shocked the leadership. Witnessing the turmoil, Bayar, Menderes, and their colleagues were deeply troubled. Istanbul Governor Fahrettin Kerim Gökay resigned, followed by Interior Minister Namık Gedik, reflecting the magnitude of the crisis.

The crisis deepened on 22 November 1955, when discontent within the DP parliamentary group reached a climax. During a single four-hour session, thirty deputies took the floor, voicing sharp criticisms of the government. Their aim was nothing less than to force the collapse of Menderes's cabinet. Under heavy pressure, the ministers of Trade, Finance, and Foreign Affairs submitted their resignations. Faced with such a wave of discontent, Menderes himself prepared to step down. However, close allies, particularly Mükerrerrem Sarol, persuaded him to reconsider, warning that his resignation would plunge the country into political chaos. Although Menderes ultimately withdrew his resignation, the unity of the ruling party was badly shaken. Even Bayar and Refik Koraltan, in private conversations, admitted that the government was steering dangerously close to the edge of a political abyss.

By the end of 1955, it was clear that the honeymoon of DP's power had ended. The economic downturn, the heavy-handed treatment of the opposition, internal fractures, and growing

alienation of the military all signaled that the political atmosphere of Turkey had fundamentally changed. The years leading up to 1957 would bring even sharper polarization, laying the groundwork for the deep crises that awaited the Turkish Republic in the late 1950s.

#### **4.4. 1957 Elections and Political Tension**

After the 1954 elections, the Democrat Party (DP) consolidated its control over Turkish politics. Yet, instead of softening its stance, the government became increasingly intolerant of criticism. This tension culminated in the mid-1950s, when both public unrest and opposition resistance grew stronger.

On April 10, 1956, Adnan Menderes gave a highly confrontational speech during a rally in Gaziantep, marking the beginning of a new wave of political conflict. Soon after, the DP introduced a restrictive press law, banning all writings that might encourage negative opinions about public officials. This measure was used to silence dissent: more than twenty judges, including the President of the Council of State and the Chief Public Prosecutor, were forced into retirement, and many journalists were imprisoned. Among them was Metin Toker, the son-in-law of İsmet İnönü, which intensified public outrage

Repression deepened with the introduction of the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations, which prohibited almost all protests and political gatherings. When Republican People's Party (CHP) Secretary General Kasım Gülek attempted to continue his political tours despite the ban, he was arrested. Similarly, Osman Bölükbaşı, leader of the Republican Nation Party (CMP), was also imprisoned. The silencing of key opposition figures revealed the DP's determination to eliminate political challenges rather than compete on equal terms.

The authoritarian direction of the government alarmed not only opposition politicians but also leading members of the DP itself. Fuat Köprülü, one of the party's founding figures, resigned, declaring that he no longer recognized the movement he had helped build. He warned that Menderes's leadership was taking Turkey toward a dangerous path and called for urgent restraint. Meanwhile, the opposition parties—CHP, CMP, and the Freedom Party (HP)—began exploring the idea of forming a united front against DP dominance. The

government, however, responded with legislation designed to prevent such coalitions, further undermining democratic pluralism.

The year 1957 saw one of the most intense political climates of the decade. Both Menderes and İnönü delivered sharp speeches to large crowds, demonstrating the deep polarization of Turkish society. The general elections were scheduled for October 27, 1957, and anticipation ran high. Yet, the process was marred by irregularities: before voting had officially ended, state radio prematurely announced DP victories in several regions. This broadcasting, which suggested an inevitable outcome, was criticized for influencing undecided voters. The CHP lodged complaints, and the broadcasts were eventually stopped. Despite these controversies, the DP once again emerged as the winner.

Following the elections, Turkey faced severe economic difficulties. Shortages, rising inflation, growing debt burdens, and shrinking foreign currency reserves created frustration across the population. In an attempt to stabilize the economy, Menderes implemented a sudden devaluation: the value of the lira dropped from 2.8 to 9 per dollar, a threefold decrease. While this move was intended to ease the balance of payments crisis, it struck at the pride of the military, which viewed the lira as a symbol of national sovereignty, and imposed heavy costs on ordinary citizens already struggling with living expenses.

Meanwhile, rumors of conspiracies against the government circulated within the armed forces. Dissident officers sought potential leaders, even approaching Minister of Defense Şemi Ergin with a proposal. Ergin refused, but their activities came to light when Major Samet Kuşçu reported the existence of a clandestine group, presenting a list of nine officers allegedly involved. Among them was Faruk Güventürk, identified as the leader. Menderes convened an emergency meeting, during which Ergin downplayed the threat. Nevertheless, Güventürk was arrested, and the group quickly disbanded. Nine officers were detained, but later acquitted in court, leaving only Kuşçu punished with two years in prison for “false denunciation.” This decision frustrated President Celal Bayar, who recognized the seriousness of the situation and had urged stronger action. In contrast, Menderes seemed unwilling to confront the underlying unrest within the military.

International developments further increased instability. On July 15, 1958, Bayar and Menderes were at Ankara airport awaiting the arrival of Iraq’s King Faisal II and Prime



Minister Nuri al-Said, key allies within the Baghdad Pact. Instead, they received shocking news: a coup in Iraq had resulted in the deaths of both leaders. This event not only demonstrated the fragility of regional politics but also left Turkey without a crucial partner. For Menderes, the episode served as a stark reminder of how quickly regimes could collapse. Later that year, he began openly warning of plots against his government, even hinting that opponents would face the gallows if they tried to overthrow him.

In January 1959, the CHP held its 14th Party Congress, signaling a shift in strategy. No longer content with defensive politics, the party adopted an assertive stance and issued the “Declaration of the First Goals.” This manifesto demanded a neutral president, judicial independence, freedom of the press, the creation of a second legislative chamber, and the establishment of a Constitutional Court. These demands highlighted the opposition’s attempt to build a vision of democracy in contrast to the DP’s authoritarian drift.

Menderes responded by establishing the “Vatan Cephesi” (Fatherland Front), a movement that gathered DP supporters into local branches and broadcast their names daily on state radio. This created a climate of pressure and division, as families and communities were symbolically split between those who joined and those who did not. Instead of calming tensions, the initiative further polarized society and deepened the sense that Turkey was heading toward a breaking point.

By the end of the 1950s, it was clear that political life in Turkey had entered a critical stage. The opposition was becoming more united, the economy was weakening, the military was increasingly restless, and the government was responding with repression rather than reform. The warnings of figures like Köprülü and Bayar went largely unheeded, and Menderes’s reliance on heavy-handed measures alienated both allies and critics. This combination of domestic unrest, economic hardship, and external shocks gradually set the stage for the dramatic events that would unfold at the beginning of the next decade.

#### **4.5. 1960 Coup d'État (27 May 1960)**

As the year 1960 began, political and social tensions in Turkey had reached an unprecedented level. The Democrat Party (DP), in power since 1950, was facing increasing criticism from opposition parties, intellectuals, students, and the military. Economic difficulties, including rising inflation, shortages of foreign currency, and growing debt burdens, created widespread discontent. At the same time, the government continued to pass restrictive laws targeting the press and opposition, which only fueled polarization. By early 1960, the relationship between the ruling party and its opponents had turned into open hostility.

In January and February, the press frequently reported on strained parliamentary debates where Prime Minister Adnan Menderes defended his government against accusations of corruption and authoritarianism. Opposition deputies, especially from the Republican People's Party (CHP), warned that democracy was being eroded. Outside parliament, university students increasingly voiced dissatisfaction, criticizing both economic hardships and restrictions on civil liberties. Demonstrations began to erupt, often suppressed by police, which heightened the sense of political crisis.

By March 1960, the atmosphere grew darker. Rumors spread about growing dissatisfaction within the armed forces, particularly among younger officers who were disturbed by political repression and the deteriorating economy. These rumors, though not openly confirmed, were a sign of the military's increasing involvement in political life. Meanwhile, Menderes continued to organize mass rallies in Anatolian cities, trying to demonstrate that the DP still enjoyed popular support. His speeches often contained sharp attacks on the opposition, which widened the divide.

The turning point came in April 1960. On April 18, the Democrat Party majority in parliament established a special committee, later known as the "Investigation Commission," tasked with examining the activities of the opposition and the press. The commission was granted extraordinary powers, including the authority to ban publications, close newspapers, and interrogate political figures. This move was widely seen as unconstitutional and provoked outrage. CHP deputies staged protests, and İnönü warned that such steps would lead the country to disaster.

Tensions spilled onto the streets by late April. On April 28, students in Istanbul organized demonstrations against the government, chanting slogans in favor of democracy and freedom. The police intervened harshly, and clashes left several students injured and at least one dead. The following day, similar protests erupted in Ankara, where soldiers were called in to restore order. The image of the army facing students shocked public opinion and showed the depth of the crisis. The government declared martial law in both cities, but unrest did not subside.

In May, the situation became unsustainable. Menderes continued his political tours, but his rhetoric grew harsher, warning that those conspiring against the government would be punished. At the same time, student protests gained momentum, and sympathy for them spread among segments of the armed forces. High-ranking commanders tried to maintain



discipline, yet younger officers increasingly believed that only an intervention could save the Republic.

The final days before the coup were marked by growing uncertainty. The Investigation Commission intensified its activities, fueling fears that the opposition might soon be silenced completely. On May 21, a remarkable event occurred: a large group of military cadets marched silently through Ankara in protest, a signal that discontent within the armed forces had become impossible to ignore. Although the government downplayed the incident, it revealed that opposition to the DP now extended deep into the military ranks.

Finally, on the night of May 26–27, a group of officers led by the National Unity Committee acted. Early on the morning of May 27, 1960, tanks and troops occupied strategic locations in Ankara and Istanbul. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, President Celal Bayar, and other leading Democrat Party figures were arrested. The army announced over the radio that it had taken control to “restore democracy and protect Atatürk’s principles.” The decade-long rule

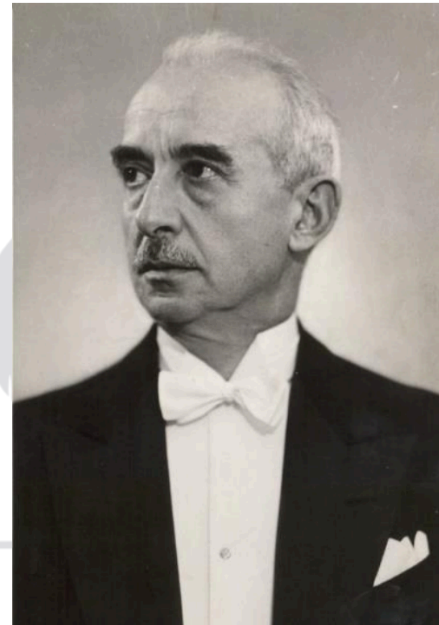
of the Democrat Party ended in a sudden and dramatic fashion, marking one of the most significant turning points in modern Turkish political history.

## **5. Characters Matrix**

### **5.1. Republican People's Party (CHP)**

#### **5.1.1. İsmet İnönü**

İsmet İnönü was born on September 24, 1884, in İzmir, then part of the Ottoman Empire. He graduated from the Ottoman Military Academy in 1903 and later completed his studies at the Ottoman War College, receiving advanced military training. İnönü started his military career as a junior officer and quickly rose through the ranks, participating in several campaigns during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and World War I. His organizational skills, discipline, and strategic thinking gained him recognition among his superiors.



After the Ottoman defeat in World War I, İnönü joined the Turkish National Movement led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He played a crucial role in organizing the army during the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1922), serving as Chief of the General Staff in the Eastern Front and later leading military operations in various regions. İnönü's leadership contributed significantly to the eventual victory of the National Forces and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

Following the proclamation of the Republic, İnönü transitioned into politics. He was elected as a deputy for Erzurum in the first parliamentary elections and soon became a close confidant of Atatürk. İnönü served as the Minister of the Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and eventually as Prime Minister from 1923 to 1924, and again in several terms until 1937. His tenure was marked by efforts to stabilize the young republic, implement reforms, and maintain secular and nationalist principles.

After Atatürk's death in 1938, İnönü was elected as the second President of Turkey. During his presidency (1938–1950), he led the country through World War II with a careful policy of neutrality, navigating complex international pressures while protecting Turkey's sovereignty. İnönü was known for his pragmatic approach, balancing modernization and national security, and for his calm and measured leadership style, which earned him the nickname "Milli Şef" (National Chief). İnönü also played a key role in transitioning Turkey to a multi-party system in 1946, overseeing the first multiparty elections and ensuring stability during the initial years of political liberalization.

*Ideologically, he was a staunch republican, a supporter of secularism, and a cautious reformist, combining nationalism with moderation and a strong sense of legal and institutional order. Throughout his career, İnönü was respected for his calm demeanor, strategic thinking, and dedication to the Republic's principles.*

### **5.1.2. Kasım Gülek**

Kasım Gülek was born on January 7, 1905, in Tarsus, then part of the Ottoman Empire. He graduated from Robert College in Istanbul and later completed his studies in the United States, specializing in political science and public administration. After returning to Turkey, he began his career in civil service, working in various administrative roles that gave him insight into the workings of government and politics.



Gülek entered politics as a member of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and quickly rose through its ranks due to his organizational skills and ability to communicate effectively with both the public and party members. He was first elected as a deputy in the 1940s, representing Mersin, and became known for his energetic campaign style and talent for mobilizing support at both local and national levels.



During the 1950s, as the Democrat Party (DP) challenged CHP's long-standing dominance, Gülek emerged as a key figure in the opposition, advocating for democratic principles, civil liberties, and the protection of political rights. He was deeply involved in coordinating the party's responses to restrictive laws and government pressure, earning respect as a steadfast and pragmatic leader.

Kasım Gülek served as the Secretary General of CHP and later as its chairman, playing a central role in the party's efforts to modernize and appeal to a broader electorate. He was known for his calm yet determined approach, emphasizing dialogue, party unity, and strategic planning.

***Ideologically,** Gülek was a committed democrat and nationalist, seeking to strengthen parliamentary democracy and maintain the secular principles of the Turkish Republic. Throughout his career, he gained recognition as a skilled organizer, a persuasive speaker, and a loyal party member who consistently worked to uphold the rule of law and protect the rights of citizens. Kasım Gülek remained active in Turkish politics until his death in 1996, leaving behind a legacy of dedication to democratic governance and political integrity.*

### 5.1.3. Altan Öymen

Altan Öymen was born on September 14, 1932, in Istanbul, Turkey. He graduated from Robert College and then pursued higher education in political science and journalism. Early in his career, he worked as a journalist and political analyst, contributing to several prominent newspapers and magazines, which allowed him to gain deep insight into Turkey's political landscape and public opinion.



Öymen entered active politics as a member of the Republican People's Party (CHP) during the 1960s, a period of political transition and reconstruction following the 1960 military coup. He became known for his sharp analytical skills, eloquence, and commitment to democratic principles. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Öymen held various positions within

the party, including serving as an advisor, deputy, and later as party spokesperson, helping to modernize CHP's communication strategy and strengthen its organizational structure.

In the 1990s, Altan Öymen rose to prominence as the chairman of the CHP, emphasizing party unity, reform, and engagement with civil society. He was recognized for balancing pragmatism with strong ideological commitment, promoting social democracy, and advocating for human rights and political transparency. Öymen also continued his work in journalism and authored several books on political history and Turkish democracy, contributing to public understanding of the country's political evolution.

***Ideologically,** Altan Öymen is a staunch supporter of secularism, democracy, and the rule of law, blending liberal and nationalist perspectives to guide his political and professional career. His calm, analytical, and diplomatic style allowed him to navigate complex political challenges while remaining a respected figure in both journalism and politics.*

#### **5.1.4. Nihat Erim**

Nihat Erim was born on April 19, 1912, in Istanbul, then part of the Ottoman Empire. He graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law and continued his studies in France, specializing in public law at the University of Paris. During his time in France, he developed a deep understanding of constitutional and administrative law, which later became the foundation of his legal and political career. After returning to Turkey, Erim worked as a legal advisor and joined the academic staff at Istanbul University, teaching law and earning recognition for his analytical and methodical approach.



In the 1940s, he entered public service, taking on various legal and bureaucratic roles that provided him with firsthand experience in governance, legislative processes, and policy-making. He became actively involved in shaping Turkey's legal and political structures during the early multi-party period, where his moderate and pragmatic approach

earned him respect among colleagues and political leaders alike. His calm and analytical nature allowed him to mediate complex disputes and offer solutions to political and administrative challenges, balancing the needs of the state with the principles of the Turkish Republic.

In the 1960s, Erim expanded his influence internationally by serving as a diplomat and advisor, strengthening his reputation as a skilled negotiator capable of representing Turkey in delicate political and legal matters. Throughout his career, he maintained a careful balance between law, politics, and administration, advising party leaders and contributing to legislative and policy developments with precision and insight.

*Ideologically, he was a moderate technocrat and a loyal supporter of the Turkish Republic's principles, emphasizing the importance of legal reform, administrative efficiency, and pragmatic problem-solving during periods of political tension. His expertise in law, experience in governance, and measured temperament allowed him to navigate some of the most critical challenges of modern Turkish history, earning him recognition and respect from both his peers and the broader public.*

### 5.1.5. Metin Toker

Metin Toker was born in 1924 in Istanbul, then part of the Republic of Turkey. He graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law, but early on he chose journalism as his main career path, combining his legal knowledge with a sharp political analysis. In the 1940s and 1950s, Toker became known for his investigative reporting, covering both the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Democrat Party (DP) during a critical period of Turkey's transition to multi-party democracy.



Toker's career was marked by his dedication to press freedom and critical journalism. He frequently reported on political developments, party strategies, and government policies, offering clear insights to the public. His ability to present complex political events in an accessible and accurate manner earned him respect among readers and politicians alike.

Despite his close personal connection to the political elite through his marriage to İsmet İnönü's daughter, Toker maintained an independent and critical perspective, avoiding partisan bias while emphasizing accountability and transparency.

During the mid-1950s, Toker faced political pressure as his writings criticized authoritarian tendencies and restrictions on the press implemented by the ruling party. He remained committed to his principles, reporting on legal, administrative, and political issues while advocating for democracy, freedom of expression, and the rule of law. His work often served as a bridge between the public and the political sphere, providing informed commentary that shaped public opinion during periods of intense political tension.

*Ideologically, Toker was a liberal nationalist who supported democratic institutions and valued legal frameworks as essential for governance. He balanced his political insight with journalistic integrity, ensuring that his analyses were not only informative but also fair and grounded in evidence. His calm and analytical approach, combined with his personal connections and professional expertise, made him a significant figure in Turkey's mid-20th century political and journalistic landscape, contributing to both public discourse and the development of modern Turkish media.*

#### **5.1.6. Hasan Ali Yücel**

Hasan Ali Yücel was one of the most prominent intellectuals, educators, and statesmen of the early Turkish Republic, remembered both for his long career in public service and his deep influence on cultural and educational reforms. Born in Istanbul, he studied philosophy and literature at Istanbul University and later worked as a teacher, inspector, and administrator in the Ministry of Education. His strong literary background and advocacy for humanist education shaped his political trajectory.





Yücel entered politics with the Republican People's Party (CHP) and was elected to parliament in the 1930s. He quickly rose to prominence and was appointed Minister of National Education in 1938, a position he held until 1946. During his tenure, he became the architect of one of the most ambitious cultural programs in modern Turkish history. He founded the Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüleri) to educate rural teachers, expanded public schooling, and oversaw the translation of hundreds of world classics into Turkish, making global literature accessible to ordinary citizens. These reforms reflected his belief that democracy and modernization could not be achieved without an enlightened, educated public.

After stepping down in 1946, he continued as a deputy in parliament until the late 1940s, when the CHP entered opposition. Though less active in executive politics afterward, Yücel remained a respected intellectual voice, publishing works on philosophy, literature, and education. In the multiparty era, he defended the republican and secular principles of the state while warning against populism and political polarization.

*Ideologically, Hasan Ali Yücel was a humanist reformer and republican intellectual, dedicated to secularism, enlightenment, and cultural modernization. He believed education was the foundation of democracy and social progress, and his legacy as an educator-statesman continues to be central to modern Turkey's cultural memory.*

#### **5.1.7. Kazım Özalp**

Kasım Özalp was a Turkish military officer, politician, and one of the important statesmen of the early Republic who remained active until the late 1950s. A graduate of the Ottoman Military Academy, he served in the Balkan Wars and World War I, later joining Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during the Turkish War of Independence. His loyalty and leadership made him a trusted figure within the founding cadre of the Republic.



After the establishment of the Republic, Özalp entered politics as a member of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and became a deputy in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM). He quickly rose in prominence, holding significant roles such as Minister of National Defense (1924–1925, 1927–1930) and later serving as Speaker



of the Grand National Assembly (1935–1939). These positions established him as one of the senior political figures of the single-party period, deeply involved in both military and civilian governance.

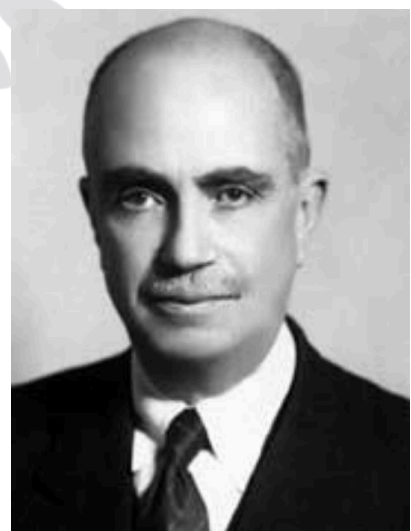
In the transition to multi-party life after 1946, Özalp remained a steadfast member of the CHP, supporting İsmet İnönü's leadership. Though his ministerial influence had diminished by then, he continued as a parliamentary deputy and acted as a respected elder statesman within the party. He often provided historical perspective and legitimacy to the CHP in the face of rising opposition, particularly from the Democrat Party (DP). His presence in the Assembly during the heated debates of the late 1940s and 1950s symbolized continuity between the founding generation and the multiparty era.

During the DP's dominance in the 1950s, Özalp maintained his loyalty to the CHP, contributing to parliamentary opposition efforts. By the time of the 1960 military coup, he was seen as part of the veteran Kemalist political class that had shaped the Republic's foundations and kept its principles alive during turbulent democratic experiments.

*Ideologically, Kasım Özalp embodied Kemalist and republican ideals, emphasizing secularism, national sovereignty, and strong state institutions. He was cautious yet firm in defending the CHP's values against the DP's populist policies, and by 1960, he was regarded as one of the elder statesmen safeguarding the continuity of the Republic's founding spirit.*

#### **5.1.8. Naci Tınaz**

Naci Tınaz was a Turkish military officer and politician who played a significant role both in the late Ottoman military and the early Republic. A graduate of the Ottoman Military Academy, he fought in the Balkan Wars and World War I, later joining Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during the Turkish War of Independence. He earned distinction as a disciplined and loyal commander, which paved the way for his later entry into political life.



After the proclamation of the Republic, Tınaz continued to serve in senior military posts, eventually reaching the rank of General. His transition to politics came after his retirement from the army, when he joined the Republican People's Party (CHP). As a deputy, he represented his constituency in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) and contributed to parliamentary debates on defense, security, and modernization, drawing from his extensive military background.

During the critical years of the transition to multi-party politics, Tınaz remained a staunch supporter of the CHP, aligning himself with İsmet İnönü's policies of cautious democratization while safeguarding the state's secular and unitary structure. Unlike some former military men who shifted toward the opposition, Tınaz stayed loyal to the CHP and was considered a figure of continuity and stability. His reputation as a war veteran and respected officer gave him authority in parliamentary discussions and within the party ranks.

By the 1950s, during the dominance of the Democrat Party (DP), Tınaz served as one of the senior CHP deputies providing criticism of government policies, particularly regarding civil-military relations and democratic practices. His presence symbolized the bridge between the founding military cadre of the Republic and the civilian political arena of the multiparty era.

***Ideologically,** Naci Tınaz's political stance was shaped by Kemalist principles, emphasizing secularism, republicanism, and state authority. He believed in the importance of military discipline and national unity within a democratic framework. Between 1946 and 1960, he emerged as one of the veteran figures of the CHP, representing both the military legacy of the War of Independence and the party's enduring commitment to republican values.*

## 5.2. Democrat Party (DP)

### 5.2.1. Celal Bayar

Mahmut Celal Bayar was born in Gemlik, Bursa, on 16 May 1883. He attended local schools in Bursa for his primary education and joined the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihad ve Terakki Fırkası) in 1907 which started his journey in politics. After the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, he took roles in the Committee for administration and commerce. The following years were the rise-to-power era of CUP, after the 1913 coup against Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha, the Committee started openly ruling the country. While simultaneously being a member of the CUP, Bayar was appointed as manager of Deutsche Orientbank's Bursa branch. This helped him gain a significant influence in trade and finance.



While Bayar did not personally join World War I, he supported the army using his influence over trade and took initiatives for war efforts. With the defeat of Ottoman Empire, he aligned himself with the groups preparing for resistance, and he joined the National Forces (Kuva-yı Milliye) right after the Greek Occupation of Izmir. In April 1920, he was elected as deputy of Saruhan (Manisa) in the Grand National Assembly. Between 1920 and 1922, he assisted in logistical and financial support of the Western Front.

In the Second Term of the Grand National Assembly, he was re-elected and appointed as Minister of Economy to implement liberalization, industrialization, and modernization policies. During his duty, he promoted the First Five-Year Industrial Plan which was an economic planning modeled on Soviet economy and focused on goods like sugar, cotton, textiles, and paper. In 1933, he oversaw SümerBank's establishment, which became an important figure in Türkiye's economy in the following years as a state-owned bank. He encouraged the foundation of EtiBank and MKE which were establishments to strengthen Türkiye's heavy industry and defense production.

He adopted a new roadmap in 1935 and started campaign for nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises in Türkiye. While this fostered national production and increase in national income, is also brought a problem: etatism.

Etatism, aka. Statism was one of the biggest controversies faced during the late-foundation era of Turkish Republic. From late thirties to sixties, etatism was debated and argued so often that it caused political parties to establish and dismiss.

Etatism also caused Bayar to start being opposed in Parliament. While he was a supporter of moderate etatism, he also advocated for the private enterprises and their benefits. He now had an increasing tension with right-wing statists of CHP.

After Inonu's resignation on September 1937, he was appointed as the last Prime Minister of Kemal due to his pragmatic and visionary ideas. With Kemal's death on 1938 and Inonu becoming the Second President of Türkiye, he resigned from his duty but stood as a deputy.

He actively took part of intra-party oppositions and met with Köprülü, Koralan, and Menderes during these years. He submitted the Quadrumvirate Memorandum and became Democrat Party's cofounder and first Chairman after its establishment.

***Ideology:** He was a pragmatic moderated estatist who saw the need for privatization yet also supported authority over market. He advocated for national economy and was a conservative libertarian who took example of Western countries and implemented them under his rule with local vision.*

### **5.2.2. Adnan Menderes**

Ali Adnan Ertekin Menderes was born in Aydın, 1899. He took primary education in his village and then enrolled in Şirinyer American College. His family was one of the very wealthiest landowning families of Aydın. Although he took reserve officer education for World War 1, he could not go to the front due to contracting malaria.



From 1916 to 1922, he attended Istanbul University Law Faculty and returned to Aydın right after he graduated to practice privately. During the following years, he gained respect as an honorable local lawyer and as a person with vision.

In his early thirties, Free Republican Party (SCF) offered him to be their Aydın Branch provincial manager which he uncertainly accepted due to his wife, Berrin Menderes's negative stance about him getting into politics. After the party was dismissed only in a few months, Kemal started a trip around the Western provinces to take the people's pulses regarding the dissolution.

When Kemal arrived Aydın on 3 February 1931, he was planning to pay the shortest visit possible to the FRP Local Branch and rather spend more time analyzing the people, and more importantly the press. As soon as he made it to the Branch building, a young man welcomed him and asked for him to stay for coffee and cigarette, this man was Menderes. Kemal declined the offer and just expected a short, formal dialogue, but when he and Menderes started talking about agriculture, his opinions of liberalization, and country's economic trajectory, the conversation took more than 4 hours instead of the expected five minutes. This occurrence was the most influential experience Menderes started later that changed his life's trajectory.

Only a few months later, Menderes was elected as CHP Deputy of Aydın without even being informed about it. After Atatürk's death, when İnönü took over the CHP, he opposed İnönü's efforts to nationalize all means of production. Menderes made his strongest statement during the debate on the "law on land distribution to farmers." Article 6 of the current bill proposed that, along with state-owned land, land owned by landlords in that region exceeding 5,000 decares in areas suitable for agriculture and 2,000 decares in unsuitable areas be expropriated and distributed to peasants. Menderes and some other members of parliament opposed this bill, arguing that it constituted an infringement on private property. In response to this bill, Menderes stated that more than 70% of all land in Turkey was already state-owned and that İsmet Pasha wanted to nationalize the remaining private property and collectivize agriculture



as in the Soviet Union. Together with Köprülü, Koraltan, and Bayar he submitted the Quadrumvirate Memorandum and was expelled from the party later.<sup>4</sup>

Afterwards, he founded the Democrat Party with the four and was elected in the 1946 elections as DP Deputy of Kütahya.

***Ideology:** Menderes was a populist democrat, a pro-western modernist alongside being a conservative and rural-oriented leader. He took all measures to fulfill the people's expectations. Although he was not a religious person in his private life, as a populist he successfully oversaw the needs of his people which caused the illusion of him being mistaken as a religious person.*

### 5.2.3. Refik Koraltan

Bekir Refik Koraltan was born in 1889, Divriği district of Sivas. He was raised and had his primary education in his homeland and then came to Istanbul for education and finished Mercan High School (Mercan İdadisi). In 1910, he graduated from the Istanbul University Law Faculty (Dâru'l-Fünun Hukuk Şubesi) and started working for the state four years later.



Between 1915 and 1918, he was a prosecutor in Bursa, Gelibolu, and Karaman, then became a safety inspector, finally becoming a police chief in Trabzon.

His duties were dismissed by Damat Ferit Pasha due to him becoming a member of the Society of Defense of the National Rights to counteract the Pontus-Greek Organizations (Trabzon Muhafaza-i Hukuk-ı Milliye Cemiyeti). After the dismissal, he practiced law in İstanbul until he went to Konya and joined the National Forces (Kuva-yı Milliye).

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<sup>4</sup> 4 Akandere, Osman. "Bir Demokrasi Beyannamesi Olarak "Dörtlü Takrir'in" Amacı ve Mahiyeti:" (PDF). Archived 26 May 2012 as (PDF)

In 23rd April 1920, he was elected as the I. Term Deputy of Konya for the Grand National Assembly. Simultaneously, he was the President of Yozgat Independence Tribunals (İstiklal Mahkemesi) between 1921 and 1922 and then was a member of the Istanbul Tribunal between 1923 and 1924. Then, was reelected for the II, III, and IV. Terms.

He left the parliament in 1935 and became governor of several provinces in order: Artvin/Çoruh (1936–1938), Trabzon (1938–1939), and Bursa (1939–1942). During his governorship, he gained valuable experience in public administration, oratory, and management. It was not long until he joined the parliament again in the 7th Legislative Term, 8th March 1943, from Mersin's İçel district, and saw how things were going as they were not supposed to in the Parliament.

In a few months, he reunited with Bayar and saw he was holding the same views of the Parliament and had the same views of liberalization. Not long after, Bayar introduced him to Menderes and Köprülü, marking the start of the Four's adventure.

He signed the Quadrumvirate Memorandum on June 7th, 1945, and was expelled from the Republican People's Party along with Menderes and Köprülü on November 27th. In the 1946 elections, he was elected as DP Deputy of Kastamonu.

***Ideology:** He was a pragmatic nationalist and a supporter of liberalism in the republic. But also, a conservative person when it came to cultural values. He was moderate and calm, and often was the one to calm down situations.*

#### **5.2.4. Fuat Köprülü**

Born on December 5th, 1890, Köprülüzaade Mehmed Fuad was a descendant of the Köprülü family, and raised in İstanbul. His father Faiz Efendi being an Islamic Judge, and his mother Hatice Hanim being the daughter of an Islamic scholar, he had a childhood surrounded by Muslim intellectual circles. He also had connection with Ottoman high rankings through his relatives such as his paternal grandfather, Ahmed Ziya Bey who was the Bucharest Ambassador.



He enrolled in Ayasofya Middle School and then went to Mercan High School. During his first year at Mercan, his three poems were published at Musavver Terakki magazine, starting his adventure with literature. At the early age of 17, he entered the Istanbul University Law Faculty just like Koraltan. By this age, he was fluent and could conveniently communicate in French, Persian, and Arabic along with Ottoman Turkish. His first book, the Intellectual Life (Hayat-ı Fikriyye) was established only two years later.

In his 3rd year, he abandoned the law school stating the instruction quality was poor and the faculty was nothing but a loss of time. From 1910 to 1913, he taught Turkish literature in prestigious High Schools like Galatasaray High School and simultaneously took part of the Servet-i Fünun movement which was an intellectual ideology that opposed simplification of Turkish and embraced usage of a literary style that was only comprehensible by highest of knowledge. What changed his ideology suddenly was the Second Balkan War, which started on February 6th, 1913, when the Bulgarian Army attacked the Ottoman forces at the outskirts of Istanbul. During the war, he established first of many popular and patriotic essays. Towards the end of that year, he published his seminar and launched an article, stating historians must also research regular people, folklore, and arts along with the important people, which was a theory that would only be internationally recognized after the establishment of Annales School. After his article, he was appointed as a professor at Istanbul University.

He continued his studies in folk history, establishing articles about figures like Ahmed Yesevi and Yunus Emre while also making research about Turkish literature until in 1923, when he was appointed as Dean of the Faculty of Literature at Istanbul University, aging only 33. Two years later in 1925, he was elected as a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. And in another two years he received an honorary doctorate from Heidelberg University, Germany. It wasn't too long until he was awarded an Ordinarius Professor by the Turkish Republic in 1933 for his incredible academic studies.

While still in Istanbul University, he simultaneously joined the Grand Assembly in 1934 as a deputy of Kars. And maintained his position in CHP, where he was put in charge by Kemal as Advisor on Cultural and Historical Affairs until 40's. He influenced cultural, historical, and educational policies of the Turkish Republic and had a huge role in the foundation of educational system. Whilst serving as an Advisor, he also gave lectures at Sorbonne

University, Paris, arguing against his time's view that the Ottoman Empire was founded by converted Slavs and Balkan people, claiming instead it was founded by Ilkhan and Seljuk Turks. Afterwards, he received honorary doctorates from University of Athens (1937) and University of Paris/Sorbonne (1939).

In 1943, he retired from Istanbul University to be able to give more focus to Parliament, with the hope of making the country a better place.

He was one of the Four that proposed the Quadrumvirate Memorandum and was expelled from CHP on November 27th, 1945. In the 1946 elections, he was elected as DP Deputy of Istanbul.

***Ideology:** Köprülü was a member of the most elite families of the Ottomans and was a genius academician. He influenced the 20th century Sociology, History, and Politics Science views and his studies were very important for new Türkiye. He was a right-moderate in the political compass and an intellectual who took his country and nations values into consideration in his studies unlike most intellectuals in his time.*

#### **5.2.5. Baha Akşit**

Born in 1914, Denizli, he was a child of an elite family in his time, called as the Muftis family. He finished his primary education at 1927 and lost his mother a year later. In the following years, he enrolled in his father's madrasah and took Islamic education there. He states in an interview that these years were the ones shaped his personality the most, he learned Arabic, Algebra, and Social Studies and became known for his intelligence. In 1941, he graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine, and then worked in multiple hospitals the following years as a physician.



He entered the Democrat Party in late 1946, and was elected as a Deputy of Denizli in 1950.

*As an exception for him and Sarol only, the Academy has decided to introduce his importance in a further timeline to explain his role.*

Between 1950 and 1957, he was a member of the parliament and served as any other deputy. But his empowerment started in late 1955, when he stopped Menderes by the words:

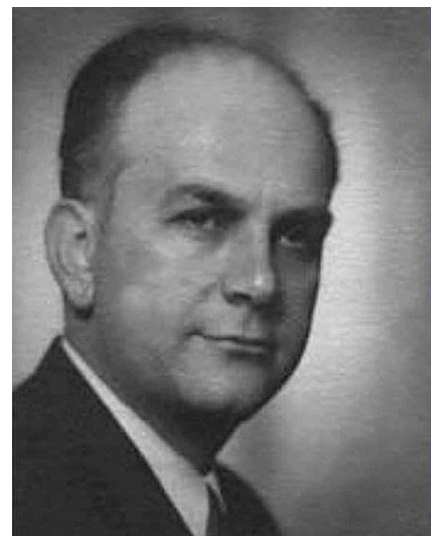
*“The people would never leave you, do not give up yet”* from resigning due to the pressure from DP Group about the pogrom of September 6-7th. Afterwards, Menderes took Sarol’s advice “the Sarol Formula” which granted five more years to the DP rule. He got closer to Menderes throughout the years with his intelligence and skills, and also was one of the very few people who did not resign nor stood away from the party in its last years. He did the opposite and did his best to support Menderes and his reign.

He took active role during the crisis and was also the one that advised Menderes to fix his relations with Ismet Inonu, which -if done- would have lead the party to a completely different ending. He was one of the officials who were sentenced to death in Yassıada, but his sentence was turned into lifelong prison, where he saw released from after the general amnesty of 1974.

***Ideology:*** *He was a conservative democrat and a pro-Menderes loyalist who took active role in most decisions in fields of Health and Social services made by the Menderes Cabinet. As an exception, he is known for being explicitly Anti-Kemalist and Anti-CHP unlike most other DP members. He strongly opposed Inonu and his reign too.*

#### **5.2.6. Mükerrerrem Sarol**

Sarol was born in 1909, in the Tripoli region of Libya. While his family was originally from Gediz, Kütahya, he was born during his father, Osman Nuri Sarol’s duty who was an Ottoman military officer. He completed his early education in various different schools due to his father’s role and enrolled in Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine in 1920.





After graduating in 1933, Sarol studied obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Hamburg, earning his specialist qualification in 1938. With his new qualification, he returned to Türkiye and served in Yozgat as a government physician for his military service. Afterwards, he was transferred to Aydın State Hospital, where he stayed for multiple years and then served in multiple other military hospitals until 1943 when he was discharged. He worked in public hospitals during the year 1945 and then started practicing privately. Two years later, he moved to Istanbul and took an active role for DP's Istanbul Organization.

*As stated before, Mükerrerrem Sarol is also going to be exceptionally talked about in the document for the delegates to have a better understanding of him.*

In the 50 elections, he was elected as a Deputy of Istanbul and became a member of the DP parliamentary administrative board shortly thereafter. And in May 1954, he was appointed as Minister of State for the new Cabinet, which made him responsible for press and broadcasting. After September 6-7 th Pogrom, he was the proposer of the Sarol Formula, which suggested that Menderes shouldn't resign outright and instead should seek a vote of confidence from the Parliamentary Group. Sarol's Formula and Akşit's ideas were successful, and Menderes's leadership was secured, and even better, agreed on by the Group.

Even though he resigned from the Ministry on October 12th when the new Cabinet was formed and later was temporarily expelled to cool down the waters, he rejoined the party in 1957 and was one of the officials arrested with the 1960 coup.

***Ideology:*** *He was a pragmatic DP-populist and followed the general line of it. He was an AntiCommunist and a conservative individual who saw the need for liberalization but also took his country's cultural values into account. He always supported free-market orientation.*

### 5.2.7. Hasan Polatkan

Born in 1915, Eskişehir, Hasan Polatkan was from a family which was originally from Crimea (today's Russia) that migrated to Türkiye probably during the late 19th century. He took primary education in his hometown and then moved to the Capital to study at Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences. He graduated in 1936 and started duty as a deputy inspector at Ziraat Bank, and then was promoted to being a inspector three years later.



From 1939 to 1945, he worked in multiple private and state companies and got promoted to higher ranks each time due to his hard work. These years were also the time he developed himself as a financier, learning new things and educating himself more every day. As soon as Democrat Party was founded, he joined the party and was one of the very few deputies (only 12 provinces were DP) elected in the 1946 elections.

His traits of hardworking and determination were known during his time that even his viral and opposers would agree to his devotion. An example of this is the following quotation from an opposition writer, Metin Toker:

*“Hasan Polatkan is a hardworking deputy. He can often be found at his office at eight o'clock (evening and morning). Compiling and finalizing the budget of the Democratic Party government is no easy task... Polatkan has done this successfully, making him one of the most reliable members of the cabinet, and there is absolutely no reason for him to be shaken. Being the Finance Minister of the first cabinet to present Türkiye with a balanced budget will always be a source of honor for him.”<sup>5</sup>*

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<sup>5</sup> Akis magazine, January 1, 1955 issue, Metin TOKER

**Ideology:** *Except for being hard working and determined, he was also a libertarian like Sarol and Köprülü. He had a simple lifestyle and was a very calm person. Some writers even referred to him as the Istanbul Gentleman / the Urbane Istanbulite because of his politeness.*

### 5.2.8. Fatin Rüştü Zorlu

Fatin Rüştü Zorlu was born in Istanbul, 27 April 1910. His father was Mehmet Zorlu, a civil servant, originally from Artvin; and his mother was Nazmiye Hanim. Fatih took primary education in local schools and graduated from Galatasaray High School at 1927. After he graduated, he traveled to Paris to study abroad. From 1927 to 1932, he initially enrolled at both Sciences Po<sup>6</sup>, and took a high-quality education program that included lectures on fields of Political Science, Public Law, International Relations, Economics, History, and Diplomacy / Fundamentals of International Law. While this background was already more than sufficient, he did not stop there and attended Geneva University, Faculty of Law. After completing his higher education, he returned to Türkiye and entered Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



For his duty, he was posted back to Geneva at Türkiye's Permanent delegation to the League of Nations. From the ages of 22 to 24, he worked on international law and minority rights issues at Geneva. After this, he was assigned to the Turkish Embassy in Paris as a junior diplomat where he dealt with Franco-Turkish relations until 1938, his role became more and more important each day due to the escalating tensions in Europe, and then he was assigned to an even more strategic place, the Turkish Embassy in Bern by the start of World War. Here, he was assigned with monitoring diplomatic events, neutrality issues, economic negotiations, and then reporting them to Ankara. In the year 1945, he participated in post war diplomatic discussions in the Parliament and was part of the consultations linked to the United Nations' foundation.

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<sup>6</sup> Sciences Po, or officially Paris Institute of Political Studies, is one of the most prestigious and known Political Sciences Universities of Europe. It was established in 1872.

He resigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the following months and entered politics in the 1946 elections as a DP deputy of Çanakkale.

***Ideology:** He was a Western oriented modernist who advocated for integrating Turkey into the international system and maintaining close ties with Western countries. He followed the DP line of proliberal economy and free market. He was a pro-Menderes loyalist and supported him until the last minute. Although he was Muslim by birth and was a conservative himself, he is also known for keeping his private and diplomatic lives separate.*

### **5.3. Turkish Armed Forces (TSK)**

#### **5.3.1. Alparslan Türkeş**

Alparslan Türkeş was born on November 25, 1917, in Cyprus, which was then under British administration. He graduated from the Turkish Military Academy in 1938 and quickly distinguished himself as a disciplined and ambitious officer. Over the next two decades, he served in various posts within the Turkish Army, gaining experience in infantry, intelligence, and strategic planning. His early career allowed him to cultivate a network of colleagues and develop a reputation for rigorous professionalism, loyalty, and nationalist principles.



In the 1940s and 1950s, Türkeş became increasingly involved in the political dimension of military life. He advocated for the protection of Turkey's territorial integrity, the promotion of national unity, and the defense of secular principles. Known for his articulate speeches and ability to inspire loyalty among junior officers, Türkeş emphasized the importance of discipline, order, and moral integrity within both the military and the state.

During the preparations for the 1960 military coup, Türkeş emerged as one of the leading figures within the National Unity Committee, contributing significantly to the planning and

coordination of the intervention against the Democrat Party government. His role included advising on strategic operations, maintaining cohesion among the officer corps, and ensuring the military acted decisively during the initial phases of the coup. Although he did not immediately enter civilian politics, his influence was felt throughout the transitional government and within the Turkish military establishment.

*Ideologically, Alparslan Türkeş was a committed Turkish nationalist with a strong emphasis on state authority, social conservatism, and national unity. He combined a disciplined, militaristic perspective with a vision of preserving Turkey's sovereignty and cultural values. Türkeş was pragmatic in his methods but unwavering in his commitment to the principles of nationalism, secularism, and a strong, centralized state.*

### **5.3.2. Faruk Güventürk**

Faruk Güventürk was born in 1915 in Istanbul, during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. He completed his education at Istanbul University Faculty of Law, graduating with distinction, and shortly thereafter began a career in public service. Early in his professional life, Güventürk served in various judicial and administrative positions, which allowed



him to develop a deep understanding of the legal system, governance, and state bureaucracy.

During the 1940s and 1950s, Güventürk became increasingly involved in military-political circles within Turkey. Recognized for his strategic thinking, analytical skills, and discretion, he played a key role in coordinating clandestine efforts among officers concerned about political instability in the country. These efforts eventually contributed to the planning and execution of the 1960 military intervention against the Democrat Party government.

As a central figure in the officer network, Güventürk acted as an intermediary between different factions of the military, ensuring cohesion and operational security. He was responsible for communicating critical intelligence, organizing meetings, and identifying key



personnel for strategic tasks. During the early days of the 1960 coup, Güventürk's leadership and organizational skills were crucial in maintaining order within the National Unity Committee and in overseeing the transition from civilian to military-led administration.

*Ideologically, Faruk Güventürk was a pragmatic nationalist and a disciplined strategist who prioritized state stability, institutional integrity, and the protection of Turkey's secular republic. His approach combined meticulous planning with a commitment to the long-term preservation of national unity, reflecting a blend of conservative values and practical solutions in periods of political uncertainty.*

### **5.3.3. Cemal Gürsel**

Cemal Gürsel was born on October 13, 1895, in Erzurum, then part of the Ottoman Empire. He graduated from the Turkish Military Academy in 1916, entering a military career during a period of intense political and military turmoil. Gürsel quickly distinguished himself as a capable and disciplined officer, serving in various posts during World War I and the subsequent Turkish War of Independence. His early experiences on the battlefield and in staff positions shaped his strategic thinking and reinforced his commitment to national unity and state authority.



During the 1920s and 1930s, Gürsel continued to rise through the ranks of the Turkish Army, serving in both command and administrative positions. He was recognized for his organizational skills, attention to detail, and ability to maintain discipline among his subordinates. By the 1940s, he held senior positions in the military, gaining extensive experience in operational planning, logistics, and personnel management, which would later prove crucial in times of national crisis.

In the 1950s, Gürsel was appointed to key leadership roles, including corps and regional commands, where he focused on modernizing the military, improving training standards, and

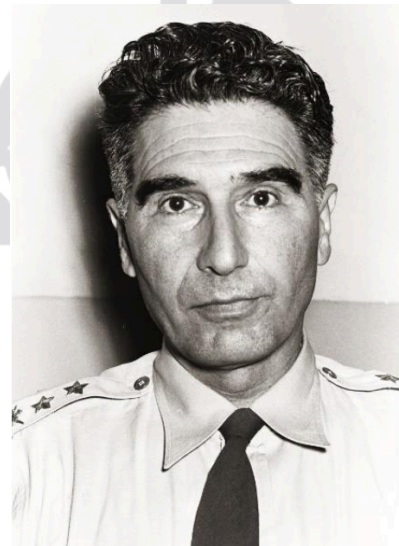
ensuring the loyalty of officers to the principles of the Turkish Republic. Known for his pragmatic approach, Gürsel combined professionalism with a strong sense of patriotism, earning the respect of both junior officers and political leaders.

By 1960, Cemal Gürsel had become a central figure within the Turkish military establishment. When political instability reached a peak under the Democrat Party government, Gürsel played a leading role in the planning and execution of the 27 May 1960 coup, ultimately being appointed as the head of state and commander-in-chief. His leadership during this period was marked by a careful balance between military authority and efforts to stabilize the nation's institutions.

***Ideologically,** Cemal Gürsel was a committed nationalist and a pragmatic military leader who prioritized state stability, secularism, and the preservation of Turkey's constitutional order. His approach combined strict discipline, strategic foresight, and a deep respect for the principles of the republic, making him a defining figure in Turkey's mid-20th century political and military history.*

#### **5.3.4. Cemal Madanoğlu**

Cemal Madanoğlu was born in 1907 in Istanbul, then part of the Ottoman Empire. After graduating from the Turkish Military Academy, he embarked on a distinguished career in the Turkish Army, gaining experience in both field operations and staff positions. Known for his discipline, strategic insight, and ability to train and mentor younger officers, Madanoğlu quickly earned recognition as a capable and respected officer within the military establishment.



During the 1950s, as Turkey transitioned to a multi-party political system, Madanoğlu became increasingly aware of the political tensions between the ruling Democrat Party and opposition parties. His commitment to the principles of the Republic, secularism, and the rule of law made him a key observer of the growing unrest within the country and the army. By the late 1950s, Madanoğlu had risen to senior positions

in the military, where he played an influential role in discussions about the army's potential intervention to safeguard the constitutional order.

Madanoğlu is best known for his critical involvement in the 1960 military coup, where he served as head commander of the operation, directly overseeing its planning and execution. As a leader of the intervention, he coordinated the strategic deployment of forces, ensured communication between units, and supervised key operational decisions to secure the overthrow of the Democrat Party government while maintaining order and minimizing unnecessary conflict. His leadership as the head commander was instrumental in the success and organization of the coup.

*Ideologically, Madanoğlu was a staunch supporter of Atatürk's principles and the secular, democratic foundations of the Turkish Republic. Throughout his career, he emphasized loyalty to the state rather than any political faction, believing that the army's primary responsibility was to protect the nation's constitutional and institutional integrity. His calm, analytical approach, combined with his leadership skills and deep understanding of both military and political dynamics, made him a central figure in the Turkish Armed Forces during one of the most critical periods in modern Turkish history.*

### 5.3.5. Orhan Kabibay

Orhan Kabibay was born in 1918 in Üsküdar, Istanbul, during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. After completing his early education, he entered the Turkish Military Academy and later the War Academy, graduating with distinction. His early military career included assignments in various artillery and infantry units, where he gained valuable experience in leadership, strategy, and logistics. Kabibay was fluent in both French and English, which enabled him to study foreign military doctrines and participate in international military exchanges.



In the 1950s, Kabibay, alongside his colleague Dündar Seyhan, established a clandestine group within the Infantry School. This group, later recognized as part of the planning network behind the 1960 military coup, aimed to address what they perceived as political instability and threats to the secular principles of the Turkish Republic. Kabibay's involvement demonstrated his commitment to a disciplined, professional approach to military intervention in political crises.

On May 27, 1960, Kabibay actively participated in the coup as a senior officer. He was later appointed as the Minister of Customs and Monopolies in the interim government formed by the National Unity Committee. During this period, Kabibay played a key role in maintaining administrative continuity and overseeing the transition from the Democrat Party government to the post-coup administration. However, internal disagreements within the National Unity Committee led to his dismissal on November 13, 1960, as part of the so-called "14 Members Group," and he was temporarily exiled to Brussels.

*Ideologically, Kabibay was a committed Kemalist, believing strongly in the principles of secularism, national unity, and disciplined governance. His calm demeanor, strategic mind, and measured approach to complex political issues made him a stabilizing figure during a turbulent period in Turkish politics.* — 2025 —

### 5.3.6. Fevzi Çakmak

Fevzi Çakmak was one of the most prominent military and political figures in modern Turkish history, who transitioned from a long military career into an influential role in politics during the early multi-party era. After resigning from his position as Chief of the General Staff in 1944, Çakmak retained immense prestige as Turkey's only field marshal (Mareşal) after Atatürk and as a symbol of the National Struggle. His stature made him a natural focal point for opposition movements against the ruling Republican People's Party (CHP).



In the 1946 general elections, which marked the beginning of Turkey's multi-party democracy, Çakmak was elected to the Grand National Assembly as an independent deputy from Istanbul. Although he did not formally align with the newly founded Democrat Party (DP), he openly supported the transition to a more competitive and liberal political environment. Within the Assembly, he frequently criticized the authoritarian tendencies of the single-party era and emphasized the need for genuine democratization, political freedoms, and protection of national and religious values.

He is also going to form the Nation Party (Millet Partisi) in the future with a breakaway group of deputies—Hikmet Bayur, Osman Bölükbaşı, and others—who sought to establish a party that would represent more conservative and nationalist currents than the DP. Çakmak, whose popularity and symbolic authority were unmatched, lent his name and prestige to this movement.

***Ideologically,** Çakmak embodied a synthesis of nationalism, conservatism, and democratic reformism. He was a staunch defender of the republic and the legacy of the National Struggle but believed that Turkey needed a stronger respect for religion and morality within public life. He supported parliamentary democracy, free expression, and a competitive multi-party system. While his leadership in the Millet Party was mostly symbolic, his presence gave credibility to opposition forces and shaped the ideological contours of Turkish conservatism in the early democratic period.*

### **5.3.7. Kazım Orbay**

Kazım Orbay was born in İzmir in 1887 and pursued a military education in the Ottoman Military Academy, graduating as a staff officer. He fought in the Balkan Wars and later in World War I, gaining recognition for his discipline and leadership skills. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Orbay joined the Turkish War of Independence, serving under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in key operations that helped secure the foundation of the new Republic. His contributions in both military planning and field command earned him steady promotions within the armed forces.





In the early years of the Republic, Orbay continued to rise through the ranks, taking on high-level commands and contributing to the reorganization of the modern Turkish Army. Known for his professionalism and loyalty to the principles of the Republic, he became one of the most trusted generals of his time. By the 1940s, he had become one of the leading figures in the Turkish military establishment.

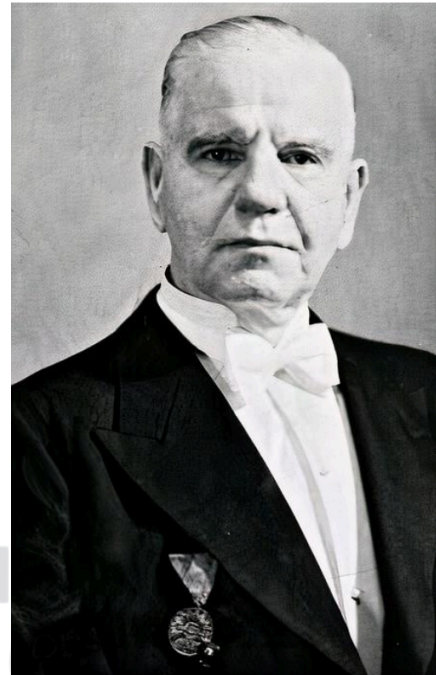
In August 1944, following the retirement of Fevzi Çakmak, Orbay was appointed as the Chief of the General Staff of Turkey. In this capacity, he oversaw the army during the final years of World War II and in the fragile postwar environment. His tenure was marked by caution and balance, as Turkey navigated neutrality while at the same time preparing for potential threats from abroad. Orbay was responsible for the modernization efforts of the army, ensuring that the armed forces would be capable of meeting the new challenges of the Cold War era.

He served in this position until June 1946, when he retired from active military service. After his retirement, Orbay did not immediately enter politics but remained a respected elder statesman within Turkish public life. His career until 1960 was defined by his military service, his steady and loyal support of the Republic, and his role in maintaining stability in the Turkish Armed Forces during one of the most complex international periods in modern history. Additionally, Kazım Orbay was one of the names that were more milder to Democrat Party than CHP alongside Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Cemal Madanoğlu, and Alparslan Türkeş. To add more, the point of where the two names, Alparslan Türkeş and Cemal Madanoğlu, differs from the other two is that Alparslan Türkeş and Cemal Madanoğlu went against Democrat Party later. Furthermore, Ali Fuat Cebesoy was not just milder to the Democrat Party, he later entered politics as a parliamentarian of the Democrat Party.

*Ideologically, Kazım Orbay embodied the military's guiding principles of republicanism, nationalism, and state continuity. While not engaged in partisan politics, his worldview was shaped by Atatürk's legacy, emphasizing national sovereignty, stability, and a disciplined military tradition that acted as a guardian of the Republic.*

### 5.3.8. Ali Fuat Cebesoy

Ali Fuat Cebesoy was a prominent Turkish military commander, statesman, and politician who played a decisive role in both the foundation of the Republic and its early multiparty life. Born into a well-known Ottoman military family, he graduated from the Ottoman Military Academy and later the War College, serving in the Balkan Wars and World War I. He was among the early supporters of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, taking part in the Turkish War of Independence, most notably as the commander of the Western Front. His reputation as one of the trusted generals of the National Struggle solidified his place among the founding figures of the Republic.



After the establishment of the Republic, Cebesoy transitioned into politics. He was elected as a deputy multiple times and became one of the leading figures of the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) in 1924, which challenged the single-party dominance of the Republican People's Party (CHP). Following the closure of the party, he was temporarily sidelined but later rehabilitated and returned to political life.

In the 1930s and 1940s, he served as a deputy from different provinces and maintained influence as a respected political figure, known for his moderate and conciliatory style. In 1946, with the advent of multiparty democracy, Cebesoy aligned himself with the opposition movement that eventually gave birth to the Democrat Party (DP). Though he initially sympathized with the DP's cause of greater liberalization and democracy, his relationship with the party remained complex, as he was also associated with the more centrist Nation Party (Millet Partisi).

Throughout the 1950s, Cebesoy served as a member of parliament and remained active in parliamentary debates, often positioning himself as a balancing figure between government

and opposition. His political career up to 1960 reflected his lifelong commitment to pluralism, national sovereignty, and the consolidation of democratic institutions in Turkey.

***Ideologically**, Ali Fuat Cebesoy's political thought was shaped by Kemalist republicanism, democratic pluralism, and moderation. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he avoided strict partisanship, emphasizing reconciliation and balance in political life.*

## **6. Recommendation**

Delegates, you are **highly recommended** to view the **Demirkırat** documentary by Mehmet Ali Birand which explain very detailly the time span of 1923 to 1961. The content is available via the links below. In addition to historical retelling, this documentary provides a compelling depiction of the political, social, and emotional milieu of the era, which is essential for comprehending the subtleties of your character and the committee's actions.

The documentary is expected to assist and navigate delegates' positions and the choices they will have to make during the simulations by bringing the same historical atmosphere they watched into life. We believe that even though the documentary made up of 10 episodes total, making 8 hours combined, delegates may settle with the first four episodes (*Ep1: The Chief, Ep2: The Birth, Ep3: The Victory, Ep4: Power*) which are going to be bare minimum for understanding the detailed ambience. We hope you will gain a deeper understanding of the motivations behind the actions of key historical figures, their relationships, and the atmosphere that shaped their decisions. You will find it simpler to live up to your character and make a significant contribution to the committee's deliberations as a result.

As The Under Secretary-General and the Academic Assistant, we again **strongly advise** viewing the documentary which if done will gain the delegates a better understanding of the early phases of the Mirage, as well as a strong basis for your job, which will enable you to more easily become involved in the discussions and disputes that will occur. Your participation will of course have a greater impact, and you will have a higher chance for the awards, if you are better prepared.

*Please be aware that Demirkırat's some episodes may be biased and influenced by the producer, Mehmed Ali Birand's personal opinions. Especially episodes 1, 2, 4, 5; contain subjective information such as praising of İsmet İnönü, exaggeration of Menderes's actions, etc. The documentary does not include any graphic nor offensive scenes, however, viewer discretion is advised.*

**All Episodes are available in the video below thanks to 32. Gün Arşivleri**

[https://youtu.be/WFMoNxZtKr0?si=CxTB s-Vn\\_ykpdJcz](https://youtu.be/WFMoNxZtKr0?si=CxTB s-Vn_ykpdJcz)

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