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# **PARTIES ESTABLISHED IN TURKEY AFTER 1960 AND THEIR ACTORS**

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## **Introduction**

Organized structures formed in order to gain the authority to govern in a country by elections or to become partners in the administration of the country through coalition governments are called political parties (Gökçe, 2013).

According to the political scientist Duverger's evaluation of political parties, there are two main periods in the formation of political parties. In these two main periods, the background of the emergence and development of parties is taken into consideration. The first main period considers how the parties formed and under what conditions, while in the second main period, how the parties came to the present day after the World War II are examined (Göktürk, 2016).

We can gather Party Political Systems under two headings. These are the two-party political system and the multi-party political system. In the two-party political system there are two major parties that are trusted to be elected by the people voting. Those who vote choose between these two parties, and the party that holds the majority wins power. 3. Parties are far from powerful in this election.

The best known examples of the two-party political systems are seen in the United States and England. The candidates for power in these countries have two large majorities. Other smaller parties are unable to be in power because they cannot get close to the big two parties. Examples include the Republican Party and the Democratic Party in the US, and the Labor Party and the Conservative Party in the UK.

In Multi-Party Political Systems, the formation of political parties cannot be restricted in any way and there are no major disproportions between the structures of political parties in parliament. More than two parties can hold representatives in parliament in close proportion. For example: Italy, Belgium, France and Turkey.

## **1st Part**

### **1957 Elections And Evolving Events**

The Democratic Party won the elections in 1957. The Democratic Party received fewer votes than in former elections; however, according to the new election system, it won the majority.

With the 1957 elections, the votes of the CHP were on the increase and despite the majority

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structure in the electoral system, they managed to get a high number of members into the parliament. Considering the poor economic situation in the country, it was possible that the CHP would win the next election (Akşin, 2007). However, Menderes and his friends could not accept or accept the possibility of losing the election. With the new law adopted in 1956, the DP government prohibited opposition leaders from holding rallies outside the elections, and restricted the meetings to be held in closed environments with the permission of the local administrators. In fact, during those years, the CHP Secretary General was arrested for 6 months on the allegation that he performed a demonstration march during his trip to Trabzon (Bulut, 2009). While this is the case in the country, opposition to the DP power has become increasingly difficult.

These pressures could have been the pressures of law enforcement officers, administrators, prosecutors and courts, as well as harsh attitudes of the DP partisans. These included a physical attack against İnönü, which was possibly even an intention to kill him. The activities planned by the CHP in İzmir were blocked and the DP partisans attacked the Demokrat İzmir newspaper. While İnönü was on his way to the city from the airport in Istanbul, DP partisans with their clubs gathered in Topkapı. These events were prohibited from appearing in newspapers, and newspapers had blanked-out columns (Akşin, 2007).

## **The Previous Political Actors Of The Period And The Political Events**

### **Effecting The Period**

#### **Mahmut Celalettin Bayar**

Celal Bayar was the third President of the Republic of Turkey. Since the years of the national struggle, he was active in politics alongside Atatürk.

During World War I, while Mahmut Celal Bayar was the clerk of Izmir Union and Progress Party, he started to work for the armed struggle, anticipating the start of the Greek occupation after the signing of the Armistice of Mondros. He played an active role in the establishment of the Turkish Revolutionaries of the Aegean region under the pseudonym Galip Hodja and served as a Deputy of Saruhan in the Last Ottoman Parliament. After the acceptance of the National Pact, the Allies occupied Istanbul. In the last term of the Ottoman Parliament since the breakup, Mustafa Kemal Pasha joined the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on April 23, 1920 (Özgen, 2007).

During the War of Independence, Celal Bayar worked in the Ministry of Economics of the Ankara Government and also in the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by proxy. Upon the completion of the War of Independence with the victory of August 30, Celal Bayar took part as an advisor in the delegation to the Lausanne Peace Negotiations. After the declaration of the Republic on October 29, 1923,

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he was made Minister of Development and Housing, and on the proposal of President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in 1924, he resigned from the Ministry and was given the task of establishing İşbank. With Celal Bayar as general manager, İşbank opened many branches in the country, enabling the establishment and advancement of national banking in the country. İşbank opened branches abroad and ensured the development of exports thanks to its successful policies in the financial field (Ahmad F. , 2012).

Celal Bayar, who served as the General Manager of İşbank until 1932 and achieved significant success in the development and industrialization of the country, was brought to the Ministry of Economics by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in 1932. Celal Bayar, who served as the Minister of Economics until 1937, played a major role in the industrialization and development of the country and provided Turkey with a foreign trade surplus in exports. Within the framework of the Statism Policy, he established glass factory, paper factory and many weaving factories, chemical and coal industries, started the construction of Karabük Iron and Steel Factory, made the first domestic steamship in Turkey and made the shipyards to produce ships.

Celal Bayar, who was appointed as the Prime Minister by Atatürk in 1937, continued this duty until the death of Atatürk. During the period when Bayar was Prime Minister, the Hatay problem was solved, Denizbank was established to help finance the developments in the maritime industry, and studies were made in the arms trade industry gauging the forthcoming World War II. Relations were improved with Balkan states, Edirne's unarmed status was ended and the Turkish army entered Edirne (Avcioğlu, 1971). The day following the death of Atatürk on November 10, 1938, İsmet İnönü was elected as the President on November 11, 1938. During this time of transition to the İnönü period, Bayar served as Prime Minister for three months by accepting the offer from President İnönü so that the regime would not be compromised and Atatürk's funeral ceremony could be carried out with the appropriate attention, but he later resigned from his post as Prime Minister (Özgen İ. F., Cumhuriyet Dönemi Celal Bayar'ın Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri (1923-1960), 2007).

In 1945 after World War II, Celal Bayar was forced to resign from the Party as a result of his opposition within the CHP. In order to reflect the democratic movement in the opposition movement in the country and to change the power through democratic means he established the Democrat Party in 1946 together with Refik Koraltan, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü and Adnan Menderes (Özgen İ. F., Cumhuriyet Döneminde Celal Bayar'ın Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri (1923-27 Mayıs 1960), 2007). He was elected president on May 22, with the Democratic Party winning the election on May 14, 1950 (Kutay, 1982).

During his presidency, Bayar was closely involved in foreign policy and the preservation of Atatürk's spiritual existence and ensured the adoption of the Law on the Protection

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of Atatürk. Furthermore, the construction of Anıtkabir was completed and the body of Atatürk was moved to the new place, Anıtkabir, with a ceremony held on November 10, 1953. During this period, troops were sent to Korea, Turkey joined NATO and Turkey's rights on Cyprus were protected in foreign policy.

With the London and Zurich agreement signed by Britain, Greece and Turkey in 1960, Turkey's rights in Cyprus were protected. With the Guarantee agreement, Turkey was accepted to be a guarantor state for the protection of the rights of the Turkish Cypriots; and the first Turkish military unit was sent to Cyprus. On May 27, 1960, President Celal Bayar was removed from his post as a result of a government coup by a number of lower-level officers belonging to the Turkish Armed Forces, breaking the chain of command (Özgen İ. F., Cumhuriyet Döneminde Celal Bayar'ın Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri (1923-27 Mayıs 1960), 2007).

### Adnan Menderes

Menderes, who was born in Aydın in 1899, started his education in the Primary School of Union and Progress in Izmir and continued his education in Izmir American College (Tanrıöver, 2018). He entered Ankara Law School in 1931 after being elected as a CHP Aydın member of parliament and graduated in 1935 (Günver & Akdağ, 2013). Adnan Menderes, even though he served in a branch of the SCF (Free Republican Party) for a short time in 1930, following his dissolution by the president of the Free Republican Party, Fethi Okyar, passed to the CHP and was elected as an Aydın member of parliament from the CHP in the elections of 1931 (Haber, 2019). Menderes, when he was a member of parliament in the CHP, made his most vehement opposition during the "farmers grounding law" negotiations and as a result of this opposition was expelled from the CHP in 1945 due to intra-party opposition (İnan, 2002).

Menderes, who was expelled from the party together with Fuad Köprülü, Refik Koraltan and Celal Bayar from the CHP in 1945, took part in the establishment of the DP. The elections scheduled to be held in 1947 were arranged to take place one year early by the CHP, which led to the CHP winning the election with 85%. Menderes entered the parliament again as Kütahya member of parliament from the Democratic Party lists. In the 1950 election, which was described by many as the "White Revolution", the DP came out as the first party and Menderes was elected as the chairman of the Democratic Party. During Menderes's tenure as a chairman, very serious events developed in Turkey and Turkey went through critical phases (Arslan, Çağırıcı, & Albayrak, 2017).

The events of September 6-7, which left deep scars in the political history of Turkey, have been cited as one of the most important set of events in the period of Menderes's attrition. During the negotiations in England on the Cyprus issue, several newspapers in Istanbul on September 6, 1955 reported that a bomb had been dropped on Atatürk's

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House in Thessaloniki, the birthplace of Atatürk. Shortly after that, especially in the reactions directed against the Greeks, 73 churches, 8 holy springs, 1 synagogue, 2 monasteries, 4,340 shops, 110 hotels and restaurants, 21 factories and 3,600 houses were attacked and 1 priest was killed during the events (Demirer, 2018). As a result of these events, an extraordinary meeting decision was taken in the TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly). Deputy Prime Minister Fuad Köprülü, speaking on behalf of the government, stated that the government was aware of the events experienced, but explained that it was not known what day and time the meeting would be (Arslan, Çağırıcı, & Albayrak, 2017).

In 1960, with the increase of student movements and the constant upheaval of groups dissatisfied with the administration caused the army to seize the administration. When the Turkish Armed Forces made a statement on May 27, 1960, Menderes who was in Eskişehir and those around him were arrested and brought to Ankara. Menderes was detained in Ankara for a while and then sent to Yassiada for trial (Topçu & Topçu Akılmak, 2017).

The High Court of Justice, a court established by the junta who carried out the coup of May 27 tried Menderes and his friends for 9 months and 27 days. As a result of these trials, 14 people were executed and 31 were sentenced to life imprisonment. However, the National Unity Committee withdrew the death sentences of those other than Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Hasan Polatkan and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, while Celal Bayar's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment due to age limit. The court sentenced 418 defendants to prison sentences ranging from 6 months to 20 years or acquittal (Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü, 2010).

Adnan Menderes was executed on September 17 1961 when the decision about Menderes was approved by the National Unity Committee. 29 years after this period, which created a dark era in the history of Turkish democracy, on September 17, 1990, their bodies were taken from İmralı and transported to the mausoleum at Topkapı exit in Istanbul in a ceremony attended by the President and high state officials (İlyas & Sema, 2017).

### **Alparslan Türkeş**

Alparslan Türkeş is the founder of the Nationalist Movement Party. He was born in the Haydarpaşa neighborhood of Nicosia in November 1917. The childhood years of Alparslan were a time of increasing daily oppression and persecution for Turkish Cypriots. Alparslan came to Istanbul with his family in 1933 (Günel, 2018). Alparslan Türkeş, who passed the staff examinations in 1951 and graduated from the Military Academy as a Staff Major in 1955, read on the radio in Ankara, the declaration that the National Unity Committee had seized administration from the state on May 27, 1960 and he was made the undersecretary of the Prime Ministry of the newly established

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government (Başbuğun Hayatı, 2019). Shortly after the coup, disagreements began to form within the Committee and these disagreements were shaped by two groups. The first group wanted to leave the power to the civilians and the second group, including Alparslan Türkeş, wanted the military administration to remain in power for a while longer. The fact that these differences of opinion were in the same political organization caused the committee to be unable to work after a while. However, the other wing of the committee quickly liquidated the nationalist-conservative officers affiliated with Türkeş, known as the 14s, and sent them abroad (Bayraktar, 2016). Türkeş returns to Turkey in 1963. They join the Republican Peasant Nation Party in 1963. He is elected leader of the party in 1965. On the eve of the 1969 general elections, the name of the party was adopted as the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and Türkeş was elected as a member of parliament of Adana, becoming the only MHP member of parliament in the assembly and continuing the struggle of nationalist Turkey. He founded Grey Wolves and started to organize patriotic youth. Başbuğ was re-elected as a member of parliament in the 1975 and 1977 general elections and took part in the governments of the 1st Nationalist Front and the 2nd Nationalist Front. Başbuğ Türkeş, who was imprisoned in Mamak prison for 5 years, was exiled in 1985 and later acquitted following a death sentence. He was elected chairman of the Nationalist Labor party in 1987. As a result of the election alliance in the 1991 general elections, he was elected as a Yozgat member of parliament. The MHP, which participated in the 1995 general election alone, could not get the electoral threshold of 10%. Başbuğ Alparslan Türkeş died on 4 April 1997 (Başbuğun Hayatı, 2019).

### **The Constitution Of 1961**

The Constitution of 1961, which has the distinction of being the 3rd Constitution of the Republican History, was adopted by the referendum held in 1961 after the coup on May 27, 1960 by the commission established by the Committee of National Unity on the grounds that the 1924 Constitution could not adequately respond to the needs of the multi-party order of the period and entered into force on July 9, 1961. During the formation of the constitution achieved in these years, the TBMM was dissolved and the 1924 Constitution was abolished. Many people were arrested, especially the President of the time, Celal Bayar, and the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes. Provisional laws were enacted by the National Unity Committee in order to eliminate the gaps in the field of Execution and Legislation. In addition, a House of Representatives using the powers of the TBMM was formed together with the National Unity Committee and work on the Constitution was started in this direction. The constitutional works, which were finalized in 1961, were submitted to public voting and were accepted and put into force by a vote of 60% against 40% (Dunbay, 2016).

The 1961 Constitution is one of the most liberal and pluralist constitutions in Turkish



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constitutions due to its articles and ideas. In this constitution, for the first time, the principle of separate control of each of the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary structures was implemented. Legislative, Executive and Judiciary mechanisms have been separated from each other and made more systematic and functional. In the 1961 Constitution, the principle of pluralistic democracy was highlighted and its purpose was to spread democracy to the grass roots. Judicial independence was strongly focused and necessary steps were taken to conduct judicial proceedings in a healthy manner. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, unlike other councils have a dual structure. The election procedures of these two parties, shaped as the Senate of the Republic and the National Assembly, have been different. In 1961, the Constitutional Court was established to ensure control and judicial control but also to prevent constitutional violations. The Constitutional Court, not Parliament, has looked at whether the laws adopted since the opening of the Constitutional Court are in accordance with the constitution. At the same time, in order to provide more comfortable working conditions for judges, some amendments were made to their personal rights and security. The Council of State, which is a constitutional court was given the task of trying to control all the actions of the Executive structure. The feature of being the only body that holds the right of sovereignty of the TBMM has been abolished and parliament has become one of the structures that use sovereignty. The fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals are guaranteed by this constitution. This right constitutes perhaps one of the most important innovations (Birol, 2012).

Provisions that ensure the safe operation of political parties and highlight the importance of political parties were also mentioned for the first time with the 1961 Constitution. The 1961 Constitution first mentioned political parties with the article of “political parties are indispensable to democratic life.” This is also important in terms of highlighting the pluralist structure in democracy. The right of workers and civil servants to form unions and the right to strike was also recognized by this constitution (Aslan, 2019).

Apart from these, the State Planning Organization was also established and universities and TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Association) became an autonomous structure. It is particularly remarkable because of the fact that universities are an autonomous structure, showing the importance of the 1961 constitution to freedom and freedom of expression. The right to form associations and organize demonstrations without prior permission of the 1961 constitution has also been some of the other important rights. Recognition of the right to organize demonstrations without permission, especially for the masses and groups who wish to express their administrative dissatisfaction within the framework of legal limits, once again demonstrates the importance given to freedom by the 1961 constitution. Failure to grant this right to permission was aimed to prevent those in power from becoming oppressive and an administration that does not grant freedom to individuals (Birol, 2012).

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The powers of local governments were slightly increased compared to the 1924 Constitution and the activeness was opened to local governments on certain issues. The principle of the social state has been added to this Constitution and some directions have been made in the Constitution for the steps that the state will take to implement the principle of the social state.

When we reached the 1970s, the libertarian situation in the country was found by some groups to be extremely libertarian and was not welcome. In 1961, objections were raised that the constitutional system could no longer be continued with the current political and social order. Political problems and increasing terrorist incidents also supported this attitude of some groups. As a consequence the Turkish Armed Forces issued a memorandum to the Justice Party under Süleyman Demirel, and the government had to resign. This memorandum also introduced a number of amendments to the 1961 Constitution. The amendments such as granting the Council of Ministers the authority to issue a Decree, decreasing the autonomy given to universities, completely abolishing the autonomy of TRT, removing the trade union rights of the civil servants and increasing the powers of the Military High Administrative Court have shown the libertarian mood embodied by the Constitution of 1961 and the 1971 memorandum (Özbudun, 2014).

By September 12, 1980, the Turkish Republic faced its 2nd Military Coup in its history and the 1961 constitution had to share the same fate as the 1924 Constitution and was replaced by the less libertarian 1982 constitution.

## **2nd Part:**

### **Political Actors And Events After 1960**

#### **Süleyman Demirel**

Süleyman Demirel was born on November 1, 1924 in Isparta, İslamköy. His father influenced Suleyman Demirel going to secondary school after finishing primary school. Demirel attended high school in Afyon. He completed his undergraduate studies at Istanbul Technical University. After his undergraduate education, his first work experience was at İSKİ (Istanbul Municipality Waterworks), and he was assigned to the Electricity Survey Office because of his free boarding education. After the 1960 military coup, he had to resign from his post in the DSİ (State Hydraulic Works) and was subjected to various investigations. After demobilization in 1962, he started to deal with construction works. During these periods, Demirel won many construction tenders (Karabakkal, Siyasal Liderlik ve Süleyman Demirel Örneği, 2019). Demirel was elected as a member of the GİK (General Administrative Board) at the 1st Great Congress of the AP (Justice Party) in 1962 and was appointed to the Presidency of the organization. On March 23, 1963, when Celal Bayar was released from Kayseri Prison, the AP Headquarters was stoned.



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Demirel, who was in the headquarters during this event, resigned from the AP GİK membership and took a break from politics (Çavuşoğlu, Anavatan Partisi İle Doğru Yol Partisi'nin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi, 2010). Following the death of the AP President on June 6, 1964, he was nominated for the presidency at the 2nd Grand Congress of the AP on November 27, 1964 (Çavuşoğlu, 2016).

### **Justice Party And Süleyman Demirel**

The Justice party, which won power in 1965-71 by ending the period of coalitions as a single party, was founded in 1961 under the leadership of retired General Ragıp Gümüşpala. The army was pleased that an honorable member had formed a party. However, there were people in the party who adhered to the tradition of the Democratic Party. When Gümüşpala died in 1964, Süleyman Demirel was unexpectedly elected party leader by gaining their support. As soon as Demirel entered political life, he declared himself “the enemy of communism” and implemented aggressive policies especially against TIP (Labor Party Of Turkey). In the mid-1960s and during his years in power, he pursued a two-faced policy against the rising left. Although AP governments seem to tolerate the demonstrations of students and workers, they ignored their progress and looked after those who increased the right-wing militias they had deceived to become the deputy of the security forces and unleashed them on the student and workers' communities (Turgut, 1992).

### **Left Of Center in Chp**

#### **From the 1950s to “Left of Center”**

The CHP did not think it would lose the 1950 elections and did not want to believe that it had lost after the elections. The party had not yet been in opposition, and this was not a situation it was used to, and if it did not get used to this new situation in the first place, it would have to adapt. The CHP set out for the 1957 early elections with a new slogan. The CHP's new program included articles on the right to strike, trade union workers, granting autonomy to universities, granting new privileges to the bureaucracy, abolishing anti-democratic laws and the National Defence Law. These articles were later reflected in the constitutional studies conducted in 1961 and the constitution. The CHP had 174 representatives in the Constituent Assembly, of which 49 were direct and 125 were indirect. It included ideas to be taken directly from the CHP Program, such as a constitutional court and a state planning organization (the system for regulating the economy) to keep the constitution safe (Ayata A. , 1995). The Left of Center movement in 1966, in the book entitled *Ortanın Solu* (Left of Center), written by Bülent Ecevit, had a very different populism concept than that of the 1930s. This slogan acknowledged the existence of classes, but opposed their struggle. This rhetoric dominated the opinion of the Left of Center movement and the fact that the CHP was defeated in the elections.

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Despite all this, however, Ecevit insisted that he would stick to the ideology of the Left of Center movement (Ecevit, Ortanın Solu, 2009).

### **Chp and Organizational Structure Changes in 1970s**

After the March 12, 1971 memorandum, Ecevit stated that he would not support a government that backed the army against an elected government and did not want the name of the party to be mentioned with the army again. İsmet İnönü and Bülent Ecevit had a disagreement on this issue and İnönü supported the established technocratic government. This sparked a tough political struggle. İnönü was seen by a significant segment of the party as representing the status quo and forming the biggest obstacle to any change in party ideology and movement. But forcing İsmet İnönü to resign was not as easy as was thought. The CHP was a party representing the Republican tradition. National Struggle and loyalty to the Republic were symbolized in the personality of İnönü. Ecevit, who knew that the control of the parliamentary group was under the control of İnönü, resigned his position as secretary general for this reason. Seeing the increasing support of Ecevit in the provincial congresses, İnönü requested an extraordinary congress as he felt that there was no need to continue the local congresses. The day before the congress, 43 provincial heads, 8 provincial representatives and 55 provincial youth branch representatives signed a declaration protesting against illegal methods of meeting the Congress and strongly supporting Ecevit. The CHP Congress was held on May 5 1972 with the participation of former delegates. The CHP's "social democrat" movement, which started in 1957, increased in 1969 and gained momentum with the presidency of Bülent Ecevit in 1972 symbolizing Turkey's 1970s, and was the result of the search for a pluralistic democracy. In the main, the Left of Center movement did not change its character in the voter base, except in industrialized regions and major cities, but only in regard to the position of party members. A member of the CHP who is active in the village is from a well-to-do family of that village. However, this delegate became a delegate who knows the outside of the village, knows the city, has direct knowledge and expectations from the state and politics, especially after 1960 when market-oriented production dominated the villages and migration gained importance (Ayata A. , 2019). To sum up the 1970s, CHP neither changed its mindset nor did it experience a vote explosion. The gap was filled between these two important ideas using a new organizational model. With a new cadre, it brought a new understanding of organization to Turkish politics. This aim of participation was the driving force that came from this organization structure, which led to the election of free individuals and members to the Congress, not the ones who took orders in 1972.

#### **Bülent Ecevit**

He was born on May 28, 1925 in Beşiktaş, Istanbul. His mother, Ms. Fatma Nazlı, who worked as a teacher at the Istanbul and Ankara conservatories, was one of the first

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professional female painters in Turkey. His father, Ahmet Fahri Ecevit, was a professor of forensic medicine at Ankara Law Faculty and served as the Kastamonu member of parliament of CHP in 1943 (Ecevit, Demokratik Sol, 2019). He completed his high school education at Robert College in 1944. Ecevit went on to Ankara University Faculty of Language and History-Geography for a while and started his working life as a translator in the General Directorate of Press Publications. In 1946, he became the Clerk of the Press Attaché at Turkey's Embassy in London. (Ecevit, Demokratik Sol, 2008). His relationship with politics began in 1954 when the CHP signed up to Çankaya Seedbed. Continuing in politics as well as journalism, Ecevit continued writing as a guest journalist for the newspaper The Journal and Sentinel in Winston-Salem between late 1954 and early 1955 (Cinemre, 2009). Ecevit, who was elected as a member of parliament for the first time in 1957 and served as CHP member of parliament from Ankara and Zonguldak until 1980, entered the CHP Party Assembly from İsmet İnönü's list on January 12, 1959 (Bozkır, 2005). Ecevit was elected Zonguldak member of parliament in the 1965 election, when the CHP was the opposition party. Ecevit, who came up with the idea of "Left of Center" with this election, later became the symbol of this movement (Çolak, 2016). His political career began to rise with the democratic left movement, which began in the CHP on October 18, 1966, and he was elected as the General Secretary of the party. He opposed the CHP's contribution to the government formed after the March 12, 1971 Military Memorandum and resigned from the position of Secretary General on March 21, 1971. At the 5th extraordinary CHP Congress held in 1972, he was elected as the Chairman of the CHP. Although the CHP was declared as the first party in the 1973 elections, it did not reach a majority to form a government, but he served as prime minister for the first time in the CHP-MSP (National Salvation Party) coalition on February 6, 1974 (Esmer Tütüncü, 2008). In the same year, he carried out the Cyprus Peace Operation. With the self-assurance of the Cyprus Peace Operation, Ecevit was able to form a minority government but his government did not get the vote of confidence even though his party came first in the election on June 21, 1977. He was able to serve as prime minister for nearly two years in the government established in 1978 (Erdoğan C. , 2017). After the coup of September 12, 1980, he was sentenced to prison three times by the military administration, which he found anti-democratic and had opposed. Nearly 130 lawsuits have been filed against him for continuing his political work during the period when he was suspended from politics for nearly 10 years along with many other politicians. The Democratic Left Party was founded on November 14, 1985 under the leadership of his wife Rahşan Ecevit. With the abolition of political prohibitions by popular vote in 1987, he became head of the DSP (Democratic Left Party) on September 13, 1987. However, he announced that he would quit politics and the presidency due to his party's failure to pass the threshold at the 1987 general election. Bülent Ecevit returned to politics in 1989 to serve as the leader of his party. He was elected as a member of parliament from Zonguldak in the 1991 general elections,

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becoming deputy prime minister in the 55th Government established on June 30, 1997, and for the 4th time in the 56th minority government established on January 11, 1999. Ecevit served in the 57th Government which was established on May 28, 1999 as the prime minister for the 5th time until 2002. At the 6th Ordinary Grand Assembly of the DSP held on July 24 2004, he resigned from his position as the Chairman. On May 18, 2006, Ecevit suffered a brain hemorrhage and was treated at the Ankara Gülhane Military Medical Academy and died on November 5, 2006 at the age of 81. On November 11, 2006, his body was buried in the State Cemetery (“Ak Güvercin” ve “Mavi Gömlek” Simgelerinin Ardındaki insan: Bülent Ecevit, 2019).

### Necmettin Erbakan

Necmettin Erbakan is the founder of the National Vision movement, led the mainstream Islamist movement and served as Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey. He has been given the title of “hodja” in Turkish politics with the politicians he has trained alongside the political parties he founded and directed (Baykal & Çaha, 2017).

He was born on October 29, 1926 in Sinop. His father’s name is Mehmet Sabri Erbakan. His mother’s name is Kamer Hanım (Akgül, 2011). He started primary school in Kayseri Cumhuriyet Primary School, but after his father’s appointment to Trabzon, he completed his primary school education here and finished as a top grade student. After finishing his primary school education in 1937, he started his secondary education at Istanbul Male High School in the same year; he graduated from Istanbul Male High School in 1943 with a first class degree (Akın, 1976). He started his higher education in the second grade of Istanbul Technical University. Erbakan was awarded the title of Professor in 1965, and in 1966 he became the head of the Industrial Department of the Union of Chambers; and in 1968 he became a Member of the Administrative Committee of the Union of Chambers. He was elected president of the Union of Chambers in May 1969. However, due to the then Demirel government’s cancellation of this decision, Erbakan resigned his position (Akgül, 2011). Upon this development, Erbakan decided to go into politics and applied to the Justice Party to become a candidate for parliament. However, his application here was vetoed. He was elected as an independent from Konya in the 1969 elections and entered the Assembly (Akın, 1976). In the 1969 elections, he was elected as an independent member of parliament from Konya and entered politics. He founded the National Order Party on January 17, 1970. Upon the closure of the National Order Party by the Constitutional Court during the 1971 coup, Erbakan founded the National Salvation Party with his friends in 1972 and managed to enter the assembly with 48 members of parliament and 3 senators, receiving 12% of the votes from the 1973 elections. After the elections in 1973, he became a partner in a coalition government with the CHP, and Erbakan served as Minister of state and deputy prime minister in the coalition government. During this period, he defended the Operation of Cyprus and

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insisted that the entire island be taken as a result of a disagreement with Bülent Ecevit, and on November 17, 1974 left the coalition with the CHP. Necmettin Erbakan, who served as the leader of the MSP, which served as the opposition until the September 12, 1980 coup, was kept out of politics until September 1987 due to the prohibitions imposed by the September 12, coup. Erbakan obtained the right to rejoin politics with the referendum held in September 1987, at the congress of the Welfare Party which was founded on July 19, 1983, held on October 11, 1987, he was unanimously re-elected as the party's chairman (Akgül, 2011).

### **Towards the 27 May Coup**

The Republican People's Party, founded by Atatürk, became the opposition for the first time after 23 years, after the DP won the elections held on May 14, 1950. Under the leadership of DP, Adnan Menderes founded the 19th Government of the Republic, but could not complete his year and had to resign on March 8, 1951. The 20th Government was also established under Adnan Menderes as Prime Minister and he was re-elected as the leader of the congress held by the Democratic Party. Furthermore, the activities of the National Party were halted on March 8, 1953 on the charge of "harming Atatürk's principles and ideas and using religion in politics", and in 1954 the court decided to close the National Party, believing it to be anti-secularist (Cumhuriyet'in "ilk darbesi", 2019).

In 1954, Menderes left the ballot box with a victory by increasing the DP votes and the number of members in the parliament, which brought Fuad Köprülü as Deputy Prime Minister and Fatih Rüştü Zorlu to the Ministry of State and Foreign Affairs as a result of these elections and formed the 21st government on May 17, 1954. As a result of these elections, the legitimacy of the Democratic Party began to increase and this caused the rise of opposing voices within the party. In 1955, Adnan Menderes was elected as the party chairman at the DP ordinary congress and 9 members of parliament who were seen as opponents in the party were expelled. All 10 members of parliament who objected to these issuances resigned from the party. In the following periods, Sıtkı Yırcalı, Hasan Polatkan and Fatih Rüştü Zorlu were forced to resign from the ministries due to the debates in the assembly board. After all these developments, when the resignation of all the Cabinet members started to come on the agenda, Adnan Menderes submitted the resignation of the government to the then President Celal Bayar and the government fell (Weiker, 1967).

After President Celal Bayar authorized Adnan Menderes to form a government again, Menderes formed the 22nd government on 9 December 1955 and the life of this government continued until the 1957 election. In the 1957 elections, the DP lost votes and members of parliament, although it won the election. Political upheavals and antagonisms in the country began to increase despite the establishment of the 23rd Government by Adnan

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Menderes on November 25, 1957 (Börekçi, 2013). When the DP began to intimidate the CHP for its activities in the 1958 parliamentary speech, a counter-statement came from the CHP and the statement stated: “CHP is the biggest guarantor of democracy because it is the protector of the Republic and the government.” During this tense period in politics, dissatisfaction in the military began to increase. While Rüştü Erdelüm was appointed as the Chief of General Staff on August 22, 1958, Full General Cemal Gürsel was appointed as the Commander of the Land Forces. However, the tension between the politicians continued to increase. The discussions between İsmet İnönü and Menderes on the “gallows” and the “punching” made the parties even more tense against each other (Akıncı, 2014).

### **Arabic Azan Decision**

After Adnan Menderes government’s decision on the Arabic Azan, this ruling drew reactions from the communities, especially the military. Reactions to CHP members of parliament as well as making Kırşehir a province, caused this antagonism to greatly increase. With the lifting of the ban on Arabic Azan by the DP, Menderes was accused by the opponents of trying to destroy the institutions of the Republic and of betraying the Republic. Celal Bayar delayed the ratification of the law for a long time. Menderes also reacted to this process and removed İnönü’s sketches from the coins. Upon these developments, Military Schools, Universities and members of parliament started to send messages to the military with opposing communications. The military watched developments closely during this period and expected a possible conflict between the United States and Menderes, and it was the conflict they had been waiting for. During this period, Menderes tried to seek support over the dispute with the United States, this time using the option to improve relations with Soviet Russia (27 Mayıs darbesi ne için yapılmıştı?, 2019).

While these were on the agenda, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes moved to England to discuss the Cyprus issue. The aircraft crashed near Gatwick Airport in London on February 17, 1959. Adnan Menderes miraculously survived this plane crash that killed 14 passengers (Emiroğlu, 2011).

By 1960, domestic unrest increased and the political environment became more tense. The verbal polemic among politicians then became constant, and the opposing actions increased further. İnönü was attacked in Uşak and Istanbul in May 1959, in the same way CHP buses were attacked. The CHP blamed the DP and Said Nursi supporters for the attacks, claiming that there was a treaty between the DP and Said Nursi, but Adnan Menderes denied the CHP’s claims and accused the CHP of being a “front of hypocrisy.” While the Democratic Party’s pressures on the CHP continued, Ismet İnönü sent a warning message to the DP. The DP perceived these words as provocations and a



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press and activity investigation was launched on CHP on April 18, 1960 (Göktepe Cihat, 2012).

However, the severity and number of events began to gradually increase. The increasing events in the country and the harshness of the politicians' words to each other did not escape the attention of the military. Cemal Gürsel, the Commander of the Land Forces of the period, wrote a letter to the Minister of Defense Ethem Menderes on May 3, 1960, mentioning the concern about the situation, and then the Cadets marched to Ankara Kızılay on May 5, 1960. However, instead of calming the students, prime minister Adnan Menderes took an increasingly harsh attitude, causing the tension to rise even higher. After these developments, there was talk of the necessity of intervention between Celal Bayar and Namık Gedik, the Minister of the Interior. Adnan Menderes went on a trip to Izmir after the demonstration (Akıncı, 2014).

Some of the demonstrations in the Military School also showed that some of the soldiers were disturbed by the DP. On May 22, a ban on meetings and actions was imposed in Ankara. During Menderes' trip to Izmir on May 27, the students of the Military Academy marched peacefully to the "Victory Monument" (Emiroğlu, 2011).

One of the interesting things is that on May 26, Erdelhun, who was the Chief of Staff at the time, made statements that the military was affiliated to the DP. But the coup the following day clearly showed that the military was divided within itself. On the night of May 26, the committee, consisting of 38 anti-government generals and officers, reported that on the morning of May 27, along with tanks, Colonel Alparslan Türkeş had seized the government of the country with a statement read out on the radio (Cumhuriyet'in "ilk darbesi", 2019).

### **From May 27 to March 12 and from March 12 to September 12**

The Military Junta overthrew the power of the Democratic Party on May 27, 1960 and the DP leaders were put on trial. Although the Junta, which tried Menderes and his friends, did not decide to ban the parties, many groups began to form new parties in accordance with the spirit of this period. The CHP decided to continue on its path. The Democratic Party was banned by the court on formal grounds, as it did not hold its congress on time on September 29, 1960 (Weiker, 1967). The Justice Party which was a candidate to replace it was formed in 1961. In the same year, 10 more parties were formed, including left-wing parties such as the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP) and many right-wing parties that wanted to inherit the DP. Although the pace of forming new parties fell considerably in later years, 10 more parties were formed by the March 12, 1971 memorandum. Thus, during this period, 26 parties were active together with the CHP and the AP (Erdoğan T. , 2017). Many of these parties soon disbanded; the CHP was successful enough to establish itself as an independent channel and enter parliament,

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rather than as an opposition from within.

One of the benefits Turkey gained with the 1961 Constitution was the Constitutional Court. Parties were prevented from being shut down by arbitrary rulings of martial law practices or by ordinary judicial bodies such as the courts of first instance. As a more serious and higher judicial body, the Constitutional Court concluded five cases in this period with a decision to close them down. The Workers' Party of Turkey, Labor-Farmer Party, the Great Anatolia Party, Turkey Forward Ideal Party and the National Order Party was closed down towards the end of this period (Akyol, 2009).

As a result of the memorandum that the military junta gave to the AP Power on March 12, 1971, the parliament was not dissolved and the parties were not shut down during this period, as the government passed to some of the regime-controlled governments. New parties were added to the existing parties in this period. Of these, the National Salvation Party was established to replace the National Order Party, which was closed by the Constitutional Court; the other was the Republican Reliance Party, a re-established version of the Reliance Party of the earlier period. But it was the left-wing parties that gave this period its original hue. The closed TİP was re-established in 1975, while other left-wing parties formed during this period were: the Socialist Labor Party of Turkey, the Nation Party, the Labor Party of Turkey, the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey and the Socialist Nation Party and others (Kabasakal, 2013).

### Ahmet Kenan Evren

The seventh president of the Republic of Turkey was born in Manisa Alaşehir on July 17, 1917. This date is mentioned in the population records as January 1, 1918. His father, Hayrullah Bey, graduated from Fatih Madrasah and worked in various civil duties and his mother was Naciye Hanım. After primary school, he went to secondary school in Manisa for free boarding. He continued his education at Maltepe Military High School in Topkapı. He graduated from this high school in 1936 and the Cadet School as an artillery sub-lieutenant in 1938. He was promoted to first lieutenant duty in August 1942. He graduated from the Military Academy, where he enrolled in 1946, in 1949 he then rose to become captain of the staff (1950). He worked as a Section Supervisor of the General Staff Training Branch (1952-1956). After being promoted to lieutenant colonel, he was assigned to Istanbul and appointed deputy head of the First Army Operations Department. He taught at the Army Staff College. During the revolution of May 27, 1960, he was the chief of staff of the Ordnance School. During his tenure as chief of staff, the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation was carried out. He became the Ordinary General at the first rank in 1974. He continued as chief of staff of the Land Forces for another year. General Semih Sancar became the second chief of the General Staff during his presidency of General Staff. He was appointed Commander of the Aegean Army

established after the Cyprus Peace Operation (1976-1977). Evren was appointed as Commander of the Land Forces on September 5, 1977. On May 27, the deputy leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, Gün Sazak, was killed. Dozens of people have died in a chain of events in Çorum to protest against Sazak's killing. Haydar Saltık presented his final "Flag Operation Plan" to Evren on June 4. On June 24, the Nationalist Movement Party Istanbul Gaziosmanpaşa District President Ali Rıza Altınok and his family were assassinated. Nihat Erim who was appointed as Prime Minister on March 12 was killed on July 19, and Kemal Türker, the Chairman of the Mine Labor Union, was killed on July 22. On September 5, with the assurance of the National Salvation Party, the Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmén was removed from the ministry. On September 6, 1980, during the Konya Rally organized by the National Salvation Party, it was concluded that the necessary conditions for the intervention took place. Shortly after that on the morning of September 12, 1980 the Turkish Armed Forces seized the administration of the country within the chain of command to carry out the duty of protection and protecting the Republic of Turkey based on the Internal Service Law. On July 1, 1983, Evren handed over the post of Chief of the General Staff to Full General Nurettin Ersin and left the military (Karakoç, Kenan Evren, 1988).

Serial No.	Party Name	Abbreviations Name	Headquarter	Founding Date	Expiration Date	Expiration Reason
1	Liberty Party 2	(HP)2	Ankara	19.07.1960	1960	Disbanded
2	Socialist Party		Ankara	19.01.1961	1962	Closed with Congress Decision
3	Conservative Liberal Party		Ankara	06.02.1961	1961	Disbanded
4	Labor Party 2		Ankara	11.02.1961	07.03.1961	Merged with Socialist Party
5	Republican Professional Reform Party		Ankara	11.02.1961	1961	Disbanded.
6	Nation Liberal Party		Ankara	11.02.1961	1964	Closed with Congress Decision
7	Justice Party 1	AP (1)	Ankara	11.02.1961	16.10.1981	dated 16.10.1981 and no. 2533
8	New Turkey Party	YTP(1)	Ankara	13.02.1961	19.03.1973	closed by law no. Closed by Congress Decision
9	Workers' Party of Turkey 1	TİP(1)	Istanbul	13.02.1961	20.07.1971	Closed by the Constitutional Court.

10	Reliance Party (1)	GP(1)	Istanbul	13.02.1961	1961	Closed by Congress Decision
11	Equality Party		Istanbul	13.02.1961	1961	Closed by Court Decision
12	Service to the Nation Party		Istanbul	13.02.1961	19.03.1961	Closed with Congress Decision
13	Conservative Party		Ankara	13.02.1961	1966	Closed with Congress Decision
14	Republican Party		Istanbul	13.02.1961	1961	Disbanded.

Annex-1 Political Parties Established in the Multi-Party Period - (1960-1980)

S: No.	Party Name	Abbreviations Name	Headquarter	Founding Date	Expiration Date	Expiration Reason
15	Kemalist Youth Party		Istanbul	18.02.1961	1966	Disbanded
16	Labor-Farmer Party		Ankara	30.03.1961	15.10.1968	Closed by Constitutional Court
17	Free Socialist Party		Istanbul	10.06.1961	1964	Disbanded
18	Revolution Party		Izmir	09.11.1961	1961	It could not start operations because it was seen as contrary to the decision of MBK No. 1
19	New Democratic Party		Ankara	18.12.1961	1961	Disbanded
20	946s National Struggle Party		Eskişehir	16.04.1962	1962	Disbanded

21	Radical Party		Istanbul	28.05.1962	1963	Closed with Congress Decision
22	Justice Party 2		Ankara	14.06.1962	16.10.1981	Closed on 16.10.1981 with law no. 2533
23	Salvation Party		Izmir	14.07.1962	1964	Closed with Congress Decision
24	New Peasant Party		Izmir	22.06.1964	1966	Disbanded
25	Social Democratic Party -1		Ankara	21.09.1964	1965	Closed with Congress Decision
26	Union Party of Turkey		Ankara	17.10.1966	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
27	Reliance Party 2		Ankara	12.05.1967	(17.10.1971)	Name changed, became MGP (National Reliance Party)
28	National Reliance Party		Ankara	17.01.1971	(04.03.1973)	Merged with CP (Republican Party) and changed name. Became CGP (Republican Reliance Party).
29	Republican Reliance Party		Ankara	04.03.1973	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
30	Democratic Union Party of Turkey		Sivas	12.11.1967	1968	Disbanded
31	Turkey Forward Ideal Party		Istanbul	06.05.1969	29.06.1971	Closed by the Constitutional Court
32	Grand Anatolian Party-1		Ankara	05.11.1969	19.12.1972	Closed by Constitutional Court

33	National Order Party		Ankara	26.01.1970	20.05.1971	Closed by Constitutional Court
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Annex-2 Political Parties Established in the Multi-Party Period - (1960-1980) II

No.	The Name of the Party	Abbreviations Name	Headquarter	Founding Date	Expiration Date	Expiration Reason
34	Democrats Party		Ankara	06.05.1969	1971	Closed by congress decision
35	Democratic Party		Ankara	18.12.1970	04.05.1980	Closed by congress decision
36	Republican Party-2		Ankara	04.09.1972	04.03.1973	Merged with National Reliance Party
37	National Salvation Party		Ankara	11.10.1972	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
38	National Women's Party of Turkey		Istanbul	17.11.1972	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
39	Great Force Party		Istanbul	30.03.1973	(*)	(*)
40	Turkey Fraternity Party		Istanbul	24.11.1973	17.01.1974	Closed by congress decision
41	Socialist Labor Party of Turkey-2 TSİP		Istanbul	26.06.1974	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
42	Reliance Party (2)		Istanbul	21.01.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
43	Democratic Party-2		Ankara	22.01.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533



44	Labor Party of Turkey		Istanbul	12.02.1975	08.05.1980	Closed by Constitutional Court.
45	Workers' Party of Turkey- 2		Ankara	30.04.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
46	Socialist Revolution Party		Ankara	30.05.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
47	Order Party		Ankara	14.01.1977	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
48	Socialist Movement Party		Samsun	14.09.1977	(*)	(*)
49	Turkey Social Justice Party		Ankara	17.10.1977	18.11.1978	Closed by congress decision
50	Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey		Ankara	30.01.1978	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
51	Socialist Reliance Party		Istanbul	28.08.1979	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
52	Freedom Party		Istanbul	20.12.1979	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
53	Free Democrats Party		Istanbul	27.06.1980	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533

Annex-3 Political Parties Established in the Multi-Party Period - (1960-1980) III

### **Conclusion**

In this study, information is given about newly formed political parties and their actors from 1960 until 1980. The subject is expanded and explained with the tables presented in the annexes. The exploits of Turkey's turbulent political period from the 1960s to the 1980s were analyzed with information and tables in sources and documents and information about 53 parties established during this period was provided.

After the coup of May 27, although democracy in Turkey was disrupted, the multi-party life and the democracy journey continued and experienced unrest on its way. After the

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coup of May 27, serious changes were made to the executive power of the government of the Republic of Turkey by military administration. After the military coup, multi-party life continued by increasing its influence on society. Many parties gained seats in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and had a chance to represent society. Although Talat Aydemir attempted a coup in 1962 and 1963, this did not stop progress. As a result of the parties established after the coup, Turkish politics gained new actors and these actors became decision makers in the most important stages of Turkish democracy. Politicians such as Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit, Necmettin Erbakan, and Alparslan Türkeş became the most important politicians of 1960 and later.

On March 12, 1971, instead of carrying out a direct military coup against Turkish democracy, the military memorandum was issued. During this period, requests for the withdrawal of the Government from the office were directly advanced. Thus, and by creating a coup, they took direct control. However, despite this military memorandum, Turkish political life and democracy continued energetically on its track. From 1961 until the military coup of 1980, 53 established parties have revealed this situation without hiding anything. In the development of Turkish democracy, the influence of politicians who have adopted democracy, such as Bülent Ecevit, Süleyman Demirel, Necmettin Erbakan, Alparslan Türkeş and İsmet İnönü, despite their mistakes, are very important.

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