

تقييم امكانية تطبيق نماذج «دوفيرجر» و « نيومان » للحزب السياسية

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يعتمد على الكوادر « اقرب الى وصف الحزب الجمهوري وذلك اذا ما كان معيارنا الاساسي هو طريقة تشكيل القيادة وموقعها من حياة الحزب والجماهير . اما الحزب الديمقراطي فانه منذ البداية قام كحزب يعتمد على الكوادر ، حيث ولد من خلال معارضة مؤسسيه لسياسة الحزب الجمهوري، تلك المعارضة التي اتخذت من البرلمان التركي مكانا لنشاطها .

وتخلص الدراسة الى ان نموذج « دوفيرجر » يعتبر ذا فائدة كبيرة لتقسيم الاحزاب السياسية الغربية حيث تتوفر معلومات كافية عن هيكل الحزب وطبيعة العضوية فيه ، وطرق تمويله المختلفة . اما نموذج « نيومان » فانه يعتبر اقل تحديدا حيث يعتمد تقسيم الاحزاب فيه على الوظائف المختلفة التي تقوم بها ، وعند تطبيق هذا النموذج على الاحزاب التركية يمكن القول انها احزاب ديمقراطية لها وظائف ثلاث تقسيم «نيومان» للاحزاب ذات الوظائف الاربعة

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى محاولة التعرف على امكانية تطبيق كل من نموذج « موريس دوفيرجر» ونموذج « سيجموند نيومان » على الاحزاب السياسية في تركيا في الفترة ما بين ١٩٤٥ و ١٩٦٠ وهو العام الذي استولى فيه الجيش على السلطة .

ويرى الباحث ان الحزبية في تركيا بمفهومها الديمقراطي لم تبدأ الا سنة ١٩٤٥ وذلك عندما ولد الحزب الديمقراطي ليأخذ مكان المعارضة من الحزب الجمهوري الحاكم . وقبل ان تبدأ الدراسة في تحليل هيكل ووظيفة وقيادة وتمويل كل من الحزبين المذكورين تنصرف الى محاولة تحليل كل من نموذج « دوفيرجر » و « نيومان » للاحزاب السياسية .

وبينما ينطبق نموذج « الحزب الذي يعتمد على الجماهير » على الحزب الجمهوري عندما يكون المعيار الاساسي هو طريقة تمويل الحزب وهيكله العام وتمركز السلطة يكون نموذج « الحزب الذي

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE UTILITY OF THE DUVERGER AND NEUMANN PARTY TYPOLOGIES.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will attempt to assess the utility of Maurice Duverger's and Sigmund Neumann's party typologies. Both models of our two writers would be assessed by using them to fit the Turkish political parties.

The parties we are going to examine are as follows: The Republican People's Party and the Democratic Party. We selected these two parties because they are the largest and most effective parties in Turkish politics. We will begin this paper by examining each of the writers' model followed by some information about the above mentioned political parties. Then we will examine the summary which will cover the assessment according to the data available for us about the two parties, and whether they fit into our typologies or not.

In this paper the period of study will be from 1945 until 1960. *

II. THE TYPOLOGIES

Duverger's Typology: I

In summarizing Duverger's book about political parties we can say that the main emphasis lay on the structure of the political party. To Duverger there are three basic political parties: cadre, mass, and devotee parties.

Associated with each of these types are certain characteristics such as, organization, membership, and leadership. One of the most marked features of a party structure according to Duverger is its heterogeneity.

The basic organization of the cadre party is the caucus, which usually is narrowly recruited, and they are independent of one another and decentralized in power. The activities of the caucus is seasonal: it functions around election time. Their leadership is in the hands of their parliamentary representatives, and the life of the party stems from rivalry among the different leaders and their followers. Doctrine and ideology problems play a very minor role, the party thus concerns itself with political issues. Because of the small number of members cadre party finance is based on donations instead of subscription: on this matter the party is — dependent — for its finance.

The leadership in a cadre party is a leadership directed by the caucus. The leadership because of decentralization, is a rather loose type of leadership.

Our second type of party is the mass party where we find the branch as a substitute of the caucus as the basic structure. These branches are working units, wider-based and less exclusive here, for besides election there are the attempts to educate their members politically. There are, therefore, many branches which have a strong link with each other.

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* When the army led by Gussel overthrew Menderes' government.

1 — This summary is based on Duverger's book, *Political Parties*, and on A. Wildavsky's article «A methodological critique of Duverger's political parties», in D. Apter and Eckstein (eds.), *Comparative Politics*.

and enjoy strong centralized power.

The membership in the mass party is large, and the party members are the main channel of the party finance. Doctrine plays a much more important role in mass party than that of a cadre.

In the case of leadership you find a sort of bureaucratic leadership with a strong centralized power. The power does not reside in one person, so the personal aspect in leading becomes less important.

The third type of Duverger's typology is the devotee party, which has its basic unit in either the cell or some kind of a private army. The communist party is based on the working cell, but the fascist parties are based on the private armies or militia. Both cells and militias are very centralized in terms of power and authority comes from the top to bottom. The communist party is egalitarian, and bases its recruitment on the workers, but the fascist party is aristocratic.

The membership in a devotee party is large but it requires devotion. Thus it is very highly selective. As in a mass party, the devotee party's main financial resources are based in the members' subscriptions. Leadership in the devotee party is very powerful and highly centralized.

Neumann's Typology: 2

In contrast to Duverger who is more interested in the party structure, Neumann is very much concerned with the sociological point of view, i.e., the function of the party in a given society. To Neumann there are no clear ways of classifying our political parties. However, he distinguished two categories of parties: The party of individual representation, which might exist in a society with limited political representation and the members' activities are only witnessed at election time. This type brings to our attention Duverger's cadre party with regard to the members' participation in the party's activities.).

The other category of Neumann's parties is the party which has a large membership and in which the members are very active.

Neumann subdivided this type into two parts: those of a democratic nature, and those of a totalitarian nature. Neumann insisted on the function of a political party such as selection of leaders and serving as a link between the people and the government.

III. MAJOR TURKISH POLITICAL PARTIES

All political parties of Turkey established after 1945 were born directly as a result of secession from the Republican Party. There were many of them but our concern will focus on the Republican party and the Democratic party. The secession began not among the people, but among the deputies; thus the new political parties were born in the National Assembly and not among the people. The birth of the new parties was a result of conflict between personalities, not a conflict of ideologies. The new parties' leadership lay in the hands of the Parliamentary representatives and this reminds us of Duverger's cadre party's leadership.

The political parties in Turkey do not represent according to Karpas: «...any specific social class but aim theoretically speaking at representing the whole of the nation».³

The political parties of Turkey are dominated by personalities. The party normally is subordinate to its leader. It seems to me that such a leadership resembles the leadership of Duverger's cadre party.

All the major political parties of Turkey are right off center. All of them base their philosophy on nationalism and secularism.

One of the oldest parties in Turkey is the **Republican Party** which is associated directly with Ataturk. The Republican Party was originated in the Association for the Defense of Rights established in Anatolia and Thrace which consisted in part of the members of the defunct union and progress party. 4 The first chairman of the party was Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Recep Peker was elected Secretary-General.

2 — This summary is based on Neumann's article, «Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties», in **Modern Political Parties** (Chicago Press, 1956).

3 — K. H. Karpas, **Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System**. Princeton, New Jersey, 1959.

From 1923 to 1945 the Republican Party was the supreme and only power in Turkey, and as the agent of the revolution the party took over the power of the local magnates. The slogan of the party was «One party, one nation, one leader». This situation is clearly in conflict with the position Neumann holds : only the coexistence of at least another competitive group makes a political party real. The Republican party was not a real party. This was realized by the Republican party leaders in 1945, when they allowed the establishment of opposition parties.

The Republican party proclaimed station as its major economic tenet and rejected leftist, liberal, and rightist ideas.

The internal organization of the party is based first on the provincial bodies consisting of precinct, county, and district province organization and convention, executive boards, and province. The conventions of the provincial organizations, in addition to directing the main party activity, elect the executive provincial boards which carry out the day to day party activities. The General Party Convention, the supreme policy-making body composed of elected and ex-officio delegates, meets every year between April and June.

The financial resources of the party are derived from dues paid by its members, lotteries, party pins, publications, revenue from its properties, social activities, and donations. In financial matters we can see a combination of Duverger's cadre and mass party financial support, represented in the Republican party way of making money.

The Republican party ended its term in office as a result of the 1950 election which put the Democratic party in office. The Republican party, at the time of its defeat, was decreased but as a whole it has a large membership which includes all political tendencies. But today its main support comes in general from the urban centers, the intelligentsia, and salaried workers. Looking at the outcome of elections we find that in 1950 the Republicans received 3,165,096 votes as against 4,242,831 for the Democratic party out of a total of 7,953,055 votes cast. In the 1954 election it received 3,193,000 votes as against 5,313,000

votes received by the Democratic party out of a total of 9,095,000 votes cast. In the election of 1957 it received 3,767,000 votes, which is about 640,000 less than the party in power which had 4,407,000 votes.

The second major party in Turkey is the Democratic party, which was established on January 7, 1946 by Gelal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Faud Koprulu and Refik Koraltan, all of whom were ex-members of the Republican party. On the day that it was established the Democratic party concentrated its attacks on the anti-democratic features of the Republican Administration. Thus the Democratic party did not introduce any kind of ideology besides opposing the ruling party. The Democratic party from the beginning, was not ideologically oriented and we can say at this stage that it fits Duverger's cadre party.

The Democratic party derived its support in its first year from all social groups and all of those who were against the Republicans. Gelal Bayar claimed that the party had over one million members after 11 months of the party's life. This cannot be proved because of lack of data.

The structure of the Democratic party is based on branches. The party convention is the supreme body. The power is very much centralized in the hands of the central committee.

The Democratic party concentrated its efforts in the villages. Thus it acquired the peasant's support. The Democratic party held office in Turkey from 1950 until 1960 when it was overthrown by the army. The party draws its members from farmers, workers, and businessmen.

Between 1950 and 1954, Turkey enjoyed under the Democratic party a relatively free and democratic life. The Democratic party adopted a rather liberal view on religion by allowing the reading of the call to prayer in Arabic (this was forbidden by the Republicans).

However, later on the Democratic party overlooked the multi-party system and democracy in general, which had been its goal when it came to power.

These later totalitarian tendencies of the

Democratic party brought the army into politics and eventually overthrew the Democratic party government. The Democratic party was reorganized and changed its name to the Justice party, which played an important role in the recent Turkish election.

IV. SUMMARY

One look at our mentioned political parties, we can see they exhibit a number of characteristics put forward by Duverger. The Republican party resembled more of what Duverger calls a mass type of party, if we consider the party finance, basic party structure — branch — and the centralization of power in the hands of the central committee, which has bureaucratic features and is centered around the prestigious chairman Mr. Inonu. The membership is drawn from all classes, but the leadership resides with the middle class. In talking about leadership we can notice a deviation from the characteristic Duverger stated about the mass party in the sense that the party is led by its representatives in the National Assembly, who enjoy a great influence in conducting party affairs. In the views of these various characteristics it is reasonable to say that the Republican party can fit into either the mass or the cadre types of party if we look to Neumann's types of party. We can say that the Republican party before 1945 was not a real party because it had no competition. But after 1945 the Republican party was a democratic party.

In the case of the Democratic party the distinction is clear, because from the beginning it resembled the cadre party. It was established in the National Assembly and through its short life the power centered around its representatives. The local branches were given more power, therefore the power is not very

centralized. The party was not ideologically oriented and was born as a result of opposition to the Republican party. With regard to the party finance, we do not have any data, but apparently after it was in office it drew heavily from the government budget.

In conclusion, it seems to me that Duverger's typology can be very useful to classify western political parties where there is sufficient data concerning the party membership, the structure, and the party finance, but in the case of Turkey, it is hard to apply Duverger's typology in precise terms. Neumann's typology is very general and according to the functions played by the Turkish political parties we can classify them as democratic parties that fit Neumann's four party functions.

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