

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC**

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**ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in Political Science

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE TURKISH POLITICAL  
SYSTEM DURING THE JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT  
PARTY**

Speciality: 5904.01 - Political institutions and systems  
Field of science: Political science  
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**Baku - 2022**

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## **GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION**

**Relevance of the topic and degree of development.** Although the discussion about the forms of governance based on the nature of the relations between the branches of power has a long history in the world experience, it started mainly in Turkey since 1982. In many countries of the world, including Turkey, the form of parliamentary governance has been changed due to the claim that it cannot solve government problems.

Although Turkey, which has a long experience of parliamentarism, introduced pure parliamentarism with the constitutional amendment of 1961, the parliamentary system could not help to solve the problems in this country, and this was clearly shown by the military coups. As a result of the military coup that took place on September 12, 1980, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel was forced to resign, and the activities of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and political parties were banned. After the party leaders were kept under military surveillance for a while, they were tried before the court. After this political crisis that lasted for 2 years, the parliamentary system began to lose its purity with the changes made to the constitution in 1982. It was from that period that serious discussions about the transition to a new government system began. Leaders such as Turgut Özal, Süleyman Demirel, and Alparslan Türkeş proposed a transition to a new administration in order to facilitate the solution of these problems, and thanks to this, it was thought that the election of the president directly by the people for a certain period of time and the inability of the parliament to dismiss the government by showing a lack of confidence would create stability.

During the rule of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the founder of the Justice and Development Party, who came to power in 2002, the change of the government system became more serious. In 2007, R.T.Erdogan, who won the support of the people again, brought the constitutional changes to a referendum and ensured the election of the head of state by the people, which was an important step in the transition to the presidential system. In 2010, the referendum held in Turkey in order to increase the role of political power overturned the plans of the forces that have a "parallel state" and have been holding

the overthrow of political power by force for many years, and created the basis for the continuation of new constitutional reforms. In the following period, the continuous terror and threats of the PKK terrorist groups, the issue of more than 3 million refugees from Syria, repeated terrorist attacks in the country, and the attempted coup by the terrorist organization FETÖ on July 15, 2016, increased the demand for a strong presidential system. As a result of the referendum held in April 2017, a transition was made from the parliamentary system to the presidential one. Undoubtedly, the transition to the presidential form of government in the country was not welcomed unequivocally. President Erdogan claims that the new system will stabilize decision-making and eliminate the awkward parliamentary coalitions that have held Turkey back from development in the past. Critics of the system change claim that the new form of governance will be an "elected dictatorship", that the separation of powers will disappear, that the parliament will have no legal authority, and that the president will not be able to be held accountable for his/her mistakes.

To determine the advantages and disadvantages of the implemented system, it is necessary to wait for the completion of the election period of 4-5 years. Since this period is not yet complete, it is possible to talk about more possibilities. From this point of view, what are the consequences of the introduction of the new government system in Turkey for the country and in which direction the process will develop from now on is relevant.

The provisions justifying the relevance of the research topic can be listed as follows:

- In the context of the system centralization policy of the AK Party in Turkey, the gaining power of a charismatic leader who has the power to seriously change the geopolitical and geoeconomic situation in global politics, who can lead not only at the national and state level, but also beyond the national scale;

- At a time when there is competition in the direction of changing the system of international relations in the world, in the direction of the world order, the referendum change in Turkey led to successful changes in the way of this country becoming a global power;

- The influence of the strong presidential factor and the independent political line of the president on the development of the defense industry, which is the impetus for the change of the world order in Turkey;

- Regional security problems, the impact of Ankara's policy in the context of national interests on regional and global politics in exchange for the risks it creates for Turkey;

- The fact that the new government system implemented in Turkey has similar features to the successfully working presidential model in Azerbaijan;

- Implementation of political transformation in the most recent history;

- The fact that the submitted dissertation is the first comprehensive research in political science in this field, etc.

The change of the government system in Turkey and the implementation of the changes since 2018 showed the relevance of the dissertation topic and ensured that it became the subject of research by numerous researchers. Although the events are new, they have been investigated by experts and researchers from different aspects. While working on the dissertation, literature and sources written in Azerbaijani, Russian, Turkish and English languages were examined.

The analysis of local sources shows that "Heydar Aliyev: Our independence is eternal", which reflected the eternal words of the national leader regarding the state government system and traditions, as well as a certain part of his activities and the multi-volume books "Development is our goal" containing President Ilham Aliyev's views on government play the role of a fundamental concept in this regard.<sup>1</sup>

Urkhon Alakbarov's works occupy one of the main places in terms of the analysis of public administration, which is the main research subject of the dissertation, from various aspects.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Əliyev H. Çıxışlar, nitqlər, bəyanatlar, məktublar, müsahibələr. Birinci kitab: iyun, 1993 – may, 1994 / bur. məsul R. Mehdiyev. – Bakı: Azərənşr, 1997. – 612 s.; Əliyev İ. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 119-cu kitab : Aprel 2022-May 2022. -Bakı: Azərənşr, 2022. – 391 s.

<sup>2</sup> Ələkbərov U. İnklüziv inkişafın idarə edilməsinin əsasları. (Ali məktəblər üçün dərslik), Bakı: Təhsil, 2018. – 216 s.; Alakbarov U. Sürdürülebilir İnsani Gelişim və

Rajab Rahimli's books and articles in which the foundations of public administration in Azerbaijan are analyzed, published in Turkey, can be considered a favorable source from the point of view of research, both in the analysis of the political system and during the research of the dissertation work, during the brief comparison of the administration system of Azerbaijan and Turkey.<sup>3</sup>

Books and articles authored by Ziyafat Habibova, Nigar Alakbarova, Murtaza Hasanov, Mustafa Isgenderzade and others are noteworthy in this regard.<sup>4</sup>

As a whole, the analysis of the scientific literature dedicated to various aspects of the subject in the political science context of Azerbaijan shows that a comprehensive study based on the change of the government system in Turkey and the analysis of the referendum results is not carried out within the framework of the dissertation.

In the works of English authors, there are enough sources that touch on various aspects of the problems we are investigating. L. K. T. Locke, J. Gingell, R. Aron, M. S. Shugart, and other authors related to the analysis of public administration forms should be specially emphasized in this list.<sup>5</sup> In his article "The perils of presidentialism",

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Ekoloji Sivilizasyonun Esasları, Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014, 180 s.

<sup>3</sup> Rehimli R. Azərbaycan Kamu Personel Yönetimi, Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi yayımı, 2016, 275 səh.; Rehimli R. Azərbaycan Devlet Personel Yönetimi, Ankara: Kültür Ajans Yayınları, 2011, 256 səh.; Rehimli R. Azərbaycan Cumhuriyeti'nin Devlet Yönetimi Yapısı ve Siyasal Sistemi, Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi, 2020, 3:1, ss.364-384

<sup>4</sup> Həbibova Z. Dəyişikliklərin idarə olunması və dövlət idarəçiliyi. Dərslük. Bakı, 2018. (İnternet resursu) <https://www.anl.az/el/Kitab/2019/04/2018-2356.pdf>; Ələkbərova N. Siyasi imicmeykinq. Ali məktəblərin magistratura pilləsi üçün dərslük, Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, 2019. – 247 s.; Hasanoğlu M. Kamu yönetiminin deęişimi ve azerbaycan yerel yönetimler sistemi üzerindeki etkisi // Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi , №2 (1) , ss. 111-133 . DOI: 10.33712/mana.484344; İsgəndərzadə M. Siyasət nəzəriyyəsi. Bakı:Apostrof, 2013

<sup>5</sup> Gingell J. və b. Modern political thought. New York: Routledge, 2000, 304 s.; Kenyon, T. Locke //Edwards A., Townshend J. Interpreting modern political philosophy, from Machiavelli to Marx. Palgrave: Macmillian, -2002. -256 s.; Shugart, "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and the Provision of Collective Goods in Less-Developed Countries"// Constitutional Political Economy 10, -1999, pp.53–

Juan Linz pointed out stability in the government, direct election of the president by the people, and strict separation of powers as the advantages of the presidential form of government. As weaknesses, he pointed out that if the government does not fulfill its promise, it waits until the end of the term of office, it is majoritarian instead of pluralist, and the possibility of cohabitation.<sup>6</sup> In Arend Lijphart's work "Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government", those features were put forward as strengths and weaknesses. A. Lijphart in the book "Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries" in the example of 36 democratic countries preferred the presidential form of government to the parliamentary system in terms of stability and legitimacy.<sup>7</sup>

Turkish language literature on the subject is quite rich. The book "A fairer world is possible"<sup>8</sup> by the President of the Republic of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, indirectly confirms that the implementation of the administration system, fair state building is also an important step towards becoming a world-famous state. In the works of authors such as Esat Cham, Kemal Gözler, Mümtazer Türköne, Munci Kapani, Ayferi Göze, İbrahim Kaboğlu, Turan İlter, Mustafa Kutlu, Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, Erdoğan Tezic, Cem Eroğul, Atilla Yayla, Umit Özdam, Atilla Özer, İhsan Kamalak, Mehmet Turhan, Faruk Bilir, Nazmiye Çağlar, Murat Aktaş, Bayram Coşkun, Nur Ulusahin, Gulgun Erdoğan Tosun, Tanju Tosun, Burhan Kuzu, Serap Yazıcı, Pınar Akçalı, Hüseyin Gül, presidential and parliamentary forms of governance, their strengths and weaknesses were analyzed. In Turkish-language literature, a dual opinion has emerged regarding the transition from the parliamentary form of government to the presidential form of government in Turkey. Some of them supported the solution of problems by applying rational reforms while retaining the 100-year experience of parliamentarism.

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88; Raymond A., *Sosyolojik Düşüncenin Evreleri*, [10-cu nəşr] / tər. ed. Korkmaz Alemdar.- Ankara: Kırmızı,- 2014. -480 s. və s.

<sup>6</sup> Linz J. "Parlemantarizmin Erdemleri", (Tər. Köker L.), // *Demokrasinin Küresel Yükselişi*, (Red. Diamond L. və Plattner M.F.), Ankara: Yetkin, 1995, s.55

<sup>7</sup> Lijphart A. *Demokrasi Motifleri Otuz Altı Ülkede Yönetim Biçimleri ve Performansları*, (Tər: Ayas G. və Bulsun U.), İstanbul :Salyangoz, 2006. s.44-45

<sup>8</sup> Erdoğan R.T. *Daha adil bir dünya mümkün*. Ankara:Turkuvaz Kitap, 2021. – 216 s.

According to authors such as Kemal Gözler, Mustafa Erdoğan, Erdal Onar, Faruk Ataay, Ergün Özbudun, Serap Yazıcı, Levent Gönenç, Nur Ulusahin, Halil Asilbay, Fevzi Demir, Zafer Üskül, the form of parliamentary governance should be protected by reforms.<sup>9</sup> In the book "General Theory of the State", Kemal Gözler characterized the fixed term of office of the president in the presidential system as both a democratic system and a system that leads to arbitrariness and abuse of power.<sup>10</sup> In her book "Presidential and Semi-Presidential Systems: An Assessment for Turkey", Serap Yazıcı also does not consider Turkey's transition to a presidential form of government as a successful step in terms of the future of the country, but she calls this system a strong system in terms of the fixed term of office of the legislative and executive branches of power and the absence of the right to dismiss each other.<sup>11</sup>

Ergun Özbudun's article "Government System Debates" puts forward an argument in support of the presidential form of government and states that the prime minister in the parliamentary form of government supported by a healthy one-party system is stronger than the president in the presidential form of government. Because the prime minister and his cabinet can influence the

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<sup>9</sup> Gözler K. Anayasa Hukukunun Genel Teorisi. Bursa:Ekin, 2011; Gözler K. "Türkiye'de Hükümetlere Nasıl İstikrar ve Etkinlik Kazandırılabilir?" // Türkiye Günlüğü, №62, 2000, s.25-47; Erdoğan, M. Türkiye'de anayasalar ve siyaset. Ankara:Liberte, 2012; Onar E. "Türkiye'nin Başkanlık veya Yarı-Başkanlık Sistemine geçmesi düşünülmelidir? " // Türkiye Barolar Birliği Jurnalı, N. 77, 2005, s.71-104; Atay F. "Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin başkanlık sistemi üzerine değerlendirme" // Alternatif Politika, Cild 5, №3, Dekabr 2017, s.266-294; Özbudun E. Hükümet sistemi tartışmaları karşılaştırmak // Yeni Türkiye Jurnalı, 2013, №51, s. 205-213; Yazıcı S. Başkanlık ve Yarı-başkanlık sistemleri. 4-cü nəşr. İstanbul:İBU, 2017; Gönenç L. Türkiye'deki Hükümet Sistemi Tartışmalarına İlişkin Değerlendirmeler //Yeni Türkiye Jurnalı, 2013, №51, s. 269-280; Uluşahin N. Anayasal tercih olarak başkanlık sistemi. Ankara: Yetkin. 1999; Asilbay H. "Parlamentar Sistem Ve Türkiye Açısından Bir Değerlendirme" // TBB jurnalı, N 104, 2013; Demir F. "Yarı Başkanlık Hükümet Sistemi ve Türkiye" // Yeni Türkiye, N51. Mart-Aprel, 2013,s.833-852; Üskül Z. Türkiye'nin Anayasa Sorunu. İstanbul:Afa,1991

<sup>10</sup> Gözler K. Devletin Genel Teorisi. 9-cu nəşr. Bursa:Ekin Kitabevi, 2018. S244

<sup>11</sup> Yazıcı S. Başkanlık ve Yarı-başkanlık sistemleri. 4-cü nəşr. İstanbul:İBU, 2017. s.183



legislation by relying on the party majority in the parliament. Then, the author emphasized that factors such as lagging economic development in the country, strengthening of stratification among the population, lack of political culture, sharpening of political polarization easily turned the presidential system into a dictatorship. In this way, the article states that the transition to this system is dangerous for the future of Turkey.<sup>12</sup>

Turkish researcher Atilla Özer in his book "Presidential government system and its applicability in Turkey" notes that the democratic nature of a system, the party system, which is more important than the form of governance, state-citizen relations, the existence of pressure and interest groups, is also related to the structure of the country, and the system these factors should be considered before the change.<sup>13</sup>

From this point of view, the Turkish-language literature on the subject is quite rich. The fundamental work of the President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan entitled "A fairer world is possible" indirectly confirms that the application of the government system in the required form, the building of a fair state is also an important step on the way to becoming a state mentioned in the world.<sup>14</sup>

Among the scientific researchers, the other group stated that the parliamentary form of governance is not working and that Turkey needs a new system. In the books of Burhan Kuzu, Cem Yaşın, Kudret Bülbül, Yüksel Demirkaya, Muhammed Taha Gergerlioğlu, and in the writings of Recep Yazıcıoğlu, Fahrettin Altun, Mustafa Canbey, Bülent Orakoğlu, Mehmet Metiner, Nazim Mavish, Erdal Tanas Karagöl, and Vedat Bilgin, the presidential form of government is supported.<sup>15</sup> In these studies, it is suggested that the election of the

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<sup>12</sup> Özbudun E. Hükümet sistemi tartışmaları karşılaştırmak // Yeni Türkiye Journalı, 2013, №51, s. 205-213. S208-212

<sup>13</sup> Özer, A. Başkanlık Hükümeti Sistemi ve Bu Sistemin Türkiye Açısından Uygulanabilirliği. Ankara: Şekerbank, 1997. S.70-73

<sup>14</sup> Erdoğan R.T. Daha adil bir dünya mümkün. Ankara:Turkuvaz Kitap, 2021. – 216 s.

<sup>15</sup> Kuzu B. Her yönü ile başkanlık sistemi. İstanbul:Babali, 2016; Yaşın C. Sistemin başkanlığı Türkiyede başkanlık sistemi. Ankara:Angiad, 2003; Bülbül K. Cumhurbaşkanlığı sistemi: nedenler, tespitler, beklentiler. 2-ci nəşr. Konya, 2017;

head of state by the people in countries dominated by the presidential system leads to the strengthening of democracy. The main argument supporting the presidential method is that the legitimacy of a head of state elected directly by the people will be strengthened, the people will know who they have chosen and will not re-elect him/her if s/he is not suitable after the end of his/her mandate. For example, Professor Burhan Kuzu, who was a member of the Constitutional Council in Turkey, called the presidential form of government applied in this country "Turkish-style presidential form of government" in his book "Presidential System With All Aspects", and accepted that this model is closer to the system used in some Latin American countries. Kuzu also stated that he does not accept the federal system in the United States, and that they apply a model that strengthens the form of local governance based on the unitary system in Turkey.<sup>16</sup> According to him, the lack of authority of the US president to make a decision causes government crises in America, and those problems will be prevented in Turkey.

Kudret Bülbül stated in the book "Presidential System: Reasons, Findings, Expectations" that the parliamentary form of government creates a system of bureaucracy and pressure on the military, judiciary, press, business and science. The author responded to the criticisms about the presidential form of governance, asserted that it will strengthen democracy and not dictatorship, that citizens' problems will be solved indirectly, that the decrees were made not to interfere with the legislative process, but to speed up decision-making.<sup>17</sup>

Cem Yashin compared presidential and parliamentary forms of governance in his work "The Presidency of the System: The Presidential System in Turkey" and suggested that the former is more

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Demirkaya Y. Cumhurbaşkanlığı hükümet sistemi: Kamu yönetiminde değişim. İstanbul: Hiperyayın, 2018; Gergerlioğlu M.T. Türk tipi cumhurbaşkanlığı: kurumların vesayetinden halkın iktidarına. İstanbul: Hayygroup, 2017; Yazıcıoğlu R. "Bu sistem değişmeli", 8.4.1995, Zaman; Altun F. "Erdoğanın başkanlığı", Sabah 19 yanvar 2015; Canbey M. "Tek çıkış yolu: başkanlık sistemi", Milat 21 yanvar 2015; və s

<sup>16</sup> Kuzu B. Her yönü ile başkanlık sistemi. İstanbul: Babali, 2016. S.165-166

<sup>17</sup> Bülbül K. Cumhurbaşkanlığı sistemi: nedenler, tespitler, beklentiler. 2-ci nəşr. Konya, 2017

democratic.<sup>18</sup> According to him, the reason for putting forward the presidential form of government in Turkey is the combination of representation and stability. Having a fixed term of office of the president ensures stability, and the electoral system, which requires the support of the majority, ensures the legitimacy of the power.<sup>19</sup>

Faruk Bilir states in his book "Government systems and presidential systems in 100 questions" that "losing everything" is not a bad thing for a loser in the form of presidential administration. So, in the parliamentary system, if that person remains in the leadership of the party and continues parliamentary activities, on the contrary, in the form of presidential administration, the party reveals new leaders in order to appear more fully before the voters in the next elections.<sup>20</sup>

Çağdaş Zırpılı in his article "Analysis of the Concept of Separation of Powers: Parliamentary System, Presidential System Applications and Presidential System Debate in Turkey" states that it should not be forgotten that the presidential form of government is a source of political stability in countries where democratic culture is rooted.<sup>21</sup>

İdris Bal stated in his article "Does the presidential system solve Turkey's problems?" that no form of government is a magic power and that it is impossible to solve all problems. According to him, regardless of what system is applied in Turkey, "Who are we?" problems will not be solved unless the question is answered, social realities are accepted, people-state reconciliation, harmony between state institutions, reforms are implemented, inter-party polarization is eliminated, and the people are the source of sovereignty.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Yaşın C. Sistemin başkanlığı Türkiyede başkanlık sistemi. Ankara:Angiad, 2003. s.29

<sup>19</sup> Yaşın C. Sistemin başkanlığı Türkiyede başkanlık sistemi. Ankara:Angiad, 2003 s.83

<sup>20</sup> Bilir F.100 soruda hükümet sistemleri ve başkanlık sistemi. Ankara:Adalet, 2017 s.76

<sup>21</sup> Zırpılı Ç. "Kuvvetler Ayrılığı Kavramının Analizi: Parlamenter Sistem, Başkanlık Sistemi Uygulamaları ve Türkiye’de Başkanlık Sistemi Tartışması",s.479-492,s490-491

<sup>22</sup> Bal İ. "Başkanlık sistemi Türkiye’nin sorunlarını çözer mi?"/ Yeni Türkiye, №51, 2013, s.127-140, s.138

In Russian-language sources, the concepts of state and public administration have been studied relatively extensively. Among the well-known researchers who conducted research on this topic, we can cite Belsky K.S.<sup>23</sup>, Mitskevich A.A.<sup>24</sup>, Ryzhov B.C.<sup>25</sup>, Chirkin V.E.<sup>26</sup> and others. Regarding the political system in Turkey, it is possible to mention the joint monograph<sup>27</sup> of the authors named Khasanov R. Sh., Galkina E. V., the article of the author named Shlykov P.V.<sup>28</sup> on the transformation of the political system.

**The object and subject of the research:** The object of the research work is the transformation of the Turkish administrative system, and the subject is the analysis of Turkey's transition to the presidential system from a political, political, historical, legal and administrative point of view.

**Research goals and objectives:** The purpose of the research topic is to analyze the model of transformation from one form of governance to another in the example of Turkey and to examine the consequences of the introduction of the presidential form of governance in a country with long traditions of parliamentarism. Based on the mentioned goal, the following tasks of the research topic are defined:

- In-depth analysis of the theory of separation of powers;
- Analysis of government forms, revealing their weak and strong sides;

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<sup>23</sup> Бельский К.С. “К вопросу о предмете административного права” // Государство и право, 1997, №11, s.14-21

<sup>24</sup> Мицкевич А.А. “Понятие государственного управления в Административном праве Германии” // Государство и право. 2002, №6

<sup>25</sup> Рыжов В.С. “К судьбе государственного управления” // Государство и право, 1999, №2, s.12-20

<sup>26</sup> Чиркин В.Е. Сравнительное государственное управление. Москва: “Юридическое издательство Норма”, 2011

<sup>27</sup> Хасанов Р. Ш., Галкина Е. В. Трансформация партийной системы современной Турции: от крайнего плюрализма к доминирующей партии: монография. – Ставрополь: Изд-во СКФУ, 2019. – 142 с.

<sup>28</sup> Шлыков П.В. “Трансформация партийно-политической системы Турции в 1983–2013 гг. и мобилизационные стратегии оппозиции. Часть 1” // Вестн. Моск. ун-та. Сер. 13. Востоковедение. 2013. № 3. С. 36.

- Review of forms of administration in the constitutional history of Turkey;
- Analysis of the causes of government crises in Turkey and the factors affecting them;
- Analysis of the general dynamics of the political system change during the Justice and Development Party;
- Refinement of the innovations created by the application of the presidential administration within Turkey;
- Determination of application possibilities of these innovations;
- Putting forward possible proposals for the innovations to be more successful.

**Research methods:** The generally accepted principles and methods of political science form the scientific-theoretical and methodological bases of the research work. Thus, systematic approach, content analysis, structural-functional analysis, comparative analysis, generalization methods were used in the dissertation work. The methods of comparative analysis and systematic approach were used to compare parliamentary and presidential government systems, as well as the electoral system, political culture, the interaction between the party system and the form of administration, the administrative systems of Turkey and the United States.

**The main provisions defended:** If the courts are fully independent, if the voters play an active role in political life, if the political parties are freed from the pressure of the leaders, the transition to the presidential administration will be a successful turning point in the political history of Turkey.

- Due to factors such as the historical conditions of the country, the party system, the presence of pressure groups, the political culture away from ideological and ethnic divisions, the proper functioning of the deterrence and balancing mechanism are the reasons that make the administration successful.
- Inter-party polarization in Turkey is a stereotype of parliamentary governance and proportional electoral system. The presidential system will eliminate these stereotypes with the majority election system.

- Requiring a 51% vote percentage may lead to the emergence of a two-party system in the future.
- Giving the president and the parliament the power to send each other to the election in Turkey will eliminate the shortcomings caused by the presidential administration in other countries. As a result, political crises will decrease.
- As a result of the increased powers of the President, the Turkish state is taking effective steps in the fight against FETÖ, PKK and other terrorist organizations in domestic politics, also in the direction of solving security issues in Syria, the Middle East and in recent years in the Mediterranean basin, as well as providing military and moral support in deepening alliance relations with Azerbaijan and resolving the Karabakh conflict.

#### **Scientific novelty of the study:**

The Turkish government system has been the subject of various scientific studies. The novelty of this research work is mainly provided not by its topic, but by its differently formulated plan and problem statement. In addition, the scientific novelty of the research can be conditioned by the following factors:

- For the first time, the political system of Turkey during the period of the Justice and Development Party was comprehensively investigated and the policy carried out by the party in the direction of system change was studied in detail;

- For the first time, the evolution of governance forms was systematically investigated, classification of governance systems was put forward in the context of relations between the branches of government, according to political regimes.

- The application possibilities of the presidential form of government in Turkey have been comprehensively studied;

- The general dynamics of political system change were analyzed within the framework of political, social and economic spheres;

- The extent to which the new government system will be successful in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy has been investigated, its advantages and disadvantages have been predicted.

**Theoretical and practical significance of research.** In this study, the modern political system of Turkey was comprehensively studied, and the scientific-theoretical and practical significance of the results of the new system was determined. Thus, from a scientific-theoretical point of view, a detailed study was conducted for the first time on the relevant topic and related concepts, and the proposed propositions served as a basis for further scientific research. During the analysis and investigation of similar problems, the materials of the dissertation can be used. Dissertation work can be used in the teaching process of "Public administration" or "Political administration" courses in higher schools.

**Approval and application.** The research work was carried out at the "Civil service and personnel policy" department of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, in the country's libraries, as well as in the archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the archives of the residence of the Justice and Development Party, the National Library of Turkey and the libraries of universities located in Ankara. The content and main provisions of the dissertation are reflected in the author's theses presented at scientific conferences held in Azerbaijan and abroad, as well as in scientific articles published in various magazines in Azerbaijan and abroad.

**The name of the organization** where the dissertation work was carried out: "Civil service and personnel policy" department of the Presidential Academy of Public Administration.

**The total volume of the dissertation** with a sign indicating the volume of the structural sections of the dissertation separately. Dissertation consists of introduction, three chapters, 6 paragraphs, conclusion, list of used literature and abbreviations. Introduction – 20 058 characters, Chapter I - 75 795, Chapter II - 65 998, Chapter III - 80 193, the total volume of the dissertation consists of 290 911 characters.

## **THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION**

In the introductory part of the dissertation, the relevance of the research topic is justified, the degree of development of the problem is analyzed, extensive information is given about the object, subject, goals

and objectives of the research, the theoretical and methodological foundations, scientific innovation, the defended provisions, the theoretical and practical importance of the work are indicated.

The first chapter of the dissertation is called "Emergence and evolution of forms of state administration as the main factor of transformation of the political system". This chapter consists of two subsections. The concepts of political transformation, political system and political regime are first analyzed in sub-chapter I of the first chapter entitled "Theoretical-methodological foundations of the problem of transformation of the political system". It is noted that the concept of "political system", which is the main subject of transitology, went through a certain stage starting from the classical theory of international relations to the theory of modern international relations, and these stages were analyzed by the researchers of that period from different aspects. It is reported that with the division of power, the concept of sovereignty has been removed from its classical meaning and has been placed in the framework of today's democratic mechanisms. Just as the classical concept of sovereignty was formed as the legal and political basis of the transition from one system to another, that is, from feudalism to absolute monarchies, the division of power itself was the basis of the transition from absolute monarchies to liberal democratic regimes where human rights are guaranteed.

Subchapter II of Chapter I is called "Republican forms of governance: classification and evaluation of comparative analysis". Here, three main systems of administration are analyzed - presidential, parliamentary and semi-presidential methods of administration. The strengths and weaknesses of the mentioned systems are compared. Presidential administration in the United States and parliamentary administration in England are taken as an example. Of course, it is recognized that there are absolute differences between the systems implemented in all countries. Because the culture, geostrategic and geopolitical situation is different in the countries where the systems are applied. At the same time, this may be related to the outlook of the citizens of that country. That is, it is impossible to expect the same result from all countries with different political culture, election and party systems. The presence of some defects in the systems in question can be considered normal. Therefore, it can be said that the



violation of pluralism and democracy can be found in all three government systems. As an example, it is possible to show the problems that arise during the establishment of coalition governments in the parliamentary system, and some steps that do not correspond to majority democracy as a result of the fact that the president, the parliamentary majority and the government belong to different parties (cohabitation) in the semi-presidential system. The basis of the idea here is that it is not correct to approach the mentioned forms of government as the main tool that will solve all problems. During the election period and after the establishment of the government, tolerance of dissenting opinions, free assembly, political participation, and the presence of a culture of compromise can be considered as one of the main factors that ensure the existence of the mentioned three systems. Therefore, only the principle of "separation of powers" is not enough. It is said that just as the governed are free to choose their rulers, so the rulers are responsible to the governed to win re-election. Managers make a legal and political commitment to gain their trust. Another important point here is related to the right to organize. That is, if organizational initiatives are not limited in any state, if political diversity can express itself more easily, then it is possible to consider that administration as democratic.

One of the issues mentioned in this sub-chapter is the preference given to the parliamentary form of government until 1980. After 1980, we can see that this trend gradually changed and turned into the direction of presidential administration. Of course, Huntington's "Third Wave of Democratization" can be mentioned here. The main issue he mentioned in the third wave, which he put forward in his work, is the increase in the number of cases of transition from a parliamentary republic to a presidential republic. Among the states that have transitioned from the socialist system to the capitalist system, we can see only Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia as states that adopted the parliamentary system.

The second chapter of the dissertation is entitled "Organization and Development Features of Administrative Forms in the Political System of Turkey". In the first sub-chapter of chapter II, "Emergence and implementation of governance forms in the history of statehood of the Ottoman Empire", the governance experience of the Ottoman state

was investigated. It was noted that the modernization process carried out during the Ottoman period is at the root of the parliamentary system, which has maintained its existence in the Republic of Turkey for almost a century. In order to join the world culture, the Ottoman state has recently begun to implement some modernization efforts, and it is possible to add constitutional changes here. Although the modernization reforms carried out in the constitution were calculated to limit the powers of the king, it was not possible to achieve the goal. Instead, it simply put the existing powers of the king into written form. Although there were no useful administration resources during the transition from the Ottoman government system to the republican government system, representation, parliament, opposition, which are considered the main political principles of the legal state, gave a serious impetus to the formation of national sovereignty.

The constitutional changes made after the establishment of the republic were analyzed in sub-chapter II entitled "Organization and characteristic features of the form of governance in the political system of the Republic of Turkey in the 20th century". It was stated that between 1921 and 1924, when the Organizational Basic Law was implemented, the strong idea of the unity of power and the principles and conditions of that period calculated to protect statehood did not cause any problems related to power to emerge. Of course, although the 1924 constitution introduced the separation of powers in a certain sense, the chaotic situation in the system remained in the dominant position. Although the name is the parliamentary system, it can be observed that in Turkey, from the establishment of the republic until the death of Atatürk in 1938, and even in a certain sense until 1950, presidential administration was applied. Since the 50s and 60s of the 20th century, dissatisfaction with the performance and power of the executive power has begun to grow in Turkey. Some of the main reasons for this were the fact that the party did not have a free activity structure, the existence of defects in the electoral system, and other issues, which ultimately was understood as a dialogue between the government and the opposition, rather than a dialogue between the legislature and the executive.

Compared to the constitution drafted in 1961, the constitution of 1982 has a very important importance in the political environment of

Turkey in terms of creating a rational parliamentary administration. When the 1961 constitution was in force, it can be noted that the 1982 constitution was useful in terms of both the formation of governments and the resolution of problems experienced in the presidential elections. According to this constitution, the purpose of increasing the powers of the president and also strengthening his position was to make the mechanism of deterrence and balancing more effective. Undoubtedly, these steps also started to have their own problems. Thus, the increased powers created the conditions for further strengthening of authoritarian tendencies after a certain limit. An example of this is the problems faced by ex-president Turgut Özal and ex-prime minister Süleyman Demirel, who are members of the same political party, ANAP, during the performance of their powers as president and prime minister.

The next interesting issue discussed in this sub-chapter is that it is shown that parliamentary governance is at the root of political instability in Turkey, and therefore, this system is criticized. After the transition to a multi-party system, the establishment of short-term coalition governments in the country and their collapse due to disagreements began to be cited as the main reasons for these criticisms. The fact that the executive power is not accountable to the legislative power, as well as the fact that the people do not have the opportunity to appoint it directly, and that it is not accountable to the people can be regarded as one of the main factors at the root of the current problems in Turkey. One of the other important problems of the parliamentary government system was the creation of opportunities for the establishment of coalition governments. The implementation of the proportional election system was the impetus for the operation of this system. Another issue that did not correspond to the conditions of parliamentary administration in Turkey was the large number of powers given to the president, which always indicates the activity of the presidential administration in Turkey. The problem was that the president had both broad powers and was not responsible for government. Because the position of the president is symbolic in the conditions of parliamentary administration. Here, the main powers should belong to the parliament and the government, and the government, in turn, should be accountable to the parliament.

The third chapter of the dissertation is entitled "Improvement of the Public Administration System of Turkey during the Power of the Justice and Development Party". In the first sub-heading of the last chapter entitled "Reforms related to the form of governance during the rule of the Justice and Development Party", the presidential system existing in America is taken as an example. That is why presidential administration systems in the USA and Turkey were analyzed in a comparative way. It was stated that Turkey was able to create a unique example in presidential administration. Although the systems implemented in the US and Turkey are essentially the same, they have different characteristics. For comparison, it can be said that in the United States, parliamentary and presidential elections take place at different times. Both of them have different duration of action. In Turkey, both parliamentary and presidential elections take place at the same time. Also, their durations are the same. Of course, the differences do not end there. According to the new system implemented in Turkey, the powers exercised by the president alone are exercised by the president in the United States based on the approval of Congress. In addition, the existence of strong ideological contradictions between political parties operating in the United States and political parties operating in Turkey is one of the other differences between the systems. In the United States, the president cannot be the party chairman, but in Turkey it is the opposite. That is, the president can be the chairman of the party. In Turkey, both the president and the parliament are given the power to send each other to a new election, which in the United States, neither the Congress nor the president has such powers. According to another law, in the United States, bills vetoed by the president with a 2/3 majority of both chambers are re-enacted, but in Turkey, this issue is a little different. That is, a bill vetoed by the president can be enacted by the parliament with a 1/2 majority. Another important issue here is related to decision-making. Another issue that is interesting here is that the President of Turkey has the ability to pass a resolution on any topic whenever he sees fit. In the United States, some exceptional cases are provided for this procedure. According to the laws of the United States, the president of the country has the power to adopt a decree only in limited cases related to foreign policy, as well as in an emergency.

According to the argument put forward in this sub-chapter, inter-party polarization in Turkey can be evaluated as one of the stereotypes of parliamentary governance and proportional electoral system. Because, according to the previous electoral system, the sequence of the list determined by the party leader was important in the parliamentary elections, and as a result, the party members were dependent on the chairman. In the presidential administration, the majoritarian election system can eliminate these stereotypes. So, since the voter determines this list in the new electoral system, the probability of voting for party members based on their personal reputation may increase. However, the fact that the president can be the chairman of the party creates difficulties in this regard. In the semi-chapter, the granting of the power to send each other to the election in Turkey to the president and the parliament was evaluated as a positive step. Thus, in a country like the United States where democratic governance is developed, a culture of reconciliation is formed, and intra-party democracy exists, the fact that the president and the majority in the parliament are in different political positions can lead to dual legitimacy, mutual claims and power struggles between the government and the parliament. This method applied in Turkey can be considered as a successful step in terms of eliminating government crises.

Another result obtained is that the main line of discussions regarding the 2017 referendum was the reputation of individuals. But what is more important here than who is the president, is how and under what conditions the system has the ability to work. It should be noted here that some politicians who had an important position in Turkish politics, long before the current president Erdogan, expressed the importance of transitioning to the presidential system even in the most difficult and crisis periods of their power. Unlike these leaders, Recep Tayyip Erdogan made these proposals when he was the prime minister, especially during the strong period of his power.

In the second sub-chapter entitled "Conceptual analysis of the government policy of the Justice and Development Party", it was noted that the opinions expressed about the presidential administration in Turkey have no solid basis. Of course, these ideas have been confirmed by various arguments. Undoubtedly, the main target of

criticism is the fact that this change, which has already taken place, is aimed at ensuring Erdogan's personal interests. If we look at the 1982 constitution, we will see that the articles of the constitution adopted in that year stipulate that the president does not bear any responsibility for his actions in the administration system and that he should only be charged with the crime of treason. In the constitutional changes that took place in 2017, the scope of the reasons for impeachment of the president was further expanded and the charges were increased. From the analysis, it can be concluded that Erdogan has no intention and desire to form a one-man rule. Therefore, the constitution stipulates that the term of office of the president is limited to only 2 terms. But previous systems did not have such restrictions. Another claim here is that the presidential form of government is incompatible with the party system in Turkey, which can be considered as a wrong approach. After the transition to a new administration in Turkey, the majoritarian election system is applied, which will create conditions for the increase of democratic views in the assembly. At the same time, according to the applied system, the voter will choose the candidate based on his personal reputation and qualities, not on the party's authority. As a result, this event will increase the political independence of the elected official and decrease his dependence on the party chairman, as well as facilitate the formation of a qualitatively new and freely organized party system. Applying the 51% vote limit can be an impetus for the formation of a two-party system in the future, as in the United States. Also, the representation of different parties both in the government and in the assembly becomes impossible. These mentioned processes will continue to reduce the possibility of political crises. It is possible to list other advantages of the new system according to this rule: the two-headed situation likely to arise in the government due to the transfer of all the powers belonging to the executive power to the president is eliminated, and also the confusion that existed before this system is eliminated. There are opportunities for the people to directly determine their ruler, to strengthen the direct dialogue between the state and the people, for individuals who are independent of the party to nominate themselves due to their personal leadership qualities and even to be elected as ministers. Due to the adopted new electoral system, there are

opportunities for many parties to be represented in the parliament, which serves to strengthen pluralism and, consequently, democracy. It strengthens the faster and more flexible decision-making process in the administration of the state. In contrast to the previous rule, as a result of the appointment of ministers outside the parliament and the elimination of the absoluteness of party affiliation, wide opportunities are opened for the selection of persons who will benefit the state. As a result, the strict separation of powers separates the branches of power, which gives them the opportunity to seriously influence the independent law and decision-making process, regardless of the position of power in the parliament. One of the other features of this system is that ministers are not MPs. This suggests that the minister will not put his work aside and focus on the elections.

In the last sub-chapter, the weaknesses of the new changes were analyzed and certain results were obtained. As a result of the conducted analysis, it was concluded that setting the "%50+1" limit forces the parties to artificially grow closer to each other, albeit unintentionally. Of course, as a result of the established alliances, it may be easier to collect a certain percentage of votes, but the effectiveness of this union does not seem so convincing. Another issue here is that any bill sent back by the president must be accepted as it is with the approval of 3/5 of the members of the assembly. This means that the process of adoption by the assembly of some laws and bills that the president does not want becomes difficult. Holding both presidential and parliamentary elections in Turkey on the same day can further increase the possibilities of parliament's independence from the president. As well as the positive result of empowering the president and the parliament to send each other to the election, there is also a negative side in terms of the imbalance between both branches of power. Another issue that is incomprehensible here is that the parliament can make the decision to go to the election with the approval of 3/5 of its members. Although it is difficult for the parliament to release itself, there is no problem with the president sending the parliament to the election, and the president can more easily send the parliament to the election again.

As a result, the research is concluded, generalizations are made, and proposals and recommendations of theoretical and practical

importance are made based on them. The author comes to the conclusion that the processes that have occurred and are occurring in the last half-century of Turkey's political history: successively established coalition governments, frequent government crises, the issue of the fight against terrorism, military coups that have become customary, the strengthening of separatism, a qualitatively new strong president in Turkey. management was necessary. According to the results of the referendum held in 2007, the introduction of the rule of electing the president by the people created conditions for the emergence of some dark moments and legitimate questions. In order to maintain the unity and integrity of Turkey, the Erdogan government, which has conducted a successful policy in Turkey's political and economic fields, especially in regional politics, has started to put forward a proposal regarding the introduction of a strong presidential administration system. If we look at the United States, there are historical conditions for the existence of the country, the existence of the party system, pressure groups, the formation of political culture factors far from ideological and ethnic divisions, and at the same time the government of the proper and functioning deterrence and balancing mechanism. can be considered as the reasons that make it successful. It seems impossible that all of the above-mentioned issues can be encountered in the activities of the states where the system is implemented. In order to ensure the functioning of the mentioned system, it is imperative that the courts are fully independent, that civil society, other political and social groups pay attention to the issue of public education, that voters become more active in political processes, and most importantly, that the parties remain outside the pressure of their leaders. One of the important conditions for a more precise identification of the advantages and disadvantages of the newly implemented system is to monitor the complete completion of the specified election period. In short, it can be said that if the aforementioned shortcomings are eliminated, the transition to presidential administration can be considered a successful turn for the political history of Turkey.



**Published scientific works reflecting the main results of the dissertation:**

1. “Respublika İdarəçilik formalarının təsnifatı” // “Heydər Əliyev irsi və Azərbaycan Respublikasında innovativ dövlət idarəçiliyi islahatları” mövzusunda doktorant və dissertantların elmi-praktiki konfransının materialları. Bakı, 2017, səh. 126-136
2. Prezident və parlament idarəçilik formalarının müqayisəsi // Dövlət İdarəçiliyi: Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə Jurnalı. İSSN 2309-1347. №4 (64)2018. səh. 295-302
3. “Suverenlik və hakimiyyət bölgüsü arasında əlaqə”- Doktorant və Gənc Tədqiqatçıların XXII Respublika Elmi Konfransı materialları, Bakı, 22.11.2018, səh. 120-125
4. “Osmanlı konstitusiyası tarixində dövlət idarəçilik sistemi” // “Azərbaycan Respublikasının beynəlxalq cəmiyyətə inteqrasiyası və hüquqi dövlət quruculuğunda hüquq elminin müasir inkişaf tendensiyaları” adlı beynəlxalq konfrans materialları, Bakı, 14.12.2018, səh.288-292
5. “Transition to the new administrative form in Turkey in the context of its security policy” - Міжнародній науковій конференції. «Безпека в сучасному світі». 27-28 September 2019. Dnipro, Ukraine, səh. 25-27
6. “Why american presidential system is successful?” // Гилея Науковий висник. ISSN 2076-1554. Випуск 1 4 3 (4) Ч.3. 2019. Політичні науки. 28-32
7. “Differences between American and Turkish presidential systems” - International law and integration problems scientific analytical journal. №1 (56)2019. səh.48-56
8. Türkiyənin fərqli idarəçilik sistemlərində suverenlik anlayışı // Dövlət İdarəçiliyi: Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə Jurnalı. İSSN 2309-1347. №3 (67)2019. səh. 199-206
9. “Türkiyədə prezident idarəçiliyi lazımdır mı?” // Sivilizasiya. İSSN 2519-4003. Cild 8 №03 2019 (43) səh.114-122
10. “Qloballaşmanın Türkiyədə Milli Dövlətə Təsiri” // Geostrategiya beynəlxalq ictimai-siyasi, elmi-nəzəri jurnal. İSSN 2664-4975. №02 (56)2020. səh. 43-48

11. “Türkiyədə idarəçilik sistemi dəyişikliyinə xarici siyasətə təsiri” // Geostrategiya beynəlxalq ictimai-siyasi, elmi-nəzəri jurnal. ISSN 2664-4975. №01 (61)2021. səh. 17-20
12. “Türkiyədə referendum dəyişikliyinə ordu və hökumət sistemlərinə təsirləri” – Karabağ. II Uluslararası Sosial və Beşəri Bilimlerde Modern Araştırmalar Kongresi. 8-10 noyabr 2021. ISBN: 978-625-8007-79-4. Səh. 325-328
13. “Cumhurbaşkanlığı hükümet sistemine uygun olarak Türkiye’de yapısal değişiklikler” – Uluslararası Antalya Bilimsel Araştırmalar ve Yenilikçi Çalışmalar Kongresi. 18-21 Aralık, 2021. ISBN: 978-625-7898-57-7. s. 444-447
14. “Hükümet sistemi değişikliği bağlamında Türk diplomasisinin başarıları” – 5. Uluslararası Nevruz İlimi Araştırmalar Kongresi. 17-21 Mart, 2022. ISBN: 978-625-8377-20-00. s.72-75

The defense of the dissertation will be held at the meeting of the BED 2.30/1 Dissertation Council operating under the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on November 18, 2022 at 11:00.

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It is possible to get acquainted with the dissertation in the library of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Electronic versions of the dissertation and abstract are posted on the official website of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The abstract was sent to the required addresses on October 17 2022.

Signed: 14.10.2022

Paper format: A5

Volume: 46827

Edition: 20