

# DEMOKRASI

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# İçindekiler

Önsöz.....	9
Demokrasi Nedir? .....	13
Tarihte Demokrasi .....	51
Güven ve Güvensizlik.....	137
Eşitlik ve Eşitsizlik.....	179
İktidar ve Kamu Politikaları.....	221
Alternatif Yollar .....	265
Demokrasinin Geçmişi ve Geleceği.....	305
Kaynakça.....	337
Dizin .....	367

# Önsöz

Elinizdeki kitabın ismini *Demokrasi, Demokratikleşme, Demokratikleşmenin Geri Çevrimi ve Karşılıklı Bağlılıkları* koymalıyım ancak bunu göze alamadım. Bu kullanışsız, tuhaf başlık birçok okuyucuyu kitabın çok önemli olan konusundan uzaklaştıracaktı. Ancak umuyorum ki, kitabı sonuna kadar okuyanlar, demokrasi olarak adlandırılan ideal politik sistemi basitçe tanımlamanın, sonrasında da bu sistemin hangi koşullar altında ortaya çıkabildiğini ve de ayakta kalabildiğini anlatmaya çalışmanın “neden bir şey ifade etmeyeceğini” anlayacaklardır. Demokratikleşme, her zaman tamamlanmadan kalan ve sürekli olarak tersine çevrilme riski alan –demokratikleşmenin geri çevrimi– dinamik bir süreçtir. Zıt yönlerde hareket eden, yakından ilişkili süreçler hem demokratikleşmenin hem de demokratikleşmenin geri çevriminin ortaya çıkmasına yol açarlar. En azından elinizdeki kitap enine boyuna bunu tartışmaktadır.

Uzun yıllardır, demokrasi demokratikleşme ve demokratikleşmenin geri çevrimi konularının çalışılması gerekliliğini aşama aşama fakat engellenemez bir şekilde hissediyorum. Bu çalışma, hayat boyu süren, sıradan insanların önemli kolektif taleplerde bulunmak için kullandığı araçların, yani çekişme repertuarlarının nasıl çeşitlendiğini ve değiştiğini açıklama çabasından ortaya çıktı. Bu meseleyi tarihsel perspektiften dikkatli bir şekilde ele alan herkes eninde sonunda iki gerçeğin farkına varacaktır: İlk olarak, demokratik olan ve olmayan rejimler çok farklı çekişme repertuarları içerirler ve aslında etkili repertuarlar, belli bir rejimin demokratik olduğunu ya da olmadığını saptamaya yararlar; ikinci olarak, demokratikleşme ya da demokratikleşmenin geri çevrimi ortaya çıkarken, repertuarların çarpıcı değişimleri de ortaya çıkar. Örneğin, iç savaşlar demokratik olmayan rejimlerde yoğunlaşırken, toplumsal hareketler neredeyse yalnızca demokratik rejimlerde şekillenirler. Bağlantı kusurlu ve olumsuzdur. Dolayısıyla, demokrasinin yalnızca bir dizi talepte bulunma performansı gerektirdiği, demokrasi olmayanın da başka bir performansı gerektirdiği durumda olacak olandan daha zorlayıcı ve ilginçtir. Halkın mücadelesi demokratikleşmenin gerçekleşip gerçekleşmeyeceği ve nasıl gerçekleşeceği konusunda etkilidir. Bu kitap nasıl ve neden diye sormaktadır.

Elinizdeki kitabın belki de yüzde 20'si, özellikle önceki iki Cambridge Yayınları'ndan çıkan kitapta –*Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000* (2004) [Avrupa'da Çekişme ve Demokrasi] ve *Trust and Rule* (2005) [Güven ve Yönetim]– başka bir şekilde yayımlanmış olduğum bilgileri içermektedir. Bu toplu ödünç almayı savunmama izin verin. Bu kitapta yer verilen bilgiler, bu bilgilere olabildiğince yeni anlamlar kazandıran farklı bağlamlarda ortaya çıkmaktadır. *Contention and De-*

*mocracy* demokratikleşme ve halk mücadelelerinin karşılıklı bağlılığını göstermek için Avrupa rejimlerinin karşılaştırmalı tarihlerini kullanırken, *Trust and Rule* kişiler arası güven ağıyla siyasi rejimler arasındaki bağlantılardaki değişimi ve çeşitlenmeyi tahlil etmiştir. Her iki mevzu mevcut kitapta yeniden ortaya çıkar ancak şimdi daha kapsamlı bir soruya bağlıdır: Demokratikleşme ve demokratikleşmenin geri çevrimi genel olarak nasıl gerçekleşmektedir?

Kitap, önceki yayınlarımdaki bazı tartışmaları –özellikle de konu, demokratikleşme ve demokratikleşmenin geri çevrimi, faktörler olarak zor iktidarının özerk merkezleri ve kamu politikalarının devlet üzerindeki denetimi olduğunda– netleştirmekte ve gözden geçirmektedir. Bu çalışma tarihsel perspektifi devam ettirmekle birlikte, demokrasiyi önceki ele alışlarımdan daha fazla, yakın geçmişe ve çağdaş dünyaya yoğunlaşmaktadır. Umarım bu kitap, günümüzde demokrasi üzerinde yaşanan mücadeleleri inceleyen öğrencilere, tarihsel-karşılaştırmalı bir analizin bu endişe verici alandaki değerini fark etmeleri konusunda yardımcı olur. *Demokrasi*'yi her durumda, konuya dair tüm çalışmalarımın doruk noktası ve sentezi kabul ediyorum.

Kitaptaki yardımlarından dolayı beş kişiye teşekkür etmek istiyorum. Lisansüstünden sınıf arkadaşım Raymond Gastil'i on yıllardır görmüyordum ancak Gastil, tartışmalarımın işaret ettiği, demokratikleşme ve demokratikleşmenin geri çevrimi daha doğrudan ölçümü için kitabın referans olarak dayandığı Freedom House değerlendirmelerini kullanmama önyak oldu. Sık sık ortak çalışma yürüttüğüm Sidney Tarrow taslak metni okumadı ancak Tarrow'un, müşterek ve ayrı yayınlarımdaki ilintili fikirleri aralıksız sorgulaması, rejim, devlet kapasitesi ve demokrasi gibi kavramların içinde pusuda bekleyen tehlikelere karşı beni uyardı. Viviana Zelizer uzman olmayan keskin bakış

açısıyla metnin tamamına hızlıca göz attı, dikkatimi etkili bir şekilde bilinmezliklere ve uygunsuzluklara çekti. Son olarak da, Cambridge University Press adına sempatik fakat talepkâr iki anonim okuyucu, sizin yararınız ve benim yararım için kitaptaki birkaç kavramı ve tartışmayı netleştirmemi ve/veya savunmamı istedi.

# 1

## Demokrasi Nedir?

1996 yılında, Kazakistan'ın dağılan Sovyetler Birliği'nden ayrılmasından beş yıl sonra Devlet Başkanı Nursultan Nazarbayev, danışmanlarına yeni bir anayasa taslağı hazırlatmıştır. Taslağın onaylanması için ülke genelinde yapılan referandum büyük destek almıştır. Yeni anayasanın birinci maddesi şunu ilan etmektedir:

1. Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti, en yüksek değerleri birey, bireyin yaşamı, hakları ve özgürlükleri olan demokratik, laik ve sosyal bir hukuk devletidir.
2. Cumhuriyet'in işleyişinin temel ilkeleri toplumsal uyum ve siyasi istikrar, tüm ulusun yararına olan ekonomik kalkınma; Kazak vatanseverliği ve devlet işlerine ilişkin en önemli meselelerin ulusal referandumda ya da Parlamento'da oylama dâhil demokratik yollarla çözülmesidir. (Kazak Anayasası, 2006)

Öne çıkan “toplumsal uyum ve siyasi istikrar” ifadesi mesafeli bir devletten ziyade, fazlasıyla ihtiyatlı bir yönetici imajını akla getirmektedir. Buna karşın, Anayasa açık bir şekilde Kazakistan'ın demokrasiyle yönetildiğini iddia etmektedir.

Ülkeyi dışarıdan gözlemleyenler Kazakistan'ın bu iddiasını karşı çıkarlar. New York merkezli demokrasiyi izleme örgütü Freedom House, her yıl tanınan devletleri siyasi haklar ve sivil özgürlükler yönünden, 1'den (yüksek) 7'ye (düşük) kadar derecelendirmektedir (Gastil 1991). Kutu 1-1 Freedom House'un kriterlerini özetlemektedir. Bu kriterler, kurumsallaşmış muhalefetten kişisel özgürlüklere kadar çok çeşitli yurttaş hak ve özgürlüklerini kapsamaktadır. Freedom House, 2005 yılında Kazakistan'a siyasi haklarda 6 (çok düşük), sivil özgürlüklerde ise 5 (neredeyse aynı derecede düşük) vermiştir. Rapor ülkeyi "özgür değil" şeklinde sınıflandırmıştır. Rapor şöyle başlamaktadır:

Devlet Başkanı Nursultan Nazarbayev'e sadık olan siyasi partilerin parlamentodaki hâkimiyetleri, uluslararası gözlemcilerin, temel demokratik standartları karşılamaktan uzak olduğu gerekçeyle eleştirdikleri Eylül 2007'deki meclis seçimlerinden sonra da devam etmiştir. Muhalefetten yalnızca bir milletvekili seçilmiştir ki o da seçimlerin kusurlu doğası nedeniyle milletvekili koltuğunu protesto ederek reddetmiştir. Bu sırada, kilit noktadaki önemli üst düzey yetkililerin istifaları Nazarbayev hükümetinin içindeki iktidar mücadelelerini ve ihtilafları gündeme getirmiştir. (Freedom House Kazakistan 2005)

Kazakistan'ın uluslararası ekonomiye ve uluslararası politikalara katılımı, Nazarbayev'i ülkenin Orta Asya'daki komşularının benimsediği türden, bariz bir otoriteryanizmden kurtarmış olsa da (Schatz 2006), bu, Nazarbayev'in kendi çıkarları için hükümet aygıtını acımasızca manipüle etmesine engel olmamıştır. Nazarbayev, Aralık 2005'te oyların %91'ini alarak üçüncü kez altı yıllığına devlet başkanı seçilmiştir. %75'ten daha fazla bir çoğunlukla seçilen –özellikle de yeniden seçilen– devlet başkanı adayları gördüğümüzde rejimin göstermelik seçimler yaptığı hipotezini akılda tutmalıyız.



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# Dizin

- Afganistan,, 288, 290, 292  
Afrika,, 311  
Almanya,, 76, 79, 82, 111, 325  
Amerika Birleşik Devletleri,, 79,  
149, 269, 289  
Angola,, 290  
Arjantin,, 79, 81, 171  
Asya,, 201, 311, 326  
Avrupa,, 311, 326  
Avustralya,, 79, 326  
Avusturya,, 76, 79, 82, 118, 121  
Azerbaycan,, 84  
Bağlılık,, 149  
Basel,, 117  
Belçika,, 76, 79  
Benin,, 81  
Beyaz Rusya,, 85, 268  
Bolivya,, 79, 240  
Brezilya,, 79, 81, 193, 286  
Buenos Aires,, 175  
Bulgaristan,, 81  
Burma,, 292  
Burundi,, 288, 292  
Büyük Britanya,, 118  
Cape Verde,, 287  
Cezayir,, 288, 292  
Çad,, 240  
Çeçenistan,, 288, 292  
Çek Cumhuriyeti,, 81, 84  
Çin,, 83, 193, 268  
Demokrasi,, 7, 9, 64, 103, 105, 198  
Demokratikleşme,, 9, 128, 334  
Devlet kapasitesi,, 37, 38, 68, 266  
Dini mezhepler,, 152, 190  
Doğrudan yönetim,, 43  
Dünya Bankası,, 305  
El Salvador,, 79, 81  
Endonezya,, 290, 292  
Estonya,, 81, 84  
Etiyopya,, 292  
Fas,, 45, 79, 292, 326  
Filipinler,, 81, 82, 288, 292  
Filistin,, 288, 292  
Finlandiya,, 79, 82, 111  
Fransa,, 65, 74, 79, 82, 106, 111, 118,  
122, 268, 314  
Fransız Devrimi,, 117, 316  
Freedom House,, 14, 19, 36, 98, 99,  
100, 281  
Gana,, 81  
Grisons,, 59, 117  
Guyana,, 81  
Güney Kore,, 79, 81  
Güven ağları,, 126, 327  
Hırvatistan,, 81, 86  
Hindistan,, 79, 91, 92, 93, 97  
Hollanda,, 64, 79  
Irak,, 288, 292  
İberya,, 75  
İç savaş,, 288  
İngiltere,, 300  
İran,, 196, 292

İrlanda,, 296  
İspanya,, 79, 80, 111, 247, 249, 262  
İsrail,, 79  
İsveç,, 79, 118  
İsviçre,, 79, 118, 122  
İtalya,, 79, 82, 111, 294  
Jamaika,, 19, 41, 271  
Japonya,, 79, 331  
Juan Carlos,, 307  
Kamboçya,, 290, 292  
Kanada,, 79  
Kazakistan,, 41, 47, 241, 268, 312, 329  
Kerala (Hindistan),, 306  
Keşmir,, 288, 292  
Kolombiya,, 79, 288, 292  
Kuzey İrlanda,, 298  
Latin Amerika,, 326  
Letonya,, 81  
Liberya,, 288, 292  
Libya,, 240  
Litvanya,, 81, 85  
Louis Napolyon,, 111  
Lucerne, 117, 120, 121  
Lübnan,, 79, 292  
Macaristan,, 76, 79, 81, 82, 84  
Mali,, 81  
Meksika,, 79, 81  
Mısır,, 79, 326  
Moğolistan,, 81  
Mozambik, 292  
Nepal,, 288, 292  
Nijerya,, 290  
Norveç,, 41, 79  
Özbekistan,, 84, 240, 312  
Özerk iktidar merkezleri,, 131  
Pakistan,, 292  
Panama,, 79, 81  
Perikles,, 52  
Peru,, 79, 81, 292  
Politik kaynaklar,, 148  
Polonya,, 81, 85  
Portekiz,, 79, 82, 118  
Prusya,, 118  
Quakerlar, 61  
Romanya,, 79, 81, 82  
Rusya,, 79, 82, 87, 118, 222, 224, 237, 268  
Schaffhausen, 120  
Senegal,, 81  
Sermaye,, 149  
Shiffler Hortum Şirketi,, 144  
Sierra Leone,, 288  
Slovakya,, 81  
Soğuk Savaş,, 290  
Somali,, 41  
Sonderbund Savaşı,, 121  
Sri Lanka,, 289, 292  
St. Galen,, 120  
Sudan,, 196, 240, 289, 292  
Şili,, 79, 81  
Tayland,, 79  
Tayvan,, 81  
Thukydides,, 52  
Thurgau,, 117, 120  
Ticino,, 117  
Transkei,, 205  
Tüccar oligarşileri,, 58  
Türkmenistan,, 84  
Uruguay,, 286  
Valais,, 118  
Vaud,, 117  
Venedik,, 55  
Venezuela,, 240, 272, 273, 274, 276, 282  
Yeni Zelanda,, 326  
Yunanistan,, 79, 80, 82, 169