

Totaliter ve Otoriter Rejimler

Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (1975)

Juan José Linz

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Juan José Linz

Juan José Linz, 1926 yılında Almanya'nın Bonn kentinde doğmuş, İspanyol sosyologdur. Halen Yale Üniversitesi'nde emekli profesör olup Yale Üniversitesi tarafından alanında en iyi uzmanlara verilen *Sterling Professor* unvanını haizdir. Linz aynı zamanda Juan Marc Enstitüsü'nde Bilim Konseyi üyesidir. Devlet/hükümet yapılarındaki totaliter ve otoriter sistemler üzerine teorileriyle tanınan Linz ayrıca demokratik sistemlerin çöküşü ve demokratik rejime geri dönüşler konusunda da geniş araştırmalarda bulunmuş bir isimdir.

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Bu kitap, Fred I. Greenstein ve Nelson W. Polsby'nin derledikleri ve 1975'te Addison-Wesley tarafından yayınlanan *Handbook of Political Science*'in seçilmiş bölümlerinin Türkçe çevirisidir. Çeviri, *Handbook*'un "Macropolitical Theory" başlığını taşıyan üçüncü cildinden (s. 175-411) yapılmıştır.

1982 yılında, Ergun Özbudun'un çevirisiyle, Siyasi İlimler Türk Derneği Yayınları tarafından ilk baskısı yapılan kitap, Liberte Yayınları tarafından yeniden yayına hazırlanmıştır.

1 | Giriş

Demokratik Olmayan Rejimlerin Çeşitliliği ve Yaygınlığı

Hükümet sistemlerinin birbirlerinden farklı olduğunu, şu veya bu ülkenin vatandaşı veya uyruğu olmanın günlük hayat sorunları açısından bile aynı şeyi ifade etmediğini hepimiz biliriz. Ayrıca şunu da biliriz ki, hemen hemen bütün hükümetlerin yaptığı bir kısım işler aynıdır; dolayısıyla bazen bütün devletlerin devlet olma nedeniyle özde aynı olduklarına inanan saf anarşistler gibi düşünürüz. Bu çift bilinç, aynı zamanda, sosyal bilimciler olarak zihinsel çabalarımızın başlangıç noktasını meydana getirir.

Stalin veya Hitler yönetimleri sırasında hayatın, ortalama vatandaş ve özellikle toplumda önemli mevkilerde bulunanlar yönünden, Birleşik Krallık veya İsveç vatandaşlarının hayatlarından farklı olduğunu elbette biliyoruz.¹ Bu kadar aşırı uçlara gitmesizin de, hayatın belki daha az sayıda fakat gene de birçok insan yönünden, Franco İspanyası'nda İtalya'dakinden farklı olduğunu da söyleyebiliriz. Şüphesiz, bu iki ülkedeki bir Komünist parti

lideri bakımından böyle bir fark vardır. Sosyal bilimciler olarak, halklarla hükümetleri arasındaki ilişkiyi bütün karmaşıklığıyla açıklamak ve bu ilişkinin niçin farklı ülkelerde bu kadar değişik olduğunu anlamak isteriz. Kişisel belgeleri (politikacıların, generallerin, aydınların, komplocuların, toplama kampı sakinlerinin anıları) ve iktidar olayıyla (çoğu zaman zorba ve keyfi bir iktidarla) karşılaşan insanoğlunun beşerî deneyiminden esinlenen edebî eserleri bir yana bırakarak, sosyal bilimcilerin eserleri üzerinde duracağız. Bu sosyal bilimciler, kendi gözlemlerinden; devlet kanunlarının, yargısal ve idarî kararlarının, bürokratik faaliyet kayıtlarının tahlilinden; liderlerle yapılan mülâkatlar ve nüfus örnekleri üzerindeki anketlerden yararlanmak suretiyle, birçok toplumun siyasal sistemleri üzerinde mükemmel monografiler yazmışlar, değişik siyasal sistemlerin nasıl işlediğini tasvir etmeye ve açıklamaya çalışmışlardır.

Siyasal kuramcılar, bize yerinde sorular sorabilmemiz için gerekli olan çerçeveyi vermişlerdir. Gene de, belli bir anda belli bir toplumdaki siyasal hayata ilişkin tasvir edici çalışmaların en iyileriyle bile tatmin olamıyoruz. Tıpkı kendi çağında Yunan şehirlerinin anayasalarındaki çeşitlilik sorunlarıyla karşılaşan Aristo gibi, biz de, gerçek hayattaki karmaşıklığı az sayıda tipe indirgeme ihtiyacını duyuyoruz; bu tiplerin, gerçek hayattaki çeşitliliği göz önünde bulunduracak derecede birbirlerinden farklı olmaları, fakat aynı zamanda belli sayıda siyasal sistemce paylaşılan unsurları da tasvir edebilmeleri gerekir. Böyle bir kavramlaştırma çabası, bu sistemlerin niçin birtakım nitelikleri paylaştıklarını ve sonuçta bunun ne gibi bir önemi olduğunu sormak zorundadır. Tıpkı gerçeğin diğer yönleri (sosyal yapılar, ekonomik sistemler, dinler, hısımlık yapıları) gibi, siyasal sistemlerin tasnifi de, daha başlangıçtan beri sosyal bilimin merkezinde yer almıştır. Yeni si-

yasal örgütlenme şekilleri, iktidar ve otoriteyi yaratma ve kullanma biçimleri ve farklı değerlerden kaynaklanan yeni perspektifler, zorunlu olarak, yeni tasniflere yol açmıştır. Değişen bir siyasal gerçeklikle karşı karşıya bulunduğumuz için, bu zihinsel görev hiç de kolay sayılmaz. Eski terimler yetersiz hâle gelmektedir. Tocqueville, “demokratik milletleri tehdit eden ve dünyada daha önce görülmemiş hiçbir şekle benzemeyen bir zulüm çeşidi”nden söz ederken şöyle diyordu: “Bu, yeni, bir şeydir; dolayısıyla, onun adını koyamıyorum ve tanımlamaya çalışmak zorunda kalıyorum.” Ne yazık ki, şimdi tanımlamaya çalıştığımız gerçekler için isimler kullanmak zorundayız. Daha kötüsü, bu işte tek başımıza da değiliz; Yirminci Yüzyıl devletlerinde siyasal hayata egemen olanlar da, kendi siyasal sistemlerini tanımlamak, tasvir etmek ve adlandırmak (hiç değilse, olmasını istediklerine göre veya başkalarının inanmasını istediklerine göre tanımlamak) istiyorlar. Şüphesiz, bilim adamlarıyla siyasal aktörün perspektifleri her zaman aynı olmaz ve aynı kelimeler farklı anlamlarda kullanılabilir. Bu da, kavramsal açıklık ihtiyacını bir kat daha zorunlu kılar. Üstelik toplumlar arasında, sadece siyasal hayatı örgütlendirme biçimleri bakımından değil, siyaset dışı alanlardaki otorite ilişkileri bakımından da farklar vardır. Şüphesiz, toplumun hükümet dışı boyutlarını insanların hayatı açısından daha önemli sayanlar, toplum çeşitleri hakkında daha değişik bir kavramlaştırmayı tercih edebilirler; böyle bir kavramlaştırmada siyaset, bu boyutlardan ancak bir tanesi ve belki de pek fazla önem taşımayan bir tanesi olabilir. Ancak bizi burada ilgilendiren başlı başına, siyasal sistemlerin çeşitli sorunudur.

Bir kavramı tanımlamanın en kolay yollarından biri, onun ne olmadığını söylemektir. Elbette bu, başka bir şeyin ne olduğunu bilmediğimiz ve böylece bizim kavramımızın onunla aynı

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