

## IN MEMORIAM

### TARIK ZAFER TUNAYA

TARİK ZAFER TUNAYA, Professor of Constitutional Law and political pundit, died of a heart attack in Istanbul on 29 January 1991. He retired in 1983 from Istanbul University's Faculty of Political Science, of which he had been a founder, unable to tolerate the puerile and repressive regime of the Higher Education Law passed by the military regime which had seized power on 12 September 1980. But Tarik Hoca, as he was affectionately known to his friends and students, continued to be a source of inspiration and a mine of knowledge to anyone conducting research on the history and politics of modern Turkey. The door to his apartment in Ayazpaşa was always open to those seeking to pick his brain and enjoy his conversation; all that was required was a telephone call, a polite introduction and a request for an appointment. Invariably the caller would be invited to tea to be served a sumptuous feast available only in homes where the tradition of generous hospitality remains alive and well. The guest would often be pleasantly surprised to find an assortment of Turkey's intelligentsia—journalists, academics, writers, and ex-politicians—engaged in discussing the questions of the day. Hours later he would leave, having savored an experience he was unlikely to forget.

Tarik Zafer Tunaya was born in Istanbul in 1915 and was named Zafer to commemorate the famous Ottoman victory over the Allies at Gallipoli. He was part of that generation which bridged the last days of Empire and the birth of the Republic, whose child he remained to the very end. He graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Law in 1940 where he was appointed *Assistan* after completing his military service, and then *Doçent*, and finally Professor in 1959. But Tarik Hoca's first love was research and he chose as his topic the history of political parties in the late Ottoman Empire and Turkey, a topic most appropriate for the years after World War II when the country was embarking on its experiment in multi-party politics. The result of his long and thorough research, published in 1952, was the monumental *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952*. Apart from analytical commentaries Tunaya published a treasure of primary documents to illustrate the rise and fall of parties and political organizations. He found these documents through sheer persistence, and the names of 126 people who helped him with letters, interviews, and documents listed in his acknowledgement attest to this fact. Thanks to this research a whole generation of scholars has become indebted to Tarik Hoca; research on the politics of this entire period would have remained both incomplete and painful had we not had *Siyasi Partiler* to turn to.

The years of Democrat Party rule (1950–1960) were difficult ones for the universities, and Tarik Hoca, along with most intellectuals, welcomed the military takeover of 27 May 1960. He became a member of the Constituent Assembly and played a role in framing the liberal constitution of 1961, which introduced such radical innovations as autonomy for the universities, the right to strike and collective bargaining, the formation of a socialist party, and proportional representation.

The sixties were prolific years for Tarik Hoca. As though he had anticipated the fall of the Democrat government, in 1959 he published *Hürriyetin İlanı* (The proclamation of liberty), a monograph which examined the political life of the Second Constitutional period (1908–1918). This was followed in 1960 by *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri* (Westernization in Turkey's political life). 1962 saw the publication of *İslamcılık Cereyanı* (The current of Islamism). Then came *Devrim Hareketleri İçinde Atatürk ve Atatürkçülük* (Ataturk and Ataturkism in revolutionary activities) in 1964, followed by *Siyasi Muesseseler ve Anayasa Hukuku* (Political institutions and constitutional law) in 1966, and *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Gelişmeleri* (Turkey's political developments) in 1970.

All these writings were a direct response to the political issues of the late 1950s and the 1960s, and Tarik Hoca waged a personal struggle with his pen, throwing his weight behind the forces of liberalism, secularism, and democracy. He therefore analyzed historically the questions of liberty and democracy; of Westernization and the threat of Islamic reaction and reassertion; the role of Ataturk and his ideology in the years of contestation after the 1961 elections when multi-party politics were restored; and political institutions and constitutional law when the Justice Party government began to undermine the institutions created by the 1961 constitution. His writings were the more powerful and effective because of his mastery of Turkey's history.

Tarik Hoca's writings did not endear him to the conservatives. His opposition to the amendments of the 1961 constitution sought by the military regime which seized power on 12 March 1971 and his criticism of the widespread repression and the violation of the rule of law led to his detention and harassment by the martial law regime. But Tarik Zefer Tunaya refused to be silenced and continued to write in the press in defense of the beleaguered constitution and the liberties it provided. These writings were published in 1979 in a volume entitled *İnsan Derisiyle Kaplı Anayasa* (A constitution bound with human skin).

In the 1970s, Tarik Hoca decided to return to his first love: the history of political parties in Turkey. The 1952 edition was long out of print and unavailable at any price even in the used book market. It would have been easy enough to publish the original with perhaps a supplement. But Tarik Hoca had created a vast personal archive in the years since 1952. In order

to do justice to this new material he decided to publish a multi-volume opus which would provide the reader with a detailed and more comprehensive picture of political life in Turkey. Unfortunately, his eyes began to trouble him, and despite operations his sight deteriorated rapidly. He was forced to rely more and more on his devoted wife and companion, Melahat Hanim, as well as students and friends to read for him. Research and writing suffered, but at the time of his death three majestic volumes of *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler* (each one almost 700 pages long) had made their appearance in 1984, 1986, and 1989. At the same time, Tarik Hoca's political writings published in the press were collected in 1989 under the title *Medeniyetin Bekleme Odası* (In the waiting room of civilization).

Tarik Zafer Tunaya has died. But his writings will continue to live on and inspire future generations in Turkey to struggle for the values he fought for all his life: Democracy, tolerance, and the rule of law.

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#### MARTIN DICKSON

MARTIN DICKSON slipped away on May 14, 1991, after a long and tenaciously fought battle with heart and kidney disease. Islamic scholarship has lost a *qutb*; he is now one of the unseen saints.

Martin was born in Brooklyn on March 22, 1924. After graduating from high school, where he distinguished himself as a linguist, he joined the U.S. Army, which identified him as having two aptitudes: driving trucks and learning languages. Martin never got a driver's license, but after induction into the OSS he learned Persian in Michigan, Greek in Egypt and Greece, and Chinese and Russian in China. After the end of the war Martin pursued more formal studies at the University of Washington (B.A. 1948) and Princeton University (Ph.D. 1958), in the course of which he added Arabic and Turkish to his repertoire. During these student years Martin's passion for learning was equaled only by his love of travel and adventure in the new post-war world. His studies in sixteenth-century Central Asian and Iranian history took him to the Sorbonne; to Istanbul, where he was for two years assistant to the man he would always own as his mentor, Zeki Velidi Togan; and to Tehran and Tabriz, where he spent four years and worked for a time as a "local" employee of the Point Four Program. It was this experience, and his desire for it, that helped make Martin such a rarity among his generation of Middle Eastern scholars: He knew intimately, and loved, the languages and cultures that he studied.

Martin spent his entire professional career at Princeton, where he was Professor of Near Eastern Studies at the time of his death. His formal publications were few but, each in its own way, seminal. His dissertation, *Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks*, although unpublished, is still a standard source