

EXAMINING THE PERIOD OF MOVING TOWARDS MULTI-PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM TO REVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

The period between 1945 and 1960 is the period of transition to democracy where significant changes in Turkish political and social life have taken place. The events that took place in our recent history, the CHP founded by Atatürk, in 1945-50 and then the multi-party political life with the transition to the stage of the DP's opposition to each other. In this study, the factors that will prepare the transition to Multi-Party System from 1945 will be investigated, and the process from the establishment of the Democratic Party until its closure will be reviewed. Because of the interesting nature of the subject, many researchers have investigated the period between 1945-60. However we must keep in mind that to analyze economical, social and political developments that we live today, we must read historical backgrounds of events carefully. Realities that social sciences deal with can only gain meaning when they analyzed with their backgrounds. The aim of this study the political and economical factors that contributed to change between 1945 and 1960 will be tried to explain in historical reality and publishing material foundations.

Keywords: Democratic Party (DP), politics, Republican People's Party (CHP).

INTRODUCTION

In recent history, democracy has been severed by various military coups. However, the most bloody one of them, as political staff, has been the "Sixties Revolution". In the 1945, World War II, embraced the whole Europe, a country that could not relieved yet after the war, democracy and reforms that could not be localized although twenty two years passed after the establishment of Republic, a Turkish Republic which is governed by the management of the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi national chief... All these are concepts express the social and political conjunctures that states the status of the country in the period that passing to multi-party regime from single party period.

In Turkish Republic, the multiparty political system was introduced in 1946 as no return again. However, this passage brought about a number of childhood diseases for the people and politicians who just met with the concept of democracy. These are the processes that must be happened and experienced. Demokrat Parti, which came into power between 1950 and 1960, has not escaped these childhood diseases, has paid a heavy price for this.

In this study, the factors that prepare the passage to "Multi Party" period from the year of 1945 will be investigated, then the process from the establishment of the Demokrat Parti until its closure will be examined. Due to the interestingness of the study being examined, the period between 1945-60 has been investigated by many researchers before in terms of different perspectives. However we must keep in mind that to analyze economical, social and political developments that we live today, we must read historical backgrounds of events carefully. Realities that social sciences deal with can only gain meaning when they analyzed with their backgrounds. The aim of this study the political and economical factors that contributed to change between 1945 and 1960 will be tried to explain in historical reality and publishing material foundations.

In the research method used in the study; newspapers, magazines, reminiscences of the people who lived at that period, and latter, books and articles written about that date will be searched and the important events of the period will be determined and its causes will be revealed.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1945-1960

In this chapter of the study, political developments occurred between 1945-1960 in Turkish Republic will be tried to reveal. This chapter of the study was chronologically examined in three parts. The process of the RPP power and the DP's emergence between 1945-50 , the process of holding to the political life of the DP between 1950-54, and finally the process between 1954 and 1960 were issued under a separate title.

Political Developments in the Period Between 1945-50

The success of a political system is related to the success or failure of its economic system that applied. Regardless of the name of the regime, and ideology that governance conducted, the basic factor that

determine the success of that regime and governance is economical indicators. As long as being successful in this, the systems are continuing their presence.

When the period between 1945-50 is assessed in this respect and a number of social factors are put in place, the establishment purpose of the Demokrat Parti will be revealed better and easier explanations will be brought to different formations.

When we examine the population between 1945-60; It is seen that in 1945 our population reached 18 million, in 1950 20 million, in 1955 24 million and in 1960 27 million (Law, 1970).

The Second World War ended in 1945, Turkish Republic tried to keep away from these developments and although it succeeded this, it got its share from negative developments that the war brought all the world. İsmet İnönü, has kept the presidency since the death of Atatürk, put the country into the war economy with the possibility of going the war at any moment and continued this duty until 1950 (Turan, 2003). The list for this period in terms of prime ministers is; 1945 Şükrü Saraçoğlu, 1946 Recep Peker, 1947 Hasan Saka, 1949 Şemsettin Günaltay and 1950 Adnan Menderes (Presidency of Turkish Republic, 2018).

In the passage period of multi-party regime, it is seen that four prime ministers were changed in five years. This is the most basic indication that the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, founded by Atatürk, later became the president of the National Chief İnönü and governed the country as the only party for twenty-seven years, set off on new quests for the democratic system in this period.

Along with the end of the war, the world political systems have also begun to change. Turkish Republic has also got its share from these changes. In the spring of 1945, the delegates of fifty-nine countries in San Francisco came together to sign the founding of the United Nations (Birand, et al., 1991: 25). Thus, the world order in which the democratic regime prevails can be established and the aim is to close the one man period.

In addition, the development occurred in the external world and related our country was unilateral termination of pact of non-aggression by the Soviet Union. Thus the new world order established in Turkish Republic, it would have determined the location for its own safety. Beforelong, İsmet İnönü made his promise of democracy passage for the first time in the speech on May 19 (Birand, et al., 1991: 26).

Atatürk attempted to pass to multi party period in his healthy days, for twice in twenty two years from the establishment date of Republic. However, these initiatives have failed (Atatürk İnkılapları, 2018).

How can a multi-party regime to be passed from a system of party management and staffing that has been identified with the state administration since the proclamation of the Republic? The CHP has been a party formed by the base of military-bureaucratic-rich landowners in origin. In this period of power, in addition to these classes from the application of the war economy, a class of bourgeoisie has also emerged which earned good money from commerce. Within the party, especially the bourgeoisie class and the landowners began to

struggle for interest. This struggle for interest, occurred between the classes, caused to beginning of the events leading to DP opposition (Güz, 1986: 443).

Disagreements arisen during the discussion of the "Provision of Land to Farmers Law" (1945). After the discussion of this law, the motion known as "Memorandum Of The Four", signed by Izmir parliamentarian Celal Bayar, Aydin parliamentarian Adnan Menderes, İçel parliamentarian Refik Koraltan and Kars parliamentarian Fuat Köprülü, was presented to CHP Parliamentary Group Presidency in 1946 (Dilipak, 1990). Four parliamentarian who submitted the motion to parliament were then received dishonorable discharge from the party. In this motion, a number of requests were made by referring to İnönü's speech on May 19th. These requests are; provision of parliamentary supervision, expansion of political freedoms, and reorganization of party works (Birand, et al., 1991). However, the parliamentarians who came up with this formation have become enemies by separating their paths because of various ideas and interests. Köprülü (Ağaoğlu, 1992: 49), guest of honor in the dinner table of İsmet Pasha in 1960 and expressed his opinion as "DP leaders should be executed".

The names mentioned above, which received dishonorable discharge from the CHP due to Memorandum Of The Four, took the action in response to opening speech of İsmet İnönü in November 1945 that *"Our only deficient is that there is no party against government party"*. On 7 January 1946 the Demokrat Parti was officially established with a press conference. The party program is based on the principles of democracy in politics and liberalism in economy. Bayar, gave information about the party's general views and program, explained that the Constitution was not exercised rightly, that they wanted secret vote and single-grade elections (Eroğul, 1970).

The CHP entered into the process of spontaneously making the arrangements in party program of DP and promised to be made. From the results of this tactic application; the independent group was removed, the party leader would be elected, and new comments were made on the basic principles that the party defended. In the political structure, undemocratic parts of some laws have been removed (Güz, 1986). Simple crimes have been forgiven, restrictions have been released, some of the villagers' tax has been removed, the right to organize for the students has been granted, and insurance for workers has been introduced (Birand, et al., 1991).

Article 50 of the 1931 Press Regulations which authorized the Council of Ministers to close newspapers and magazines institutions, was removed and this right was given to the courts (Topuz, 1996). The provision of the Law on the Communities that based on establishment of Class-based Associations was removed, a new law giving universities scientific and administrative autonomy was introduced, and the with amendment in election law single-grade election accepted (Fall, 1986).

In the II General Assembly of CHP, with the İnönü's declaration of (Birand, et al., 1991): "I invited you because of we decided a new move of Turkish people's administration: Single grade election... We are experiencing the

single-grade parliamentary elections for the first time. We decided to have new election if any emergency case do not occur in next months. I would like to point out that the parties that were established up to now will enter to election as parties. Every decision of our great nation is definitely acceptable.”, the election period of the multi-party regime was started. However, İnönü made a political maneuver and moved the elections to an earlier time. Thus, it was not possible to complete the sub-structure of a party that has been over four months since its foundation. The parliamentarians of DP gathered together and made a boycott decision on the elections to be held in May 1946. Participation in local elections has remained a quite low level at the public level. In the first multi-party system elections held in July 1946, DP won the 62 of 465 deputyship, CHP won the 403 of them (Seçim Sonuçları, 1946).

The claim that the election had rigs created a trouble. When the election was concluded, the first day that the parliamentarians from DP came to the Parliament to continue the opposition duty, despite the fact that İnönü entered saloon and all parliamentarians stood up, they did not do it. They tried to explain this behavior, which is a protest, that the parliament will not stand up before anyone (Ağaoğlu, 1992). It was fairly normal for democratic childhood diseases to appear in political regime changes. A new system was encountered, it was seen that there was not complete development in democratical education.

After the elections, this tension between the opposition and the ruling increased especially during the approval of the minutes in parliament and discussion of the budgetary proposals of 1947. Prime Minister Peker responded to Menderes's criticism of the budget on 18 December (Ağaoğlu, 1992:41):

After the statement of "We have listened to the reflections of the situation that express the lifetime of a mighty state that tries to reach magnificent, glorious and honorable future from darkness that left behind in diseased thoughts of pessimist and psychopathic spirit from the voice of Adnan Menderes", DP council group left from the parliament and this behavior created an excitement in party structure and in the country.

In the 1st Great Congress of DP held in January 7, 1947 mode of the speeches, ideas submitted, pit the voters against people who govern the state, in order words politicians. This congress became the demonstration of how intense the civil strife of party which continued until revolution in 1960 will be (Ağaoğlu, 1992:41).

The solution to the conflict of the relations between ruling party and the opposition party came from İnönü. He told his negotiations he made with Recep Peker and Celal Bayar in "12 July Declaration" he published the and said that the existence of the opposition should be guaranteed (12 July Bishop of 1947). Inonu has act as supraparties with this declaration.

İnönü and Bayar's moderate policy for political opposition continued until the 1950 elections, sometimes softening and sometimes slightly firming. In the Bayar and İnönü took action by suggesting the person who support firming in their parties.

In this period, "Human Rights Association" was established. This association, which was founded by the party members Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel, was seen as a means for the further compression of the CHP by Menderes, but later no parallel relationship between the DP and the Association were found (Toprak, 1986:365).

Despite these developments, the DP made a great deal of promise to mass of voters before the 1950 elections on that they would prevent restrictions on religious freedoms. On the other hand, all the programs of the parties such as Milli Kalkınma Partisi, Sosyal Adalet Partisi, Çiftçi ve Köylü Partisi, Aritma Koruma Partisi, İslam Koruma Partisi, Türk Muhafazakar Partisi and Toprak, Emlak ve Serbest Teşebbüs Partisi established between 1945-50, Islamic foundations accepted. Furthermore, the Millet Partisi, founded in 1948, based its all party program on the religious items. Despite this, in the 1950 elections, they only could collect about 240 thousand votes of eight million valid votes and send only one parliamentarian to the parliament (Toprak, 1986: 365).

The CHP which was in power between 1947-50, showed a softening in the principles of secularism. In this respect, Imam Hatip courses were opened by the Ministry of National Education in 1948. In 1949, elected religious courses were put on primary school curriculum with the condition of the written permission of students parents. In the CHP program in 1949, Faculty Of Theology was envisaged to open the in Ankara University. Besides, for the first time in 1948, foreign exchange was given to those who want to go to Hajj, and in 1949, mausoleums which closed since 1925 reopened (Toprak, 1986: 365).

Political Developments in the Period Between 1950-54

With the 1950 General Elections, the single-party system which has been ruling for twenty-seven years and has worn out in this process, was removed. In the general election called "White Revolution", while the CHP won 69 deputyships, the DP came into power with 408 deputyships. Participation in these elections, where eight million voters voted, was 89%. For the first time Turkish voters participated in a true free election with secret vote. From that time, during the ten-year of period, the CHP has assumed the opposition role (Toker, 1991: Birand et al., 1991; Toprak 1986).

The Democratic Party, embodied the nation factor into the political area with its actions between 1950 and 1954 and received great support especially from peasantry. In those years, the population of the village was too high, therefore this lead to reality that the political party which got the votes of peasantries, resulted in winning the elections (Yücel, 2001).

Since the presidential elections were re-elected by parliament with every election, İnönü had to leave this task. Thus, Bayar became the new President, Menderes became the Prime Minister, and Koraltan became the President of Grand National Assembly of Turkish Republic (Meclis Başkanlarımız, 2018).

When Bayar became President, he resigned from the party leadership and the board of party governor. After this incident, not only the leader of political party, but also a member of party could not be a President. Thus, a

tradition of objectivity of Presidentiality has been created, which is reinforced by military interventions and constitutional changes, even formally. Although the fact that İnönü was the leader of the party legally, not actually, was widely criticized (Tuncay&Koçak, 1995: 178).

Against the fear of any intervention from the army a few days after the Menderes leadership came into power, he superannuated the senior staff of the army starting from Chief Of General Staff.

Menderes, read government program in Assembly, separated the first part of the program for critique of twenty-seven years single party period. In the second part, there are promises: Freedom, prosperity ... However, at the end of the program negotiations, the opposition were recognized and the parliamentarians of CHP left from the salon. While anti-communism theme is being discussed in the government program, reactionism is also defined as a communist tactic (Tuncay & Koçak, 1995:178). In fact, the last CHP governments have begun to compromise on secularism. On June 16, Azan wast translated back to Arabic with unanimity. The interesting thing the decision is made in Assembly with absolute majority. Parliamentarians of the CHP also supported this decision. When asked, a parliamentarian of the CHP answered as (Toprak, 1986) *"If we did it, we might have lose 1954 elections."*

One month after this decision, the DP government allowed the reading of the Qur'an on state radios. Moreover, in the 1950-51 academic year, the religious lessons that the CHP had previously set as elective courses in primary schools were made compulsory. In 1951, the Ministry of National Education opened Imam Hatip Schools in seven cities, and the number of these was increased to sixteen in the 1954-55 academic year. In addition, the budget of the Religious Affairs Administration has been continuously expanded since 1950. In addition, the funds allocated to the General Directorate For Foundations increased, and the mosque and mausoleum repairs exceeding 600 were provided between 1951 and 1954 by this institution. Fifteen thousand mosques were built between 1950 and 1960 (Toprak, 1986).

The CHP organized the 8th congress in 29 June 1950. While General President İnönü was elected at the congress, Secretary General was described the election as a surprise. Instead of Nihat Erim, known with his moderate personality and supported by İnönü, Kasım Gülek won (Bila, 2008).

The CHP has put forward the concept of opposition and the policy that they will follow in the Speech of the General President at their congresses in 1950-51 and in the Opposition Declaration. In his speech, İnönü stated that he assumed the criticism and inspection task of CHP and they would wait for the government to start to work and put forward their own principles and ideas, prove that the criticisms that the DP made wrongly while they are in power are unfair and untrue (Fall, 1986).

The CHP has focused its opposition more on domestic politics and has supported the foreign policy imposed by the DP on foreign policy issues, such as the participation to the NATO and sending soldier to Korea. The

greatest criticism made in this area is that these decisions have been made without consulting the parliament and the opposition (Güz, 1986).

In the late 1950s, "People's Houses" were seen as a problem between power and the opposition. This institution which was established during the Atatürk era and which aims to keep the Republic alive was identified with the CHP. Their incomes and the incomes of the party are intertwined. DP, annoyed due to this situation, decided to close the public houses (Birand, et al., 1991: 103).

This was not the only tension between power and opposition. In 1952, the DP declared that the CHP's property was an unfair acquisition and confiscated their properties. Some of the proceeds have been transferred to the treasury. "Unfair Acquisition Law" was introduced and all the assets of the CHP was required to be confiscated (Ari, 2014). Meanwhile, the opposition party "Millet Partisi" was closed by the DP on the grounds that they made reactionism (Demokrat Parti, 1952).

In this period, especially when we look at the foreign policy agenda; As soon as the DP came to power, (June 25, 1950) the Korean War emerged. DP sent a Turkish Army of 4500 people to the Korean War. In the years after the War, Turkish Republic was accepted as a member of NATO. Various agreements were signed between the United States of America and Turkish Republic. One of them is the "military convenience agreement" which is secretly signed. According to this agreement, an American strategic air base in Turkish Republic (Incirlik) will be established, Americans aircrafts will benefit from major Turkish ports and consented to establishment of various facilities in Turkish Republic for the use by United States of America "free land allocation" (Ülman & Sander, 1972:9).

Political Developments in the Period Between 1956-60

The 1954 general election eventually achieved the highest percentage of votes a party could get throughout the entire multi-party democratic regime, reaching 93% of the DP's share. In these elections, the CHP has only thirty-one parliamentarians. According to the election results, Menderes was again Prime Minister, Bayar was again President (Toker, 1991).

In the elections of 1954, the CHP was able to constitute a majority in three cities (Malatya, Konya, Sinop) and the Millet Partisi constitute a majority in one city (Kırşehir). DP divided Ismet Inonu's electoral district of Malatya into two and Adıyaman province emerged in this period. The second province that got its share from the fury of the power was the Kırşehir, the electoral district of Osman Bölükbaşı, then Kırşehir was made a district (Bila, 2008).

At the beginning of this period, the new DP power made to some regimes related to civil servants. At the beginning of these, the need for retirement has been reduced from thirty years to 25 years, and the objection to the decision to refer the retirement has been prevented. These arrangements are taken to a special scope; included to university officials, judges, Council of State and members of the Court of Accounts. With this law, if

a civil servant taken from his job and not assigned after his clear salary paid to him for 6 months, it was considered he automatically retired. The judicial process against all these transactions was also prevented (Tuncay 1995).

Especially in the economy, four years of positive picture left its place to a pessimistic position. While the balanced budget in CHP period and good weather conditions in 1950, allowed to Turkish Republic is the fourth of the world in wheat production, the result of drought in 1954 was forced to import wheat from the United States of America. No help was provided in foreign debt and loans at the desired rates. The bad situation in the economy has been influential in political life (Bila, 2008).

Within the structure of DP, opposition within the party since the first congress has created disagreements at the organization level, at the local level and within the cabinet. In 1955, after the legislative proposal for the recognition of the "right of proof to press" which was prepared by ten parliamentarians, (then the number of parliamentarians who signed this proposal came up to 19), the disputes emerged and at the end, nine of parliamentarians who had prepared the proposal received dishonorable discharge from the party. The other ten people also left from the party with their own wishes (Karpat, 1996: 336).

In this opposition within party was formed at the DP parliamentary group meeting. In negotiations on an oral question on rising cost of living, parliamentarians forced the minister of finance, trade and foreign affairs to resign. The Minister of Justice who was about to face the same fate, offered to withdraw the entire cabinet. Upon this, Menderes came to the castle and asked to have vote of confidence only for himself and later formed his new cabinet (Karpat, 1996: 336).

When we look at the developments in foreign policy that took place during this period; Close cooperation with the Balkans has been tried to obtain. Balkan Pact established, Iraq and Turkish Republic provided a pact despite the anger of remained Arab world. Soon after, England and Pakistan joined the pact. Iran had a positive attitude. Thus Cento Pact was created (Tuncay, 1995). In the same period Cyprus, which was under the auspices of Britain, was annexed by Greece and the Cyprus problem emerged (Sarıkoynucu, 2012).

After the Cyprus events, the events of September 6-7 took place. Public, be agitated due to the news on of Atatürk's House in In Thessaloniki sabotaged in the İstanbul Ekspres Newspaper plundered the stores of minorities in İstiklal Street. Then they attacked to patriarchates. The governor and the police were late and insufficient to intervene, the incidents were suppressed with the help of the soldiers. More than five thousand people were arrested and sent to military commission as the result of 6-7 September events. In addition, administrators of organizations such as "Kıbrıs Türk'tür Cemiyet" were also arrested (Fersoy, 1979).

In the general elections of 1957; The DP won 4,407,000 votes and won 424 of 610 deputies and all oppositions won 186 of them with 4,758,000 votes in total. CHP increased the number of deputyship to 178 in these elections (Karpat, 1996: 222).

Before the 1957 elections, the opposition was prevented from coming together. After the elections, inter-party unions were held in 1958. Thus, Türkiye Köylü Partisi joined to Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi; Hürriyet Partisi joined to the CHP. The 14. CHP congress, convened in January 1959, accepted "Declaration of First Objectives". The aims of this merger are as follows; remove of partizanship, the establishment of a second parliament, election security, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Council of Judges, the recognition of the right for civil servants to appeal to courts, university autonomy, the establishment of the Supreme Economic Council and the introduction of the concept of social justice for constitution.

On the other hand, the administrators of DP tried to collect their own parties in a new organization under the name of "Homeland Front" (Toker, 1991).

On 18 April 1960 the "Investigation Commission" was established in Assembly. Through this commission, the CHP was asked to make an inquiry by arguing that the cell organization was founded, armed and prepared for rebellion in order to come to power with non-elective means. A group of fifteen members of the DP will judge both the press and the opposition and will not be able to appeal their decisions. İnönü's historical speech on this like: "Friends, when the conditions are proper, revelation is a legitimate right for communities. If you continue on this was, I can not save you "(Birand et al., 1991).

During this period, the hardest opposition came from university students to power. Students gathered in front of İstanbul University on April 28, 1960, have shouted slogans against the government. Though the police intervened, firing was opened to students, who did not break up, while a student was killed, forty students were injured. Since a broadcast ban on newspapers imposed, the gossip mechanism was worked and hundreds of young people were killed and news of their bodies buried in paved roads were spread. In the same way, the movements of the universities continued in Ankara (Birand, et al., 1991).

This indicator, which passed to history as 555K and, symbolizing the 5th of May 1960 five o'clock and the Kızılay, is a case of being tortured by the crowd upon the pass from the airport of Menderes while passing through Kızılay (Bila, 2008).

The people from Harbiye who were uncomfortable with these events in the country and wanted to intervene and prevent them, walked to the Victory Monument on 21 May 1960. The uncomfortable power in this situation has tried to guarantee itself. Menderes, who breathed a sigh of relief on the statement of about twenty one general, including Chief Of General Staff, as "We support you", something that unexpected happened, the coup occurred from subordinate staff of army, not superior seniority (Birand, et al., 1991).

The putschists collected the parliamentarians from DP and send them to Yassıada as prisoners. However, three people paid the price of the period and these were executed by hanging. Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes the were hanged and DP period was closed.

AN ECONOMIC INVESTIGATION PERIOD BETWEEN 1945-1960

While the period between 1945 and 1960 is examined, this title will be examined in two chapters as the economic system differences arising from the political power due to change are taken into consideration. In the first chapter; The statism-liberal policy that followed the single-party administration between 1945-1950 and the second part; Between 1950 and 1960, the liberal economy and its applications, which are being tried to be implemented by the DP, along with multi-party life-changing, will be narrated.

Economic Politics Followed Between 1945-50

Along with the end of World War II in 1945, it brought with it a number of changes in the economic structure of the country. Since the proclamation of the republic, the statism principle has become a state policy. However, this is not a consciously pursued policy, this has not been a policy that is followed by the imperative of historical and economic conditions.

During the Second World War, as foreign markets has increased demand for Turkish goods, exports increased and a number of war riches emerged from trade. In addition, there are land riches created by land barons. This section demanded that the state cease its activities in the economic field and open a place for private sector. (Karpat, 1996:243)

As mentioned above, it clear that the country followed statism policy due to there is a obligation it this. Because with an habit from Ottoman Empire, people expect everything from the state. In private sector, it did not engage in an activity that prove itself until that day. On the contrary, examples are dismal. In the private sector, the behavior of the employer to the workers is reminiscent of the period immediately after the industrial revolution.

Economic politics which were applied after Second World War can't be explained freely from external developments. Marshall Plan that was used by United States in Europe during the period of reconstruction holds a significant place (Tören, 2007). In this context, The US and World Bank leads and suggests developing countries to first implement the modernization of agricultural sector by using tractors and modern techniques and the development through an economic structure based on agricultural exports (Köymen, 1999). Because of famine during war periods and great depression existing machines became useless scraps, tractors that could be worked and used was around thousands in 1946 (Tractors number reached 43 thousands in 1955). However, grants taken was used more for agricultural lands and this led cultivated lands was expand, the total cultivated lands was 9.5 million hectares and reached 14.2 million hectares from 1948 to 1955 (Keyder, 1984b).

The statist policies in Turkish Republic, the transition to liberalization took place after 1947 (Karpat, 1996). Decisions were made to review of statism principle in the party program in congress and to extend this principle for the benefit of private sector and private capital. By redefining the notion of statism, the limits of this concept have been tried to be narrowed further than in the past. According to this, the state will continue

to perform heavy industries, mines, power plants operation; national defense and transportation works and the remaining fields will be left to the people. In addition, the state may intervene in enterprises not entered by the private sector as a result of not making profits and in some works required by the public interest. Another decision made at the congress was that the state would never be able to take part in economic activities that would lead increase cost of living and agriculture sector. The first major devaluation was carried out throughout the republic, on September 7, 1946 one dollar was raised from 1.28 Turkish Liras to 2.80 Turkish Liras (Boratav, 2006: 320).

Closed and protective practices that were used that period, were replaced by liberalization in imports and imports showed gradual increase together. At the same time, foreign dependency became chronic and this started the period of foreign dependency (Boratav, 2006: 320)

With the passage to multi-party period, as far as the townspeople and the notables are involved in economic activities, this party has emerged with an economic platform on the call to private enterprises. The interests that bureaucratic control prevented and the bureaucratic dependence have angered, the new party is seen as a suitable means for its purposes (Mardin, 1986).

Turkish Economy Congress was held between 22-27 November 1948. In this congress, the subjects were worked through the establishment of three separate commissions. In the commissions of statism, foreign trade and tax reform, the opinions of businessmen in this field have been put forward (Karpat, 1996).

In the Statism Commission; the functions of the state have been defined and tasks that are in the state's duties and not in the state's duties have been introduced. According to this, the state has to fulfill public services such as national defense, education, research, post works, transportation, supervision. The state should never confront as an opponent against the entrepreneur and interfere in the field of enterprise.

The state should be entrepreneurs only in businesses that require large capital and not entered by private sector due to not provide profit. The same privileges granted to state enterprises should be recognized for private sector and quotas for imports of goods produced by the private sector should be imposed.

Decisions made in the Foreign Trade Commission had a qualification of limiting to export and encouraging the import. Accordingly, in order to increase production and exports, it is necessary to make some decisions even though against domestic producers.

In the Tax Reform Commission; decision on reviewing of taxes applied nationwide and especially the taxes taken from agricultural products should be removed were made.

The report prepared by the "İstanbul Industrialists Union" in this period contains interesting expressions (Karpat, 1996). In report, it was stated that the state establishments became harmful to the country, especially Sümerbank was the primary of them. By addressing some of social problems, they are asking not to treat as

"thief with tie" in social classes, where merchants are insulted, government officials are not respectful to merchants.

Besides, it is stated that the Eastern Anatolia region is followed a closed economy and that the state should assist the private sector for launch to the market of some goods produced in that region.

When generally evaluated, we can say that Turkish Republic passed the liberalization at the end of the Second World War and single-party period. To made this, the concept of statism has been redefined and tried to be adapted to the general conditions of the economy.

Economic Politics Followed Between 1950-60

The Demokrat Parti deemed appropriate to realize liberalization in the economic field and took to pursue the economic process that it took over from the CHP. In this context, Menderes presented the program of the new government to assembly. The DP government ranked its economic goals as follows (Eroğlu, 1996): "Cheaper of life, increase of production volume and employment, decrease of costs, providing the tax justice, review of customs tariffs, enlargement of private enterprises fields and transferring of state enterprises to private enterprises in proper conditions, encouraging of foreign capital and legalizing strike right as not damage to social order and economical harmony and remove of antidemocratic law provisions." According to Vildan (1998) DP had a more advanced understanding of liberal economy model which was adopted by the CHP.

Between the years 1950-54, when the DP came to power, there was a period of great economic development. There are a number of reasons for this. The wheat harvest made between 1950-51 reached very high levels due to the good season; growth inevitably took place when the CHP government used foreign exchange and gold reserves accumulated during the war and increased American aid came together. DP established "Turkish Industrial Development Bank" after came into power (Tuncay, 1995).

DP first expanded agricultural fields. It has opened up empty lands for cultivation. Machinery and seed production were increased by going to the machinery sector in the agricultural sector. At the same time, great improvements have been made towards storage and preservation of the product. Another innovation in agriculture sector is to increase of loans given to the sector. The prices of agricultural products have been increased and more money has been tried to flow to the villagers (Toker, 1991: 90).

In the period of DP, basic building investments were also given importance. Many new bridges and highways were built in the country. Developments especially in agriculture and basic building fields have caused great changes in the daily life of the villagers (Arcayürek, 1985: 65).

Turkish Republic has followed a parallel development in the tourism sector to all over the world. This attitude began in 1950s in terms of Turkish Republic and became a kind of tradition is leaving tourism sector to private enterprises and public sector became a part of an activity in case of insufficiency of leading and example plants

and private enterprises. This attitude has been concrete in the III. Five-Year Development Plan (Tolungüç 1986: 217).

In this period, foreign trade was first liberalized as a necessity of economic policy, and then the investments to be made in the industrial and tourism fields of domestic and foreign capital are facilitated, encouraged and protected. The principals of the legal regulations in this area are; "Encouragement Law of Tourism Agencies No. 5647" dated 1950, "Foreign Investment Promotion Law No. 6086" dated 1953. With these introduced laws, some of rights such as domestic and especially foreign capital exemptions and exceptions from various taxes, obtaining long-term and cheap credits, guaranteeing capital profits, freely transferring of them, expropriation in favor of them, making it difficult or even impossible for the nationalization, acquiring immovable property in the villagers for foreigners, employment of foreign experts were recognized (Tolungüç, 1986: 217). However, these prepared laws and incentives did not produce any results for the development of tourism in that period and the reaching at the desired spot.

Import restrictions were mostly removed; growth and export revenues had a facilitating effect in this respect. However, by the end of 1953, that rapid growth ended up and even if restriction of import came into question it wasn't successful (Gülalp, 1993). When the borrowings became to be couldn't paid and there was no possibility of finding new borrowing the economy, which based on important between 1955 and 1958, experienced bottleneck. By 1954 deliberation policy was implemented due to the beginning of a troubled period in the economy (Çavdar, 1984).

In 1955, the economic policy implemented by Menderes Period did not work like in the past. There are many reasons for this. As the results of bad weather conditions and drought, Turkish Republic, fourth country in the world on wheat production, exported wheat from America (Sencer, 1971: 235).

Although the policies which were implemented to support agricultural prices, satisfied the formers until 1957, it got into a scrape because of having negative impact on fixed incomes who lived in the city. Such a practice led to inflation, foreign exchange shortage and black market, while at the same time disturbing urban investors who wanted to invest in industrialists and industry. The unstable policies implemented between 1954 and 1957, therefore replaced by protective and improving domestic market policy (Keyder, 1984b).

With the growing foreign pressure, dollar gained 2.2 times more value against Turkish Liras in 1958. Controls on foreign trade were relaxed after the adaption of the devaluation. In this way, new loans were proposed by accepting deferred debt delays, primarily to the US. In the same year "...as a result of burden caused by the combination of a high rate of inflation with an extremely over-valued exchange rate..." debt treaty was signed between Turkish Republic and IMF (Gülalp, 1993).

Again in 1958, European Economic Cooperation Organization delayed 400 millions dollars of debt receivable from Turkish Republic, in return of Government's putting this steady package into action; 359 millions dollars new debts were given (Albayrak, 1956).

The fact that the foreign investors are rely upon foreign invest more and the investments made are made relying on these, and the lack of help as much as expected has paint into a corner of country from the economic point of view. In parallel with the deterioration of inflationary pressures and foreign trade balance due to unplanned and unbalanced investments, the scantiness and inadequacy of imported industrial goods, spare parts and investment goods slowed down industrial development, and this inadequacy mostly affected the private sector (Sencer, 1971).

As a result, it is understood that foreign policy can not be achieved within this liberal foreign policy regime; for this reason foreign trade controls were made; but the foreign trade deficits were still present, and even it became chronic, on the other hand, the it was the years which the broad public sector has embarked on an economic structure in which supportive, specialized features have been added to the foreground and incorporated into functional coherence with private capital accumulation.

CONCLUSION and DISCUSSION

The period between 1945 and 1960 were the years of passage to democracy, in which important changes in Turkish political and social life took place. The events that took place in our recent history are the CHP established by Atatürk, between 1945-50, and DP opposing each other with the passage of multi-party political period and appeared in stage of history.

According to various ideological views on the process of the formation of the Demokrat Parti, different interpretations were considered. According to some people; it is a formation that completed a certain capital unit, structured for serve to demands of capitalist section and land barons and according to some of them it is a formation that emerged after the process supported by public and intelligentsia who experienced the problems of twenty seven years old single party period.

If we make a comment looking at a single event; We can support the belief that the DP was established as a bourgeois party. Because the founders of the DP opposed the "Provision of Land to Farmers Law" in the CHP and worked for the interests of the big landlords, giving the proposal known as the "Memorandum of Four". These people, who were later received dishonorable discharge to the party, established the DP.

After the DP came to power, the developments that took place with the economic life brought with it many changes such as politics, social and cultural life. However, the lack of sufficient sources for growth and development in the country led the country in economical crisis because of the wrong economy policies implemented by DP even with good intentions. Despite country needed, these investments have created a deficit in budget and made an inflationary market environment. These were the disasters of the DP. The

mechanisms in society have begun to work. The press has publicized the complaints of the people who are uncomfortable with the economy, and the power that has been annoyed by them has come up with some non-democratic methods.

The last of DP power is prepared by military forces for democracy. 1960 Coup intervened the political life with the undemocratic methods for democracy.

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