

EXPERIENCE OF THE LIBERALIZATION POLICY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN TURKEY IN THE 1950S

^aRAMIL RASHITOVICH KADYROV, ^bVIKTOR EVGENIEVICH TUMANIN, ^cMARAT ZUFAROVICH GALIULLIN, ^dELVIRA IMBELEVNA KAMALETDINOVA, ^eALEXANDER VYACHESLAVOVICH VOROBIEV

^a*Candidate of Historical Sciences, teacher of the Department of regional studies and Eurasian studies, Institute of international relations, Kazan Federal University, +7 917 884-77-14, ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2996-8288, Kremlyovskaya St, 18, Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, 420008, Russia*

^b*Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of regional studies and Eurasian studies, Institute of international relations, Kazan Federal University, ID Scopus: 56073875400, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9260-3217, Kremlyovskaya St, 18, Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, 420008, Russia*

^c*Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of regional studies and Eurasian studies, Institute of international relations, Kazan Federal University, ID Scopus: 56705626900, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3798-4328, Kremlyovskaya St, 18, Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, 420008, Russia*

^d*Assistant, Department of Regional Studies and Eurasian Studies, Institute of International Relations, Kazan Federal University, ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3619-6335, Kremlyovskaya St, 18, Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, 420008, Russia*

^e*Candidate of Historical Sciences, Researcher, Center for the Study of Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Ural-Volga Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5100-8369, Kremlyovskaya St, 18, Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, 420008, Russia*

E-mail: ^aKadyrovramil@mail.ru, ^bv.tumanin@mail.ru, ^cmaratscorpion@yandex.com, ^delvira-imoiv@mail.ru, ^eVorobiov.09@yandex.ru

Abstract: The article is devoted to the problem of implementing the liberalization policy pursued by the Democratic Party of Turkey in the 1950s. The uniqueness of the formation and functioning of this model, based on liberalization policies, makes it possible to state with certainty that Westernization and liberalization policies have allowed Turkey to minimize the effects of social and economic shocks for more than a decade. The foundation of this model was laid in the early 1950s, during the rule of the Democratic Party in the Republic of Turkey. The article reflects the process of winding down reforms, shows the reasons for their failure and the removal of the Democratic Party from power in 1960. Among the countries of the Muslim world, Turkey stands out as the state where Westernization policies and democratic values of the West were most successfully pursued.

Keywords: history, foreign regional studies, Turkey, modernization, etatism, A. Menderes, liberalization, Democratic Party.

1 Introduction

The government of the Democratic Party came to power under conditions of Kemalist bureaucracy. The policy of etatism constrained the development of the economy. By the end of the 40s, there was widespread dissatisfaction with the existing orders in Turkey. In this situation, the one-party system was abolished. According to the results of the parliamentary elections of 1950, the opposition Party (DP) came to power.

Jelyal Bayar became President and A. Menderes was appointed Prime Minister. Liberalization of the political sphere and economic system is a common condition for the successful development of most Western countries. In the West, the transition to a multi-party system is seen as "liberalizing the political atmosphere." The transition to a multi-party system is the logical conclusion of the struggle of the Turkish bourgeoisie and the land aristocracy for their rights and interests. The ruling class needed a guarantor of their political and economic freedom, primarily through the party they created and brought to power.

2 Methods

The methodological basis of our study is the principle of historicism and the principle of objectivity. The principle of historicism considers all phenomena in the development and interrelationship of all sides, the political life of Turkish society, in the process of liberalization of all sides of the socio-economic and political course of Turkey in the 1950s. The principle of objectivity implies compliance with the prescribed rules of modern theories of social and political development of society when considering the problem. The authors of this work adhere to the ideas set out in the works of the French philosopher and sociologist Jacques Elloule and Yu Habermas, the essence of which is that the democratization and liberalization of society should be achieved by the formation of civic consciousness in society and man, rather than by changing the institutions of power and strengthening the vertical of this power (Habermas, 1995).

3 Results and Discussion

Having come to power, Prime Minister A. Menderes began to pursue a policy aimed at the transition of the country to democratic tracks. The first steps taken by the Government were the following.

On June 14, 1950, the Democratic Party passed a bill allowing reading "azan" not only in Turkish, but also in Arabic (Bozdağ, 2004).

Mustafa Kemal set up a radical policy of laicism and pursued it since 1924. Permeating the entire structure of Muslim society, Islam was both a consolidating factor and a hindrance to the creation of national unity (Imamutdinova et al., 2019).

The next step was the law abolishing the prohibition on teaching religious subjects, both in primary and higher education. New mosques began to be built and restored throughout the country. These innovations were met with great inspiration and approval among the clergy and rural population of the Republic. In June 1950, a number of media laws were passed, and the "Press Act" was amended, leading to the emergence of liberal publications.

In the economic sphere, the policy of the ruling party was aimed at the complete transfer of the management of State enterprises to private ownership. In August 1950, the Government of A. Menderes introduced a bill to the Majlis encouraging foreign investment in the country's economy, which led to a rapid increase in the rate of production and an increase in the economic performance of the production sector. The new Government has passed through the Majlis draft laws on privatization of the public sector of the economy, and many public enterprises have passed into private hands (Rosaliyev, 1962). The capitalization of production and the transition of State-owned enterprises to the private sector provided incentives to the banking system. Banks issued loans for the development of production and the purchase of state-owned enterprises. Foreign capital was actively attracted to the oil industry. American and British oil companies British Petroleum, Mobil Oil, Royal Cottage Shell have become active participants in economic activity in the country (Alibekov, 1966). Privatization of enterprises, introduction of the latest technologies led to growth of quantitative and qualitative indicators in industry. However, the advancement of liberalization policies has faced a number of challenges. The policy of "grow in every quarter of our millionaire" was not successful. This is due to the fact that large loans were issued only to selected borrowers or the loan was provided at significant interest rates beyond the scope of a simple owner or small merchant. The "policy of economic democracy" led to the rapid enrichment of members of the government, deputies, and the commercial and industrial

bourgeoisie. While in 1950 the number of entrepreneurs who submitted a tax return was 45,774, in 1960 more than 210 thousand declarations were submitted (Capitalism in Turkey, Socio-economic development in the 1950s-1980s, 1987). In 1953, there were 11 millionaires in Turkey, and by 1960 their number had increased to 110; 227 industrialists had revenues from 500 thousand to 1 million lire per year, incomes from 20 thousand and more than 500 thousand entrepreneurs (Rosaliyev, 1980). The process of concentration and centralization of capital was most evident in relatively developed manufacturing industries - sugar and textile. Of the new industries, a rather high degree of concentration was observed in the cement industry, but heavy industry was not going through the best of times.

As for working issue, the government of A. Menderes pursued inconsistent and unbalanced policies. One of the ruling party's pre-election slogans was to grant freedom to trade unions. With the coming to power of the Democratic Party, this slogan was successfully forgotten. By creating the appearance of a working issue, the DP actively supported the creation of new trade unions. At the consultative Labor Assembly convened in February 1954, recommendations were made to the Government on 28 counts relating to the socio-economic situation of the working class, including the revision of the old Labor Law, the adoption of the Law on Agricultural Labor, the revision of the Law on Trade Unions, Collective Agreements, the Attitude to Strikes, the Establishment of a Wage Scale, etc. Since the Government was not bound by these recommendations, most of them were not implemented. Discussions in the Majlis over social problems initiated by opposition parties revealed a total reluctance to meet trade unions and their lack of any real plans to increase employment and reduce unemployment. Another mistake was that in the process of inter-party struggle the ruling DP and the opposition People's Republican Party (NDP), fighting for influence on the working class, sought to protect him from participation in the social political life of the country. The DP tried to create the appearance that the problem of the settlement of relations between workers and employers was resolved quite successfully. Legislation in the sphere of social relations, which was adopted in the 1950s, was widely advertised. At the beginning of 1952, a law on a partially paid (50%) day off was approved, which applied only to enterprises with 10 or more workers. In the following years, the Labor Act was amended to cover small enterprises with four to nine employees. Under pressure from workers' demands, the government passed a wage scale law. This law applied to less than half of the country's wilayets and only in the main industries. Some types of insurance have been expanded. At the end of 1959, 526.5 thousand workers were insured, while the majority of workers (more than 1.7 million) employed in small-scale artisanal enterprises and agriculture were not covered by law. The concessions noted above were partial. Some of them, such as the Wage Scale Act, in practical application due to rising inflation, the high cost of life has actually lost its meaning (Tunaya, 1960). The DP, under various pretexts, refused to grant workers' trade unions fundamental rights, especially the right to strike, which would enable them to fight for their economic interests and improve social conditions. The main argument of the refusal was that while 1952 unemployed persons were registered in 11300, in 1958 they became 50900, in 1959 - 53300, and in 1960 - 57300 thousand people. It was only in April 1960 that the Government of the DP, based primarily on the considerations of the pre-election campaign, passed through the Majlis the Law on Annual Paid Leave for Workers and Employees of Industrial Enterprises Subject to the Labour Law (Kireev, 1991).

In order to develop the agricultural sector, the DP is initiating the adoption of a number of bills on agricultural subsidies by Turkish banks. A. Menderes declared his main task in the village to turn Turkey into the main exporter of cereals. However, for this purpose it was necessary to carry out reforms in the village. The work of the peasants was manual; agriculture needed machinery and modernization of the means of production. The A. Menderes government, with U.S. credit support under the Marshall Plan, purchased U.S. tractors, harvesters, seedlings,

irrigation and drainage facilities, mineral fertilizers, and other means of production. Within the framework of the mechanization program of the village in 1950-1956 more than 40 thousand tractors and agricultural machines were purchased.

These measures were positive: in the Turkish village appear infrastructure, paved roads, treatment facilities, and land reclamation, drainage of marshes, hand plough came tractor, and sowing areas for cereals were expanded. The massive outflow of peasants from the village and the natural growth of the population, despite the increase in the sown area, meant that Turkey was unable to provide itself with grain. The rise of social inequality in the Turkish village and the impoverished of the peasant masses was the logical result of DP policy. The famous Turkish writer Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoglu, in response to the statement of the Minister of Government of DP Samed Agaoglu that it is now impossible to find in Anatolia what was described in his book "Alien," published in the early 20s, wrote that having visited many villages, he found no changes noted by the Minister: "I got acquainted with the peasants who make up the majority there, with their material and moral level, and I found no difference compared to the previous time. Still everyone walks in lochs, with pale faces, and if I asked about anyone, I was told that "went to Istanbul to look for work" (Karaosmanoglu, 1955). The lack of credit, in particular, the very meagre amounts of credit for peasants when they were granted land excluded the possibility of increasing production. The government of A. Menderes, in connection with the financial crisis since 1958, reduced loans for agriculture and put peasant farms in an even more difficult position. The low yield of peasant farms led to an increase in debt to credit cooperatives, which peasants were unable to repay. In order to prevent the loss of peasant votes, the DP resorted to the installment of peasant debt. Before the 1957 elections, the DP, with great concern for their outcome, decided to installment the peasant debt to the Agricultural Bank in the amount of 200 million lire for a period of five years (Moiseyev, 1960).

The low level of development of owns industry has also significantly hampered the development of rural production. The government understood the need to carry out broad agrarian transformations, but the bourgeoisie did not or did not want to understand that a driven and slaughtered Turkish peasant could not raise productivity with primitive tools of labor. With the coming to power, the DP concentrates all spheres of the state apparatus in its hands. The new government carried out a purge of the state apparatus from individuals associated with its predecessor DP, the People's Republican Party (NRP). All wilayet governors, city mayors, county chiefs have been retired. DP supporters were appointed in their place. The change of parties in power has led to a number of changes, both in domestic and foreign policy. The government has concluded a number of military cooperation and mutual assistance treaties with the United States. Relations were established with Israel. A number of diplomatic agreements were signed with the USSR.

In 1952, the Republic of Turkey joined NATO, since 1959 it has been hosting medium-range tactical missiles, deploying radar installations, and a number of military treaties have been concluded between Turkey and the United States, mainly treaties on the supply of arms and training of the military (Vdovichenko, 1966). And in 1955 Turkey became the founding country of the Organization of the Central Treaty, known as SENTO.

4 Summary

Social and economic reforms in Turkish society were met at first with great optimism and encouragement. With Turkey's increased orientation towards the West, the values of the Western world (freedom of speech, thought) began to be instilled in society. Workers were granted a paid day off, a firm wage scale was established, but the national bourgeoisie did not seek to ensure the material and spiritual well-being of the Turkish worker. The agrarian issue was also not fully resolved, and there was a great shortage of land. Bank loans were not provided to small-scale farms, and the number of devastated peasants who

joined the ranks of the urban poor grew rapidly. Neither the economic nor the socio-political course was clear, nor did the party have a clear and clear agenda for implementing reform policies, and the reforms were therefore unbalanced and blurred. Economic liberalization was accompanied by a tightening of the political regime. Thus, the DP, formerly opposition and opposed to the dictatorship of the ruling People's Republican Party, itself quickly followed the path of creating its own dictatorship. At the same time, the leadership of the DP actively used ethnic and confessional forms of mobilization of public opinion in its favor. Since the mid-1950s, the Government has begun to suppress the freedoms itself granted (Starchenkov, 1986).

DP reforms - the abolition of censorship, the declaration of freedom of speech, of the press, freedom to choose a religion, and many other liberal freedoms - were generally progressive. However, this experience of liberalization proved unsuccessful, the severe socio-economic consequences of such a policy led to the performance of patriotic military and the removal of the DP from power in 1960.

5 Conclusion

The Government of the Democratic Party and Adnan Menderes has made a huge contribution to the development of the Republic of Turkey. During their ruling, for the first time in the State, they tried to implement liberalization policies in the broadest sense. However, many economic and socio-political gains have not been sustained. The ill-conceived policy of socio-economic and political reforms had brought the country into crisis. The economic crisis, violations of the constitution, violation of democratic freedoms, led to the military coup of 1960. The Prime Minister was convicted and executed. And in 1990 A. Menderes was rehabilitated posthumously. In his honor the Mausoleum was built in Istanbul. A. Menderes is named after Izmir International Airport and Aydin University, and many streets and avenues in Turkey are named after the Prime Minister of the Democratic Party.

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