

**Social, Educational, Political, Economic
and Other Developments
Occurred In Turkey
Between the Years of 1938-1980**



Editors:
Assoc.Prof.Dr. Özkan AKMAN
Assist.Prof.Dr. Mustafa Murat ÇAY
Assist.Prof.Dr. Fatih BOZBAYINDIR
Assist.Prof.Dr. Erhan TUNÇ

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PROEM

1938 indicate a very important time for Turkey and the world. With the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic, a new era began for the young republic. In the History of the Republic “National Chief Period” This process will be called embodiment, it comprises a period in which hardening of the debate on democracy in domestic policy, in foreign policy in a world where the war winds blowing has great importance in determining the fate of Turkey. Turkey, in an environment where democracy and hardens inside the single-party regime with a vengeance debate, has survived a major problem by not including war Watching extremely consistent way in foreign policy. In Turkey managed to stay out of the war it was no longer important to accelerate the placement of democracy and development work. not for a moment before multiparty welcome to one-party rule in the eyes of the developed countries and Turkey to be alone in this conjuncture, it is known that he decided to take his life.

Republic of Turkey, the new forces that occur in the world during this period has been forced to make a choice in order to determine its place in the balance. As a result of this preference, it has made its side clear by turning to the democratic forces of Europe - meanwhile to the USA. Republic of Turkey since 1946, with the transition to multi-party life has now entered a new era. During the DP government, II. The principles of foreign policy determined during World War II were adhered to. After all these years the Republic of Turkey fully drawn a policy towards the West, it is understood by taking an active role in the alliance formed by the West. For this reason, especially the 1950s, Turkey has just experienced a big change in every field and represents the period of time that extends until today, the effects of these changes.

The expansion of the social base of politics from the 1950s onwards has been the precursor and determinant of events to be experienced in the following years. The most concrete results are the developments that took place between the first coup of the History of the Republic, the coup of 27 May 1960 and another coup movement of 12 March 1971 Military Memorandum. In almost all events in domestic politics in the following years, the expansion of politics towards this base has effects. It is possible to understand them from both student and worker events. Turkey on the one hand economic, cultural, social strides towards efforts to maintain stability while continuing to perform and precision, on the other hand have to deal with internal issues. Crises in politics have been reflected to the grassroots and sad and serious events have been seen up to street conflicts among different segments of society. In spite of all these, the Republic has struggled to survive in a way. At a time when politics was completely blocked, the 12 September 1980 military coup took place in an unacceptable way in democracies.

In this study, the years 1938-1980, which expresses the process of major transformations in the history of the Republic; discussed in a broad perspective; political, economic, social and cultural aspects. The process mentioned in the authors’ meticulous work has been studied in an original way.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE’S ROOMS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE’S PARTY IN TURKEY AND WORKING PRINCIPLES OF TURKISH LITERACY COURSES

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Introduction

After the National War of Independence successfully ended, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk thought the actual battle should be against ignorance. At that time, the Turkish nation fell behind for years in science, culture, art, and other fields. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk observed that after the War of Independence was won, the first thing that should be done was to improve Turkish people and raise their awareness in every way. There was a need for an organization that would serve Turkish people in this respect. To meet this need, it was decided to establish People’s Houses. The purpose of the establishment of the People’s Houses is explained in the By-Law of People’s Houses issued by the Republican People’s Party (CHP) in 1932 as follows: *“Although we must work in the field of education more than any nation, the formal and informal forces concentrating on the same objective in our country, whose material and spiritual means are unfortunately very inadequate, may reveal the value of the necessity of this situation. Now, it is our duty, more than any other nation, to dismantle the roots of the institutions that have gone down in history and penetrated the deepest layers of society, and to root the principles of the republic and revolution as sacred pillars of faith that dominate all souls and ideas. The principles of our party are Republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism, and revolutionism. For these basic and main principles to gain dominance and become eternal, educating citizens who embrace these principles, raising our national character to the level Turkish history inspired, promoting fine arts, and strengthening our national culture, and scientific movements and activities are designated and indicated as important means in our program. All these indications and means aim to train generations to take back the long years lost by the Turkish nation on the way to civilization through brave, venturous and tireless moves, and to re-establish the Turkish nation’s honor in the field of civilization with its natural virtues and abilities. People’s Houses aim to become gathering and unifying places for idealistic citizens who will work for this cause”* (CHP Halkevleri Talimatnamesi, 1932:3).

After the preparations were completed, on February 19, 1932, People’s Houses were officially established. The branches of People’s Houses were opened in 14 cities at the

same time with a ceremony held in Ankara on that date. The branches: The branches of People's Houses in Ankara, Afyon, Samsun, Eskişehir, Diyarbakır, İzmir, Konya, Denizli, Van, Aydın, Çanakkale, Bursa, İstanbul, and Adana started working right away (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1932:1). When the CHP saw that they could not achieve the desired efficiency in the People's Houses until 1939, they started to search for reasons. After determining that most of the people lived in the villages in that period, institutions that worked as subbranches rather than People's Houses were needed. The mission of People's Rooms was to perform the duties, that People's Houses took on in the cities, in the villages. To open a People's House, at least three branches had to be established. But it was difficult to meet this requirement in small and rural areas because the number of members was inadequate, and the situation of structure did not allow the opening of a People's House. Then, taking into consideration the requests from rural areas, the CHP decided to open the People's Rooms, which operate with the same purpose as the People's Houses, at the Fifth Grand Assembly of the CHP (CHP Beşinci Büyük Kurultayı Zabıtları, 1939:100).

When the CHP established the People's Houses in 1932, they aimed to bring the values of the Republic and the revolutions to the people. However, by the 1940s, the CHP understood that it could not find enough support in the villages and that it could not provide the influence of the government sufficiently. It tried these activities with village instructors and the branches of people's houses such as public classrooms and village movements, even if it succeeded to a certain extent, it could not change the villages enough culturally. At that time, the CHP examined this issue and decided to open the people's rooms to increase the number of educated people in the villages and to earn people's trust in the state authority and the new regime. For this purpose, in 1939, the "By-Law of People's Rooms" consisting of 20 articles was created. Finally, on February 19, 1940, 141 People's Rooms were opened (Zeyrek, 2006:33). According to the third article of the regulation of People's Rooms, it was decided that in order to open a People's Room, at least 50 members should be registered, there should be a meeting room and a reading room, and an annual budget sufficient to cover the expenses (CHP Halkevleri Talimatnamesi, 1932:1). In line with this decision, to help every part of the country to feel the influence of the government, the regions with low education levels were targeted. Accordingly, more intensive efforts were carried out in the Eastern Anatolia, Southeastern Anatolia, Mediterranean Region, and the east of the Black Sea Region.

Establishment of People's Rooms and Turkish Reading-Writing Activities

The writers of the history of the Republic have done a lot of work on the People's Houses, which are the cultural institutions of the Republic. In the literature, People's Houses are generally focused on, but there is not much research on People's Rooms. Just like the People's Houses, the People's Rooms were also established as cultural institutions

serving the principles of the Republican People's Party, which are Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Secularism, Statism, and Revolutionism. Like the People's Houses, People's Rooms opened their doors to everyone, whether they were registered to the party or not. However, to become the leader or a board member of the People's Room, it was necessary to be a government official or to be registered to the party in written form (CHP Halkevleri Talimatnamesi, 1932:1). People's Rooms have done an important job in terms of public education and bringing people to a contemporary level. When the literacy rate in Turkey is examined, in 1927, the literacy rate was 4% for women, 13% for men, and 8.16% for the general population. 5-6% of this rate was the Turks who knew the old script (Ottoman script), and the rest was non-Muslims and people who spoke other languages. The literacy rate in cities was around 30%, and in villages, it was around 6% (Tongul, 2004:53-54). After the alphabet reform, a major education mobilization was started to teach and spread Latin letters. It was thought that this problem would disappear as the new alphabet was easy to learn even if the literacy rate was low with respect to old alphabet. It was not difficult for people living in the cities to learn the new alphabet as educational institutions were easily accessible for them. But the people living in rural areas had to learn to read and write in the new alphabet as soon as possible. In other words, people had to be educated. However, both the educational staff and the technical situation were not adequate for the solution to this problem (Şimşek, 1986:34-108)

Like People's Houses, People's Rooms have made important efforts to spread the new alphabet, to root the reforms and to carry out literacy activities. When People's Rooms were opened in the 1940s, nearly 4/3 of Turkey's population were living in villages. The mission of People's Rooms was to perform the duties, that People's Houses took on in the cities, in the villages. To open a People's House, at least three branches had to be established. But it was difficult to meet this requirement in small and rural areas because the number of members was inadequate, and the situation of structure did not allow the opening of a People's House. Then, taking into consideration the requests from rural areas, the CHP decided to open the People's Rooms, which operate with the same purpose as the People's Houses, at the Fifth Grand Assembly of the CHP (CHP Beşinci Büyük Kurultayı Zabıtları, 1939:100).

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Opening and Implementation Principles of Literary Courses within People's Houses and People's Rooms and Turkish Literacy Courses

According to the CHP By-Law of People's Houses, there were certain conditions for opening a People's House. People's Houses were usually opened in city centers and central towns. But some rural areas lacked these conditions. Rural areas could not meet the requirement to open three branches, and they did not have the sufficient number of members and enough budget to maintain their buildings and activities. In the 1940s, the CHP decided to make some changes related to the villages in order to make people living in the villages fully comprehend the Republic. For these reasons, it was thought that there was a need for certain institutions to act as People's Houses. The name of this new institution was determined as People's Rooms. In 1939, the by-law of People's Rooms, which consisted of 20 articles, was prepared, and firstly, 141 People's Rooms were opened on February 19, 1940 (Zeyrek, 2006:183). Another reason for the opening of the People's Rooms was that the majority of people were living in the villages as industrialization did not reach a sufficient level in that period. The CHP has opened the People's Rooms due to their idea of spreading their ideology and the reforms to a wider area. People's Rooms were established in 1940 and started its activities. In 1939, General Secretariat sent a letter to all the directorates of the People's Houses for Turkish literacy courses. The letter sent by General Secretariat of the Republican People's Party to the directorates of People's Houses on November 4, 1939, stated the following: *"In the minimum work plan we sent to all People's Houses at the beginning of the year, we asked each People's House to open a course to teach illiterate citizens to read and write in Turkish. I'm sending the instructions regarding these courses. According to the statistics of 1935, only 2,517,878 out of 16,157,450 citizens know how to read and write. The percentage of illiterate citizens is 84.4%. Accordingly, there is no doubt that it is the first duty of every enlightened citizen to make all the sacrifices to reduce this percentage to zero. Our People's Houses and People's Rooms, which will increase in number each*

year, may gladly take on this task. They can help to reduce the number of illiterate people with a minimum of one course in each house. I said a minimum of one course, but if there are some opportunities and more than one course is opened, of course, the service area would be expanded. I am confident that People's Houses will fully accomplish this task, like many other tasks they accomplished before. I look forward to your success, and I pay my respects. Secretary-General of the CHP, Deputy of Erzurum, Dr. A. F. Tuzer.” (BCA, Nr: 490-01-4-21-30-1).

There was no need for 9 boards to manage 9 branches in People's Rooms, unlike People's Houses because a team of 5 people undertakes all the work of the center. To open a People's Room, at least 50 members should be registered, there should be a meeting room and a reading room, and an annual budget sufficient to cover the expenses of the People's Room. While the number of People's Rooms was 141 in 1940, it reached 4322 in 1950 (Kunter, 1964:36).

By the year 1944, 204 public classroom and course branches were opened in 405 People's Houses. However, in the newly established People's Houses, language and literature, or library branches dealt with this matter and took on this task. At that time, Turkish literacy courses were the most emphasized subject, in order to eliminate the ignorance of the public. The General Secretariat requested that Turkish literacy courses be opened in all the People's Houses and People's Rooms by issuing a circular numbered 5/5668 on October 23, 1944. Until the issuance of the circular in 1944, 103 People's Houses and 233 Turkish literacy courses were opened (C.H.P. Halkevleri ve Halk Odaları 1944, 1945:15- 16).

In the 6th chapter of the working instructions of the People's Houses, which cover the missions and types of the courses, Turkish literacy courses are the main part. Turkish literacy courses aimed to teach reading and writing in Turkish to citizens who are over the primary school age, to strengthen their love of country and to make them more productive in their work and various matters of life (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:5). From this point of view, the main goal was set as teaching people, who were 16 or above, to read and write in Turkish. Public classrooms carried out efforts regarding this matter.

The branch of public classrooms classified Turkish literacy courses into two groups. According to this classification, the A course involves people who do not know how to read and write at all; the B course involves people who want to improve their knowledge or to revise what they have forgotten. It has also made it possible for groups A and B to be opened in the same classroom with different approaches in places where the number of students in both groups is sufficient for one classroom (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946, 1946:6).

Locations and Opening of the Courses and Conditions for Opening

The courses were opened in the cities, towns, and villages by the People's Houses and People's Rooms. Where a People's House or a People's Room is available, a suitable place for the course will be allocated to this cause during working hours. If the People's House did not have a place suitable for this, other buildings were used. During the summer months, activities such as outdoor class houses can be arranged. Normally, the number of students in the classroom should not exceed 30. The citizens who are over the age of compulsory education and do not know how to read and write may continue these courses. If the number of students exceeds the limit, the courses are divided into groups such as women-men coed, or according to their ages. The level of the attenders and the groups they should be placed are determined by the course teachers. After the preparations regarding the opening of the literacy courses are completed, the opening day is announced a week before with the existing means of communication. In addition, the administrators and the boards of aldermen are going to remind the people, who do not know how to read and write, that the course will be opened to ensure attendance to the course. Joint courses may be opened between the villages which are in the form of neighborhoods, or where the distance between the villages is up to 5 kilometers, so it is convenient to go on foot. In small places where the number of illiterate people is only enough to complete the quota of one course, mobile courses may be established once. The mobile parts of the mediums of education in these courses are carried to the places where the future courses will be opened and they are used continuously. If the teacher of such courses is a primary school teacher elsewhere and his/her actual job is far away, the courses here will be opened during the holiday months (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:7).

People's Houses will also open courses for citizens, who do not know how to read and write but are not enough in number to fill up the quota of a course, in business communities, factories, government enterprises, and prisons after meeting the relevant managers at those places. In this way, these institutions will provide help for the costs of the courses to be opened.

Duration and Working Hours of the Courses

Literacy courses last at least four months. It is also possible to extend this period for one month according to the feature of the teaching situation, accessibility to the location, and the ability of the students to progress. The starting and ending times and course hours are determined according to the seasons, climatic conditions at the location, attendance of the students, and job requirements. The course teacher decides, with the branch of public classrooms, the chairperson of the People's House, and the headmen of the villages, whether the classes will be held in the daytime or nighttime, and whether they will

be held on the certain days of the week. Lessons last one and a half hours and a short break of 5-10 minutes can be taken. Regular attendance is a must for those who attend A courses. Those who fail to attend the courses enough to catch up with the general level of the course shall be disenrolled. There is a more convenient program for those who want to improve their knowledge in the B courses according to different levels and needs (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:8).

Prosecution of Studies and Obtaining Results

A book that includes the name, surname, age, place of birth, occupation, and monthly success rates of the students who are registered in the courses and attend the classes is kept. The course teacher keeps this book with her/him at the teaching institution. He/she gives it to the class houses branch at the end of the course. The chairpersons of the People's House or People's Room shall inform the general secretariat with a short letter describing the duration of the course, the number of students and the results of the study upon the report they will receive from the chairpersons of the class houses. Party inspectors, administrators, and authorized cultural staff prosecute and examine the work and needs of the courses. Course teachers also announce the help they expect from them. In addition, the course studies and results may occasionally be shown in a program to those who are curious (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:9).

The Opening and Closing Ceremony

On the opening and closing days of the courses, a ceremony is held in the People's House or the People's Room, with the participation of the local administrative staff and the boards of aldermen. These ceremonies should be conducted with a concise program according to the purpose. Attention should be paid to recreating local characteristics and giving students a role (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:9). The chairperson of the People's House or the public classroom branch, course teacher, village headman, or one of them briefly describes to the ceremony participants the studies carried out in this course and the benefits achieved. He/she wishes success to the students who finished the course and tries to increase enthusiasm for future courses in the area. At the end of the ceremony, the students who completed the course are given achievement certificates (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:10).

Procedures and Teaching Tools of the Program

The course teaches the main methods of reading and writing in Turkish properly. In the first lessons, reading and writing are taught together, but as the course progresses, it

focuses on one of them more according to needs (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:10).

The following principles are taken into consideration in reading: In the first classes, alphabets, reading books and tables at the People's Room or People's House, that are published by the Ministry of National Education are used according to the age and maturity level of the students. Reading and writing starts with easy, interesting, and meaningful words, short proverbs, and taking into consideration that students are adults, an analytical approach is taken. In other words, the course quickly proceeds to the stage of reading and writing letters separately. For slow learners, capital letters written on thick paper, embossed letters, moving letterboxes, and various supplementary materials are used (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:10). In the first lessons, the teacher should read an example and occasionally, they should try to read together under the teacher's supervision. Reading properly, clearly, and easily should be the main objective starting from the first lessons, and the course should progress according to this purpose (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:11).

While writing, it is necessary to pay attention to the following points: the writing will be legible, smooth and useful, and the handwriting and adjacent writing will be introduced according to the developments in the following lessons. Keeping copybooks clean, correcting mistakes by revising on the board or notebooks, paying attention to the examples, making students correct the mistakes by themselves, and supervision of the students should not be neglected. As the letter reading and writing lessons progress, the sentences and passages that the teacher or student will think of and say should be written, instead of using only books. The writing of relevant and appropriate parts from newspapers should be handled gradually in terms of the richness of the forms of writing, and the breadth of movement. The focus should be on introducing the necessary books to the students and attracting their interest in reading (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:11). The students should read their own writings and those on the board loudly or sometimes silently, and they should find the mistakes together. For the long passages, the students should read them silently, and they should be asked to talk about the passage in order to evaluate their reading comprehension. Common mistakes and new words to be taught will be written on the board, and the students will read them in front of the class. In the second half of the course, the main methods of calligraphy, the simplest examples of composition and the harmony of writing will be emphasized within the bounds of possibility. Teachers should be patient with those who have difficulty in writing properly at first, and they should keep progressing slowly by tolerating some mistakes, and also show the students how to hold the pen correctly (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:12).

Writing the Numbers

Reading and writing basic numbers other than letters will also be taught. Those who come to the course will be helped to improve this skill as well within the bounds of possibility, and if it attracts continuous attention, only calculations will be taught during the additional lessons on certain days of the week (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:12).

Reading Passages and Library

Alphabets and primary reading books will be used for those who do not know how to read at all. After the present book is finished, short reading passages will be used, and also the course will provide short stories of nature and folk poetry for enthusiastic and outstanding students. Depending on whether the course is in the village or city, some features of the reading passages should be searched for, and the appropriate pages should be collected together. If there are books and newspapers in the library of the People's House or People's Room, it should be accessible for the course students, and a small reading cabinet should be kept in the classroom. For those who reached an advanced level and who earned to attend the complementary courses, it is a great benefit to try and manage such a library and to give students books to read in the evenings for one week by signature. In the last month of the course, short letters, telegraphs, bills, receipts, and petition samples will be read and written by the students who learned how to read and write, and the students will also do some exercises. More diverse examples will be shown to those who have already learned to read and write. Difficulties encountered in both these efforts and others will be reported to the center through People's Houses and the party. The center will also work on providing necessary tools, preparing comprehensive manuals and useful books (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:13).

Public Speeches

Apart from the ceremonies to be held at the beginning and end of the course, public speeches to refresh and keep alive the memories of the national days will be made at least once a month in order to strengthen the literacy skills of the students. Moreover, at these meetings, students will be given the opportunity to speak freely and explain their problems. If these speeches occur at the same time as national and local holidays and ceremonies, and conditions are suitable, selected folk songs, folk dances, parts of the joyful and exciting performances of sports, film, acting, and music of People's Houses are also added to the program. In these kinds of speeches, strengthening national feelings and patriotism of the course students is important to spread the excitement of great works that have been achieved in history and the years of the Republic. If there are cultured and knowledgeable people around, they are also given the opportunity to talk about the

main health procedures and the work done by those attending the course. When bringing these all together, we should stick to being good and sincere, not exhibiting deceitful behaviors, and avoiding long speeches. Speeches will be given importance as the most natural requirement of the first reading. In the first days, everyone will meet each other and talk about the places they are from, or they have been to, and their jobs. After this, the lessons will start (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:13-14).

Certificate of Completion

Those who successfully complete the People's Houses' Turkish literacy courses will be given a certificate of completion, and those who achieve great success will be presented with useful books from the publications of the People's House. Those who complete A courses can enroll in the next-level course to improve what they have learned. Here, people whose ages are suitable, find the opportunity to try to make up their knowledge deficiencies in order to prepare for primary school examinations. Those who are transferred to another place due to their work and family while attending this course, finish the remaining classes in the courses held in their newly transferred area through this certificate (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:14-15).

Course Teachers

Enthusiastic instructors who show success in teaching how to read and write at the studies of People's House or People's Room of that place are employed as teachers. The chairpersons of the People's Houses or the classroom branch will find these teachers by agreeing with the authorized cultural staff, if necessary. In places where there are no teachers, teachers will be selected from civil servants and intellectuals or from those with secondary education graduation who are willing to teach how to read and write in Turkish in People's House or People's Room or various cultural institutions of that area. Course teachers will work until the end of the course unless they are transferred to somewhere else for their original task, and at the end of the course, they will report to the administration of People's House or People's Room about the results of the course studies, and their wishes and recommendations for the future. The summary of these reports shall be communicated in the study reports together with the opinions of the relevant branch of the People's House or the People's Room (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:15-16).

Needs and Expenses of the Course

In the literacy course, pictures of eternal (Mustafa Kemal Atatürk) and national chiefs (İsmet İnönü), reading plates, a small and useful book corner, mobile wallboard and

supplies, tables and chairs from the People's House are kept at hand within the bounds of possibility. Personal learning materials such as books, notebooks, and pens will be brought by the participants. In places where it is difficult to obtain these materials, they may be brought and distributed by the People's House, and help will be given to those in need. Lighting and heating expenses will be covered by the budget of the People's Houses (CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Türkçe Okuma ve Yazma Kursları İçin Kılavuz, 1946:16).

The CHP took a meticulous approach to the needs of People's Houses and People's Rooms. Those who wanted to open courses submitted their petitions to the Secretary-General of the CHP. These requests were evaluated according to the number of course attendees reported to open a course and were answered quickly.

Conclusion

After the proclamation of the Republic, many reforms were made to raise people to the level of contemporary civilization. Many changes were attempted during the Ottoman period, but it was either unsuccessful or inadequate for several reasons. One of the most important reforms made during the Republican period was the alphabet reform. Nation's Schools were opened when the alphabet reform was made. Nation's Schools undertook the task of spreading the new alphabet. The Republican People's Party (CHP), which was the ruling party of the period, established People's Houses on February 19, 1932, to fully introduce the reforms to the public. People's Houses also took on important tasks in the teaching of letters through the branches of the Public Classrooms and courses. But at that time, most of the people lived in rural areas. People's Rooms were established in 1940 in rural areas where People's Houses could not be opened.

In the Republican period, new educational institutions were opened and regulations were made in order to improve education in our country. Executive management attached great importance to formal education, and at the same time, the needs of the citizens were met by establishing the Nation's Schools, People's Houses, and People's Rooms for the citizens who are not within the scope of formal education to become literate. The efforts on teaching the new letters and making the Turkish nation literate through Turkish reading and writing activities, which were carried out by People's Rooms, who took on major tasks in public education, especially in rural areas in Turkey between the years of 1940-1950, are of great importance. As part of these activities, Turkish literacy courses were opened in all regions of Turkey by People's Rooms. Through these courses, it was aimed to make the people who live in the village literate and to provide better insight into Republican values.

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RETROGRESSION OF THE TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONSHIP THE ISSUE OF CYPRUS AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS (1950-1960)

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Introduction

The political scene after WWII was an indicator that the struggle between the world's political blocks would not cease. This struggle was then referred to as "The Cold War". The two main opponents of this struggle were the Soviet Union and the Western block.

Turkey and Greece aligned with the latter, albeit due to differing reasons relating to their own particular circumstances. Turkey depended on external resources to develop its economy post-war, hence it needed to improve its relationship with the West. Internal and external reasons are open to discussion but an important external reason for Turkey's rapid alignment with the Western block was a looming Soviet threat. For Greece, the situation was considerably worse because there had been a three-year civil war in the country between 1946 and 1949. An interesting development at the time was that, in a period when there was a Soviet threat in the Middle East and a civil war in Greece instigated by supporters of communist Markos Vafeiadis, supporters of communism in Cyprus increased their activities aimed at making Cyprus a part of Greece. The fundamental reason for this was to take back Cyprus, which is very strategically located in the Eastern Mediterranean, from the hands of the United Kingdom, and to therefore weaken the Western position there and consequently to turn the island into a communist stronghold (Armaoğlu, 1994: 529). The surging civil war in Greece could then be stopped with the help of the USA and the communist masses were able to be expelled from the country. This directly aligned Greece with the Western block.

The relationship between Turkey and Greece, who were in some way the ambassadors of the West in the Balkans and in the Middle East, continued with a rather unstable peace until 1950. The driving force behind this peace was, of course, the West. With the Truman Doctrine, the USA came to be a factor in bilateral relations. Turkey and Greece became allies through NATO in 1952 and the Balkan Pact in 1954. After 1954 relations between the two countries took a turn towards tension and conflict, which was mainly caused by the issues relating to Cyprus and the Mediterranean. Until that time the issues of Cyprus and the Mediterranean had been handled according to Turkish foreign policy, but after 1954, developments in Cyprus and the Mediterranean began directing these policies.

Until 1954 Greece was in turmoil with civil war, and political and economic instability while at the same time facing the Soviet threat, which forced it to delay the plans of

Megali Idea and Enosis. When the country acquired the Dodecanese following the Paris Peace Treaties in 1947, historical Greek ideals were fired up once more. In the face of the Greek public's orientation towards Cyprus, the Turkish press and public opinion put the Cyprus issue on the agenda. However, the Turkish government ignored these developments since it was unwilling to enter any conflict with Greece due to the countries' allied status through NATO and the Balkan Pact. Yet these developments were no longer able to be ignored. The environment of conflict on the island reshaped Turkish foreign policy. At the beginning, neither country attached much importance to the issue of Cyprus due to their friendly relations, but this did not last long. In 1955 Turkey became an official side in the issue which opened a new era in Turkish-Greek relations. The USA also intervened in order to prevent possible damage to NATO should tensions rise between the two countries. This drove both countries to arrive at a mutual solution in order to protect their future national interests and due to their standing as NATO allies. This solution was then embodied with the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960. However, this solution was not permanent and when the issue came up again in 1960, the issues that were attempted to be solved within the framework of Turkish-Greek friendship were again left in a tangle of conflicts. Therefore the Cyprus issue was handled in a manner that reflects the exact opposite of the diplomacy required by friendly relations that was carried out in the first phase, and even reached the point of bloody conflicts on the island.

As a result, relations between Turkey and the Greece did not direct the developments in Cyprus, but rather what went on in Cyprus defined Turkish-Greek relations (Firat, 2002). This section examines the first phase of the Cyprus issue.

Emergence of the Cyprus Issue and Developments Up to the Time of the Bilateral Agreements

Until the First World War, under the treaty signed in 1878, sovereignty rights to Cyprus were granted to the British administration on condition that Cyprus remained as part in the Ottoman Empire. However, the British took advantage of the Ottoman Empire joining the war on 29 October 1914, and on 5 November 1914 they declared the annexation of Cyprus. The Turkish Republic acceded to this in the Treaty of Lausanne, which meant that the British now officially held sovereignty of the island.

The Treaty of Lausanne was signed on 24 July 1923 and the 20th Article of the treaty states that the Turkish government recognizes the acquisition of the island by the British government on 5 November 1914. Since it was a physical annexation and it also enured on legal grounds, the Turkish Government had no say in the fate of Cyprus. This made Cyprus a part of the British Commonwealth (Eroğlu, 2001: 106). That status changed when the Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960, which also gave way to new developments.

Greece and the Greeks in Cyprus wanted Cyprus to be ruled by the Greeks (Enosis)¹, which resulted in the Cyprus crisis between Turkey and Greece. The Turkish Republic, however, never had any intention to acquire Cyprus. This way of thinking was a legacy of the real foreign policy implemented during the era of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In December 1923, a delegation of notables from Cyprus travelled to Ankara to press for the return of Cyprus to Turkey, but they were rejected by Atatürk saying:

Our nationalism means to love all Turks with the deepest feelings of fellowship and to desire that they grow together in the healthiest way. We also know that political activities must stay within the borders of the Turkish Republic (Çakmak, 2009: 160).

Enosis had been on the agenda in Greece since 1791 when the first Megali Idea map was drawn. On 18 October 1828 Greece sent diplomatic notes to England, Russia and France and demanded that Cyprus be affiliated to them, hence physically manifesting the idea of Enosis (İsmail, 1992: 12). Britain's takeover of the island in 1878 was welcomed by the Greeks. Striving to actualize their Enosis ideals, the Greeks were already making some attempts through uprisings around 1878. During the years of Great Britain's control of the island, the Turkish Cypriots have always been the victims. They faced pressure and attacks from the British but mostly from the Greeks on the island (Manisalı, 2004: 20).

After WWII, Greece became more boldly interested in Cyprus, especially when the country acquired the Dodecanese with the Paris Peace Treaties in 1947. To Turkey, Greece was an ally in the Western block so Turkey wanted to be on good terms with them but this did not stop Greece from expressing its intentions with Enosis. On 16 February 1951, the then Greek president S. Venizelos openly stated that Cyprus must come under the rule of Greece. Greece also made an application to Britain. In this application, the Greek government stated that there was increasing pressure from the Greek public for Enosis and that the British government should express its opinions regarding the future of the island. This yielded no results from the British. Greece had several similar attempts with the British with no results and this continued as an internal problem for Greece.

On 16 August 1954 for the first time Greece brought the matter to the United Nations General Assembly which turned the problem into an international issue. The addressees on this issue were England, Greece and Turkey. This however altered the attitudes of England and Turkey in regard to the issue and led to important outcomes. Turkey intervened in the process for the purpose of concluding it without allowing it to escalate to an unacceptable level, rather than pursuing their claims and defending their rights to Cyprus (Armaoğlu, 1994: 530). The official view of Ankara was stated by Selim Sarper during talks in the United Nations General Assembly on 24 November 1954. Sarper stated that Turkey would prefer that Cyprus be left as a British colony and that any

¹ "Enosis" literally means annexation in a narrow sense, but for Greeks it refers to the re-establishment of the Hellenic Empire in the broadest sense (Olgun, 1991: 10).

changes in Cyprus' status would be need to be subject to approval from Ankara. Sarper went on, expressing the view that Cyprus was geographically a part of Turkey, and that just as the Aaland Islands, where people predominantly speak Swedish, were left for Finland to rule since the islands were geographically very close to Finland, Cyprus must be likewise left to Turkey (Özcan, 2016: 117).

The agenda was carried over into the United Nations' Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs on 14 December 1954. Greece demanded that the community in Cyprus decide their own future, which meant that they be entitled to exercise the "self-determination" principle. However, the commission rejected negotiation of this demand on 17 December 1954. This was subject to a vote and Turkey abstained from voting on any option as an indicator of its willingness to stay out of the issue (Gürün, 1983: 386). This attempt by Greece was nothing more than a demand that the Greek people in Cyprus be given the authority to affiliate Cyprus to Greece. Turkey then took action. The problem started to be handled as one of the most important issues in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey prioritized homeland security against any possible Greek threats to Western Anatolia as well as the security of the Turks on the island. The USA was sternly against internationalization of the Cyprus issue by placing it on the agenda of the United Nations because this would raise concerns that it would be a chance for the Soviet Union to damage the Western Alliance (Uslu, 2000: 35).

It was known that Turkish governments did not have any active policies regarding Cyprus until 1955. At first, the activities of EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriakon Ağoniston/ National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) did not draw any attention from Turkey or its government. Under the management of Sedat Simavi, the *Hürriyet*² newspaper overcame developments on the island.. Every day, news about the acts of terrorists affiliated with EOKA in Cyprus and how the Turks were being mistreated appeared in headlines on the front page of the newspaper. The Turkish public learned the names of Makarios and Grivas and the title of Enosis thanks to this newspaper (Çavdar, 2013: 49). Led by *Hürriyet* newspaper and Sedat Simavi, this movement also had Dr. Hüsamettin Cindoruk, Orhan Birgit, A. Emin Yalman, Dr. Ziya Somer, Nevzat Karagil and Hikmet Bil playing important roles (Manisalı, 2004: 24). In fact, after the Second World War the Greek Cypriot Enosis ideals were not affected by the actions of the Turkish government, but rather by Cypriot students studying in Turkey and Turkish Cypriots who had been resettled in their homeland. After 1948, Ankara and İstanbul saw the establishment of Cypriot cultural foundations which then helped spread the issue through the media. As with the *Hürriyet* newspaper, other newspapers such as *Tasvir* and *Vatan* published news about the Cyprus issue and began raising public awareness (Fırat, 2002: 597).

An interesting fact is that in order to drive Turkey to become more active regarding

² For a different view regarding the support of the *Hürriyet* newspaper by Israel and the existence of Israel's strategies regarding Cyprus see.: (Çeçen, 2005: 56-57).

Cypriot issues, the Cyprus Turkish Leadership started lobbying Turkey in the 1940s with support from England. In the words of Rauf Denktaş *“The Cyprus Turkish Leadership spared no efforts to make Turkey take the Greeks’ Enosis plots more seriously and to get the Turkish government out of the sluggishness brought about by the idea that the British would not ever give up control of the island”* (Kızılyürek, 2003: 20). In 1950, when Britain refused to discuss the question of sovereignty of the island and Turkey needed Britain’s support in order to enter NATO, the Turkish Government still remained indifferent to the Cyprus issue. The Cyprus issue could only enter the Grand National Assembly’s (GNDA) agenda on 18 January 1950, when the National Students Association organized a demonstration in Ankara. During the demonstration, the Foreign Minister Necmettin Sadak stated:

“There is no such thing as a Cyprus problem. I have already explained this to the press a long time ago because Cyprus is under British sovereignty and rule. We are fully convinced that Britain has no intention or inclination of giving up control of Cyprus to another country. Whatever may go down in Cyprus, the British government will not give up Cyprus for another country to rule. Therefore our young citizens get excited and expend their efforts in vain” (Özcan, 2016: 115).

On 20 August 1951, Foreign Minister Fuat Köprülü said *“We currently are aware of no reason which would require a change in the island’s legal status...”* (Uçarol, 2013: 1030). Turkey’s attitude was established by the fact that the country needed Britain’s support in order to join NATO, and wished to avoid any conflict with Greece, with whom it was receiving support from USA support as part of the Truman Doctrine. Therefore the DP Party persevered with the CHP Party’s policy of indifference to the matter (Özcan, 2016: 116). Despite this indifference, student associations and nationalist circles showed a more open attitude towards Cyprus. Shortly after Köprülü’s statement, *“Turkey does not have a Cyprus problem”*, the Turkish National Students Federations rejected this official discourse with the line *“Cyprus is an indivisible part of the mother country [Turkey]”*. Despite Köprülü’s discourse, there indeed was a Cyprus problem, of which everybody, save the Turkish Government, its foreign deputies and UN representatives, were aware (Eroğlu, 2001: 108).

On 1 April 1954, Foreign Minister Köprülü repeated almost the same words when asked about the government’s stance on the Cyprus issue:

“In the official communications with Greece, a friend and an ally, no communications or negotiations had been brought up regarding Cyprus. The reason for this is Turkey’s observation that there is no such thing as a Cyprus issue, and the country’s belief that since the island is under British rule, it would be unlawful to enter into bilateral talks with Greece regarding the island. If one day Cyprus becomes the subject of negotiation

with Britain, the existence of a very important Turkish minority on the island will require our certain intervention on the matter. Otherwise, currently we do not hold any beliefs that would require any changes to the island's current status” (Uçarol, 2013: 1031).

These words of the Foreign Minister were a reflection of the fact that Turkey was trying to procure its own safety against the Soviet threat. After entering NATO, Turkey aimed to further strengthen the homeland security that it had gained. The DP Party's government, which was established after the elections in May 1954, assigned Fatin Rüştü Zorlu as the Minister for Cypriot Affairs. This was the starting point for the acceleration of initiatives concerning Cyprus. Zorlu's increasing influence in the DP's management circles meant that the relationship between Menderes and Köprülü would only become more tense over time. On 27 July 1955, Köprülü was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Zorlu was assigned to duties as Foreign Ministry, in addition to the position of Secretary of State that he already held. These changes in duties before the London conference was an indicator that management of the DP would change course regarding Cyprus (Özcan, 2016: 116).

Turkey attached more importance to the Balkan Alliance, therefore it ignored Greece's application to Britain for Cyprus, which then resulted in a very passive stance regarding Cyprus. The Balkan Pact was signed on 9 August 1954 and on 16 August 1954, merely one week afterwards, Greece applied to the UN for Cyprus, which indicated that Greece was not acting sensitively regarding the alliance. Turkey's initial attitude towards the matter was to approach it from the Western allies perspective, which prompted it to abstain from voting for any option in the UN, since it did not want to damage its relations with Greece and Britain. On 18 December 1954, at the conclusion of voting, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes stated:

“This issue has come to a conclusion. Therefore it is now time to be careful and diligent so that our friendly relations with our ally, Greece, come to no harm” (Armaoğlu, 1994: 531).

Despite this statement, Greek Foreign Minister Stefanapulos was very straightforward in saying that the Greek Government would continue its initiatives with Cyprus (Olgun, 1991).

When the Cyprus issue was not officially concluded with a favorable outcome in the UN, the Cypriot Greeks changed their strategy. Makarios decided to use threats and brutal force to attain their goals, which meant that he would take Greece's underground “X” organization in the era of administration led by Grivas in order to combat communist forces. Makarios' efforts were to foresee every possibility and since Grivas was also a Greek Cypriot, he established contact with him (Kürşad, Altan, ve Egeli , 1978: 137).

EOKA's leader Grivas secretly travelled to Cyprus on 10 November 1954 on a boat named "St. George" (Keser, 2006: 169). In his manifestos, Grivas announced that their aim was to actualize the ideal of Enosis, that this made the British and the Turks their enemies and that they would spare no efforts to defeat their enemies³. Led by Grivas, this underground organization started sabotaging state offices and facilities. Shortly after they commenced attacks on Turkish civilians. On 21 June 1955, 14 Turkish civilians were injured by bombs set off by Greek Cypriot aggressors. Greece supported this organization too, provoking some of these actions. In their activities between 1955-1956, EOKA killed 216 civilians and injured 542; 12 of whom were Turks, 96 British and 108 Greek in 1196 bombing events of various degrees. On 22 June, Dr. Fazıl Küçük, the leader of the Cypriot Turks, sent a telegraph to the Turkish Republic, stating that they were requiring the Turkish Government to provide security for Cypriot Turks (Gürün, 1983: 387).

The British government decided that things were getting out of hand and organized a conference in London to attempt to resolve the matter between themselves, Turkey and Greece. Britain did not want to face Greece alone so they involved Turkey in the question of Cyprus. Britain was intending to use Turkey as a balancing factor on the island, which would enable continuation of their rule of the island. Moving forward, they secretly encouraged the Turkish Government to make demands regarding the island (Türkeş, 1996: 27). Britain's primary policy was to create an impression for the global public that what was happening on Cyprus was indeed a complex international problem, rather than a simple decolonization issue. In addition, the British thought that they could use Turkish nationalism as a countermeasure against the Hellenic nationalism that was on the rise in Cyprus (Özcan, 2016: 117). A "Tripartite Conference on the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus" was convened on 29 August 1955 in London. It ended on 7 September 1955 with no particular conclusion since each of the three countries had completely different views. Britain proposed that the island be given autonomy, but Turkey wanted the island's status quo to continue and, if it were to change, then the island should be left to Turkey to rule completely. The privately registered lands of Turks from the Ottoman era were presented as solid evidence that the island must be left to the Turks (Çeçen, 2005: 58). Greece insisted that the island must be left to their rule through self-determination. This difference between Turkey and Greece meant that Britain was able to set their own course and influence both countries, therefore it was a desirable outcome for Britain (Erim, 2014: 10). Britain was preparing to give Cyprus autonomy by the end of 1955. This was also welcomed by Turkey. The Turkish press also launched a smear campaign against Greece. Meanwhile, rumors spread that the Cypriot Turks would face mass murder, which caused a reaction in the Turkish public. The USA also took action,

³ "We have two enemies. One is the British, the other is the Turkish. First we will handle the British, get them off this island, and then we will destroy the Turks. Our will is Enosis. We will spare nothing to achieve this" (Uçarol, 2013, s. 1033).

on the premise that tension between Turkey and Greece would cause damage to NATO, but to no avail.

The Greek Cypriots, who were intending to turn the Cyprus problem into an international issue and to influence the British public, began attacking Turkish villages and slaughtering Turkish citizens. In this way, they would ensure that the Turks left the island and they would then have the opportunity to easily apply the principle of self-determination. The increasing number of Greek attacks on Turks turned the conflicts on Cyprus into a civil war between nations. This also prompted Turkey and Greece to blame each other.

The start of 1956 saw Britain in dialogue with the Cypriot Turkish and Greek community leaders as well as with Turkey and Greece, but no positive results were achieved. The British were also convinced that the autonomy that they would like to establish on the island was being prevented by the Greek Cypriot leader Makarios who was also a high-ranking EOKA principal, consequently they arrested him on 9 March 1956 and exiled him to the Seychelles. However, with this development, the British inadvertently created a legend of Makarios in Cyprus thanks to the Governor General Marshall John Harding (Olgun, 1991: 11). The Orthodox Church and Greek Cypriot politicians generally retained their fundamentalist and strict attitudes. They intended to use this to gain support from the Orthodox world. This was also the underlying idea why Makarios was always seen wearing his religious clothing (Manisalı, 2004: 28). The higher-ranking members of the Greek Cypriots' Orthodox Church were also exiled and this increased the levels of terrorist activities in Cyprus. An exiled Makarios later stated "*We should not baptize the children of the Greek families who do not completely submit to Enosis*" (Keser, 2007: 93). When Makarios was left free on condition that he not return to Cyprus and Harding was also removed from office, Britain also announced that they would allow Grivas to leave the island. However Grivas did not comply and went on directing terrorist activities on the island (Olgun, 1991: 13).

The then British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, in his speech to the House of Commons on 14 March 1956, stated that the conflict regarding Cyprus would not be resolved without Turkey's consent and with only Greece as the addressee, and that Cyprus held great strategic importance in terms of Turkey's defense. Fuat Köprülü, the Turkish Foreign Minister, also stated that the acts of terrorism must stop on the island and that any autonomy would pave the way for Enosis. Despite this, Great Britain continued its efforts to give autonomy to Cyprus. When this became a final decision, Turkey then submitted to this proposal and put forward their own rules for autonomy which prioritized the rights of the Turkish Cypriots to life and freedom. This meant that Turkey accepted the premise of autonomy in 1956 (Uçarol, 2013: 1035).

In the same year, acts of terrorism gained momentum in Cyprus, thanks to support and

provocation from Greece. Britain expedited their work towards the island's autonomy. In June 1956, they tasked Lord Radcliffe with preparing a constitution for Cyprus. After completing his research in Cyprus, Lord Radcliffe prepared a draft constitution which he presented to the English Ministry of Colonies on 12 November 1956. This constitution would give Cyprus autonomy and implementation of this autonomy would depend on cessation of all acts of terrorism on the island. This autonomy would not include foreign affairs, defense and interior security. In these three areas, the British rule would continue and the governor to be appointed would have certain powers. A legislative council and executive and judicial bodies would be established to deal with local affairs in places left under Cypriot administration. Turks would also have a certain kind of autonomy in this administration. This meant that Britain was finally set to give Cyprus autonomy.

On 19 December 1956, when the Radcliffe report was officially announced, the British Minister of Colonies, Lennox Boyd, made a speech in the House of Commons, stating that Britain accepted the constitutional proposals in the report and continued:

"The British Government accepts that for a community of mixed nations in Cyprus, division of the island should be included in the possible solutions to enable self-determination rights to be implemented" (Armaoğlu, 1994: 532).

This meant that Britain accepted the existence of two separate cultures and societies on the island and the right of self-determination would be given to both, which would result in a division of the island. In fact, the United Kingdom decided to implement its policy in Cyprus which it implemented in all countries where it gave up its administration: Divide and administer (Firat, 2002: 604). The Turkish Government accepted this opinion of the United Kingdom as the basis for resolving the problem. After all, this meant that Turkey gave up its sternly defended policy of protecting the status quo on the island and as *"a concession for agreement"*, (Türk, 2003: 6) accepted the idea of dividing Cyprus. On 18 December 1956, Adnan Menderes announced the new policy with the comment *"We are in favor of the division of the island"*. This policy change was more consistent with the island demographics, where only 20% of the population were Turks. Policy change was explained based on strategic reasons. According to this, *"We have 120,000 people living on the island and we cannot disperse these people among the foreigners. We see that it is imperative that we have an outpost in a land that protects the safety of 25 million "*. Against the opposition's criticism, Menderes claimed that with its Cyprus policy, the administration defended the National Oath (*Misak-ı Milli*) and furthered Turkey's interests, which was irredentism in a way: *"If we cannot defend our national interests in Cyprus, then in a case where we need to defend the motherland, we would show restraint. Turkish land and Turkish society must be defended even when they are not included in the extent of the National Oath"*. In 1957, after the Turkish government accepted the policy of division, it tried to have this policy adopted by the Turkish public

on the one hand and to get it accepted by England and Greece on the other. The Turkish Government succeeded in having its new policy adopted by the Turkish public. The new policy bore the slogan “Division or Death”. Students who were accustomed to shouting “Cyprus is Turkish” in the squares inevitably found this change odd (Özcan, 2016: 123).

Greece took the Cyprus issue to the agenda of the United Nations on two occasions in February and December 1957. In February at the UN talks, Greece insisted on their previous demands, which was to give the right to self-determination to the Cypriot community. On the other hand, Britain came up with hard evidence that Greece had provoked terrorism in Cyprus. Turkey stated that they were concerned about Cyprus and that Greece was willing to annex the island, and that they were willing to implement a peaceful solution to the issue. As a result, the United Nations’ Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs accepted a decision which decreed that the related parties to the conflict should negotiate a resolution to the matter. This was also welcomed by Turkey. At the end of the negotiations held in December 1957, Greece’s request for self-determination was accepted by the United Nations’ Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs by 20 to 33 votes. However, as a majority could not be obtained in the General Assembly, Greece’s proposal was not accepted. The Council’s decision from February remained in force.

In an statement made on 20 March 1957, NATO announced that they were taking over the role of convening talks between Turkey, Greece and Great Britain. Turkey and Britain welcomed the mediation attempt, but Greece’s response could not be understood. In December 1957, in NATO’s Paris meeting the General Secretary, Paul Henry Spaak, insisted that the Turkish and Greek prime ministers, as well as the British Foreign Minister attempt to resolve the Cyprus issue, however, no consensus could be reached.

In late 1957, the British Government appointed a civil governor in place of the military governor in Cyprus. This governor began to negotiate with the Turks and Cypriot Greeks with a view to giving the island autonomy, but to no avail. Then on 19 June 1958, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan proposed a new plan, according to which, a three-headed administration would be established on the island which was to be based on cooperation between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities as well as Britain, Turkey and Greece (Bilge, 1969: 373). This was accepted by the Turkish people but rejected by the Greek Cypriots. According to Macmillan, this plan could not be properly implemented but it still formed the foundation of the Cyprus agreements to be signed nine months later (Gazioğlu, 1998: 400). With the failure of the plan, the Greek Cypriots increased the EOKA terrorism they had started on the island on a daily basis. Turks began to organize against EOKA. There were some small Turkish organizations already established in Cyprus, but they were not very effective. Grivas came to the island and this made Rauf Denktaş, who was planning to return to legal practice, abandon this idea

and to concentrate on the organization of the Turkish Cypriots ⁴. However, the Turks had little opportunity to act. Since they maintained their hopes for peace until this time, they did not invest in warfare and were thus deprived of guns and ammunition. Rauf Denktaş stated as follows regarding the establishment of the Turkish Resistance Organization:

“... But there was something we didn’t know. We did not even think that the anger and rebellion born against the multitude of injustices would quickly lead us to an organization that would carry us through to these days” (Keser, 2007: 87-88).

After intensive efforts, Rauf Denktaş and his friends affiliated with the Federation of Turkish Cypriot Institutions established the Turkish Resistance Organization (TRO) on November 26, 1957 (Akkurt, 1999: 13). Hence, the Turkish Cypriots established an effective organization to resist the Greek Cypriots’ attacks and to ensure the survival of the Turks on the island. Considering the terrorist EOKA activities that had been ongoing, it is possible to regard the TRO as a natural social reflex (Manisalı, 2004: 24). The local newspapers played a fundamental role in the struggles of the Cypriot Turks. The Greek Cypriots’ attempts, supported by a Greek Cypriot press, to generate unreasonable public opinion around the world in their favor, was countered by the local Turkish press. The first two Turkish newspapers in this regard were *“Halkın Sesi”* (Public Voice) and *“Bozkurt”* (Dire Wolf). The first Turkish resistance newspaper, *“Nacak”* (Hatchet), which was first published after the establishment of the TRO, set as its fundamental purpose support for the Cyprus struggle (Atun ve Fevzioğlu, 2009).

In 1958 the Turkish public accepted the mantra “Division or Death”. For this purpose rallies organized in various parts of Turkey increased the enthusiasm amongst the public. In the same year, the situation in Cyprus took a very dark turn due to the intensification of terrorism. This began to obscure the Turkish-Greek and English-Greek relations. When this weakened NATO’s right wing in the eastern Mediterranean, peace talks between Turkey and Greece were initiated by the USA and NATO. Abiding by the logic of the Cold War, NATO and the US wanted the parties to renounce their national interests and to compromise for the greater purpose of the general interests of the Western alliance in the face of the Soviet danger. These efforts would lead to the establishment of an independent Cypriot State through “Secret Diplomacy” (Kızılyürek, 2003: 23).

Bilateral Talks Between Turkey and Greece for the Resolution of the Cyprus Problem

11 February 1959, the Zurich Agreement

The USA was convinced that communication between Ankara and Athens was at breaking point, so they intervened in an attempt to resolve the problem within the

⁴ For more information, see (Denktaş, 2008).

framework of the NATO alliance. The USA proposal was based on a formula for an Independent Cyprus, provided British bases were guaranteed security and operational freedom. This was in conflict with the policy of division Turkey had announced just one year previously. The DP government, which mobilized the public in line with the policy of division, did not compromise before the 1957 elections. However the fact that the policy of division could not find support in the UN General Assembly, that Britain had decided to leave Cyprus after the Suez Problem, and increasing pressure from the USA, all led the DP government to make a policy change again in 1958.

Greece, on the other hand, brought the Cyprus issue back to the United Nations in late 1958. On 5 December 1958, the General Assembly decided that the disputes should be settled between the parties due to the reaction against the Enosis policy in the United Nations. As a result of NATO pressure and mediation, Turkey and Greece began bilateral negotiations. Turkey's Foreign Minister, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, and the Greek Foreign Minister, Avanghelos Averof, discussed the Cyprus issue at the NATO meeting in Paris. As a result, it was decided that a meeting would be held between the two states in Zurich.

On 5 February 1959, the Turkish Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, and the Greek Prime Minister, Konstantin Karamanlis, together with their foreign ministers, convened in Zurich. The main point of conflict during the negotiations was Turkey's wish to establish a joint command and establish a base on the island. Ultimately, Turkey gave up its demand to establish a base on the island and reduced the level of military presence they wanted to maintain on the island. Greece accepted Turkey's joint command demand. Upon the resolution of the issues in dispute, on 11 February 1959 the two states declared that they had decided to establish an independent republic administration in Cyprus and they concluded an agreement for this purpose (Uçarol, 2013: 1038). With the Zurich Treaty, it was decided to establish a new status for Cyprus. After this agreement, the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers went to London to meet with the British authorities as it was the third party to the issue. Satisfied with the Treaty of Zurich, the Turkish Government gave up the "division policy" it had previously agreed to, and accepted the policy of an "Independent Cyprus".

19 February 1959 The London Agreement

The London Conference convened and the participants were the prime ministers of Turkey, Britain and Greece, as well as community leaders of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Makarios. The Zurich Agreement, which was signed on 19 February 1959, was accepted as the base and the London Agreement, which consisted of multiple agreements, was signed. These agreements established organic ties between independent Cyprus and Turkey, Greece and Britain (Armaoğlu, 1994: 533).

The decisions announced in the capitals of the three countries on 23 February 1959,

which was then referred to as “the London Agreement”, mainly covered the following four understandings:

1. An Assembly Agreement referring to the transfer of British rule on Cyprus to the Republic of Cyprus.
2. A Guarantee Agreement, guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity and constitutional order of Cyprus.
3. An Alliance Agreement, which was to be signed between Turkey, Greece and the Republic of Cyprus.
4. Agreed measures regarding the preparation of new agreements for Cyprus (Uçarol, 2013: 1038-1039).

Among these agreements, the “Main Agreement Concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus” and the “Guarantee Agreement” were of the greatest importance. The Turkish Government considered these agreements a success for all interested parties. The solution to the Cyprus dispute aimed to reconcile the rights and interests of the three states concerned and the two communities on the island. It was decided to establish an independent and federal republic which was based on a partnership between the two communities on the island and which would prioritize productive cooperation between Turkey and Greece.

The Main Agreement also acted as a constitution. According to this agreement, the Turkish and Greek societies in Cyprus would run local affairs through Community Councils, and joint affairs through the executive body which was to be based on a presidential system. A Greek Cypriot would preside over the executive affairs and their deputy would be a Turk. There would also be a Council of Ministers comprising 10 people, 3 of whom would be Turks. The Council of Representatives would be made up of 50 members and 30% of these would be Turks. A Constitutional Court would be established, together with mixed courts for cases between Turkish and Greek Cypriots (Uçarol, 2013: 1039). The President of the Constitutional Court was to be elected from an external and impartial country. German Professor Ernest Forsthoff was elected as the first president with the approval of the three guarantor countries (Manisalı, 2004: 31). The cultural, religious and personal affairs of the Turks were to be executed by the authorities of the Turkish Community according to laws to be enacted by the Turkish Community Assembly. Turkish citizens would be able to place Turkish flags in their institutions and houses and to celebrate their national holidays. One of the official languages in Cyprus would be Turkish. Turkish citizens were able to join the island’s army by up to 40% and the joint security forces by up to 30%. These measures were taken to prevent the Turks from falling under the sovereignty of the Greeks. These agreements gave Greece and

Turkey the same rights on the island. The Greek Cypriot community, on the other hand, gained the right to rule the island, provided that it operated in its own right and respected the rights of the island's Turkish citizens. The Main Agreement, which established the structure of the Republic of Cyprus, set forth that the constitution of the new state would include the Guarantee Agreement and the Alliance Agreement, that Enosis and a division would be prohibited, that Britain, Greece and Turkey would be given the rights of the "highest observed nation" in every agreement to be signed regardless of subject matter, and that Greece and Turkey would be given rights to financially contribute to educational, cultural and sporting institutions, as well as to charity works within their own communities (Firat, 2002: 611).

The Guarantee Agreement established the Republic of Cyprus's international status. With this agreement, the statutory powers of Cyprus, which was called an independent republic, were restricted and reduced to a position of a dependent state. According to Article 1 of the Agreement, the Republic of Cyprus "was obliged to avoid participation in any political or economic union with any state, in whole or in part". In addition, this Article prohibited any action for the Republic of Cyprus to directly or indirectly promote unification of the republic with any other state or division of the island. In accordance with Article 2 of the Agreement, Britain, Turkey and Greece recognized and guaranteed the continuation of the status referred to in Article 1. The 3rd Article guaranteed the existence of British bases in the Cyprus Island. The 4th Article was the most important article in the Agreement. This article regulated the measures to be taken in the case of non-compliance. Greece, Turkey and Britain undertook to consult with each other regarding the initiatives or measures needed for compliance with these provisions. In case it is not possible to act in partnership or agreement, each guarantor country would reserve the right to take action, but only to re-establish the order set up by this agreement. This was the most controversial article of the agreement. Because according to this article, each of the three states would have the right to intervene to re-establish the constitutional order (Esenbel, 1993: 139). This last provision, was the legal basis for the intervention by the Republic of Turkey on 20 July 1974. The Republic of Turkey relied on its rights arising from international agreements. This was also acknowledged during the meetings held in Geneva under the observation of the United Nations in July and August 1974 (Manisalı, 2004: 30). On the other hand, it is a fact that this intervention in Cyprus did not restore the order established by the agreement. Turkey's intervention rectified the situation envisaged by the Guarantee Agreement, but did not recognize the limits stipulated for such an intervention (Özcan, 2016: 125).

It was decided to establish a tripartite military headquarters in Cyprus in order to achieve the objectives set out in Articles 1 and 2 of the Alliance Agreement. Article 1 states: "The Parties undertake to cooperate for their joint defense and to consult each other regarding

any issues concerning this defense”. Article 2 states that “The Parties undertake to resist any direct or indirect attack or aggression against the independence or territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus”. With these articles, Turkey gained the right to keep a 650-person, and Greece, a 950-person, military force at the joint headquarters to be established in Cyprus (Armaoğlu, 1994: 534). According to Melih Esenbel, (Esenbel, 1993: 126) when Adnan Menderes learnt that Averof had recommended a 150-person limit for Turkey as its military presence on the island, he then said “*The military unit that we would send there must be meaningful in terms of greatness in accordance with the size of Cyprus. I did not come here to send a team of honorary guards to Cyprus*”. On the basis of this article in the Alliance Agreement, a Turkish Regiment entered Cyprus from Famagusta Port on 16 August 1960 under the command of the Colonel Turgut Sunalp (Olgun, 1991: 20).

In addition to the Agreements of Guarantee and Alliance, which allowed three NATO member states to control the newly established independent state, a top secret “Gentleman’s Agreement” was signed between Karamanlis and Menderes. According to this agreement, Karamanlis and Menderes would support Cyprus’s participation in NATO and would also encourage the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus to ban the communist party and communist activities (Kızılyürek, 2003: 23-24).

The agreements and the established state reflect the balances within NATO. The agreements were designed to prevent both the Greek Enosis and the Turkish policy of division, rather than fulfilling the wishes of the island’s locals (Fırat, 2002). According to its constitution Cyprus, which is defined as an independent and unitary state, was denied the authority to change its constitution under the Guarantee Agreement, and its constitution and state structure became federal. By authorizing two NATO members to have a say on the Cyprus issue and on the island’s future, the creation of a crack in NATO was prevented. From this perspective, the agreements can be seen as a response to the international political conditions of the 1950s which took into account the internal balance in NATO (Özcan, 2016: 125). In his comments regarding the agreements, İsmet İnönü stated the following: “*Our assessment is that there were very strong reasons relating to general well-being and security that prompted us to come to an agreement. It is also very obvious that certain suggestions from very powerful friends played an integral role in this*” (Özcan, 2016: 126).

The agreements were approved by the GNDA after lengthy discussions. The discussions focused on the question of why Prime Minister Menderes had abandoned the policy of division that he had announced on 18 December 1956. Fatin Rüştü Zorlu stated that it had not been a sacrifice to abandon the division but that the sacrifice that was made was not taking over the whole island. Hence in very straightforward expressions, the DP administration first followed a policy of ignorance by saying “Cyprus is Britain’s

internal affairs”, then defended an annexation policy by saying that “Cyprus is Turkish”, then gave up on annexation by promoting division with the words “Division or death!” and then gave up on this too, settling on an “Independent Cyprus” under international pressure (Özcan, 2016: 126).

In the Greek Parliament, very severe criticisms were made of the agreements. Liberal Party Leader, M. Venizelos, claimed that Makarios had betrayed the oath of Enosis. The Social People’s Party leader and former foreign minister, M. Stefanapulos, stated that this was the first time Turks had set foot on the lands they had previously lost. Liberal Party Leader, M. Papandreu, firstly expressed his reaction by emphasizing that the ideal of Enosis was forever abandoned. (Esenbel, 1993: 139-141). The supporters of the cause of the Greek Cypriots generally believed that Makarios signed these agreements under conditions of oppression and spiritual sabotage (Uslu, 2000: 39). However, Makarios, who was expected to become the president of the new Cypriot state, attempted to exploit some loopholes in the London and Zurich agreements in order to make these agreements null, as part of the Akritas Plan⁵. For example, the “Municipalities Issue” which was seen as a matter of dispute put forward in 1963, was brought up by Makarios himself even before the establishment of the republic (Akkurt, 2000: 29).

Apart from the lengthy debates held in the assemblies of the two countries, the Cyprus Constitution, which was formed within the framework of the principles described above, came into force on 16 August 1960, thereby marking the official establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. The Cyprus Constitution is an example of compromise reached between very contradictory interests. This compromise, which was achieved when the Greeks abandoned Enosis and the Turks abandoned the division plan, was praised as a “remarkable act of statesmanship” in the UN Security Council when the acceptance of Cyprus into the United Nations was being discussed (Türk, 2003: 8). However, this republic, which was founded following intensive reconciliation efforts, was only able to survive until 21 December 1963.

Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (16 August 1960)

As a requirement of the Zurich and London Agreements, a provisional government was established in Cyprus in late March 1959. In addition, in accordance with the draft Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, commissions were established in London and Nicosia to prepare for the transfer of the administration to the Republic of Cyprus and to implement the decisions taken at the London Conference. The Constitutional Commission of the Republic of Turkey was represented by a delegation presided over by Nihat Erim.

⁵ The Greek Cypriot leadership had prepared the Akritas Plan in 1963. This plan was first published in a local Greek newspaper named “*Pataris*” on 21 April 1966, and the fundamental purpose of this plan was to dissolve the Republic of Cyprus using certain means and, through pre-planned stages, to remove the Turkish community from the island thereby actualizing Enosis (Uslu, 2000, s. 41).

The commissions worked for more than a year, during which time several differences of opinion arose. The most striking of these differences was the Greek Cypriots' objection to the bases to be left to Britain on the island and the rights granted to the Turks. Negotiations regarding the British bases on the island alone lasted for four months, fortunately coming to a conclusion on 1 July 1960 with an agreement. According to the understanding, a total area of 99 square miles in two separate locations on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus would be left to the dominant British bases. The British bases were to be in the region of Dhekelia and Akrotiri. Britain would also have the right to organize training sessions in locations other than at these bases (Serter, 2014: 54). Resolving this conflict also finalized the draft constitution.

On 21 July 1960, the British Parliament adopted a draft law on Cyprus becoming a republic, and the Queen of England approved the law on 29 July. Based on this document, which was then titled "1960 Cyprus Law", Queen Elizabeth II released the "1960 Cyprus Republic Mandate" on 3 August 1960. According to this mandate, the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus would become effective as of 16 August 1960 (Uçarol, 2013: 1040). The agreements for Cyprus were signed on 16 August 1960 in Nicosia, by the Turkish Consulate General, the Greek representative, the Governor Sir Hugh Foot as representative of Great Britain, the Turkish Cypriot community leader, Dr. Fazıl Küçük, and the Greek Cypriot community leader, Makarios. The Constitution of Cyprus was also prepared in accordance with the principles set out in the agreement, and was then made effective on 16 August 1960. This was the day the Republic of Cyprus was officially established. The independent Cypriot state opened a new era for the island, but peace did not last long; an environment of conflict re-emerged on the island, leading to new consequences and turmoils (Uçarol, 2013: 1041).

Conclusion

The Turkish Republic, which stayed true to the foreign policy principles from the Atatürk era, were ignorant to the developments in Cyprus, resulting from Greece's Enosis activities, at all times from the years of single-party administration to the first years of the DP era. The most important factor in this indifference, no doubt, was Turkey's wish to become a part of the Western block. As a requirement of this wish, Turkey avoided any action in its foreign policy that would draw a reaction from the West, especially from Great Britain, hence its indifference to the island's fate. The DP executives established their approach to Cyprus matters mostly in accordance with Britain's Cyprus policies. Britain set their policies in relation to Cyprus, which it had deemed to be a Crown Colony, according to their variable stance in the Middle East. The changes in their policies naturally affected the Cyprus policies adopted by Turkey.

Greece's efforts to bring the issue into the international spotlight by repeatedly taking

the agenda to the UN on many occasions left Turkey in a difficult predicament. With a focus on remaining on good terms with the West, Turkey also faced public pressure about Cyprus on the internal front. However, when Britain began severing its ties with Cyprus, the DP administration was pulled into the epicenter of the Cyprus issue as a result of British political tactics. On the other hand, the USA did not want to see a weakening Western alliance under a global Soviet and Communist threat, therefore their policy upheld resolutions on the Cyprus issue through NATO and peaceful talks between the parties. Despite Turkey's conciliatory policy regarding resolution of the issues through mediation, the actions of Greece and the Cypriot Greek Administration seems to have lead to a deadlock. It is an established fact that Greece, the Greek Cypriot Administration and the Orthodox Church, and the ideal of Enosis that they pursued were the driving forces behind the environment of terror created on the island. This is more clearly visible in the post-republic developments on the island when the problems could never be brought to resolution. To the Cypriot Greek, the establishment of a Cypriot state did not in any way mean the exercise of the right to self-determination. It was a fundamental strategy to claim the right to self-determination in order to avoid the founding agreements. The policies, tactics and strategy to be later adopted in the progress was known as the "Akritas Plan".

The agreements which founded the Republic of Cyprus soon began to be broken by Greek Cypriots. They did not recognize the implementation of the constitutional articles which gave rights to the Turkish Cypriots and they began to work secretly to realize their goals on Cyprus. They tasked a group of three, which included Glafkos Clerides, to prepare a secret action plan. The most important objective of the Akritas Plan, which was the product of this group, was Enosis. This plan envisaged a coup against the government to remove the opposition, which would then leave the Turkish Cypriots deprived of their rights and if they reacted, they would be crushed by brute force. If the clashes were to spread, the Greeks would use all the means at their disposal and would declare Enosis. Attacks by Greek Cypriots began again on the night of 21 December 1963. Despite the fact that the acts of terrorism on the island intensified and the Greek Cypriots kept to their uncompromising attitude, the Cyprus problem was always approached from a diplomatic standpoint until 1967. But Greece did not give up Enosis and this invalidated all efforts towards peace. On 20 July 1974, Turkish Armed Forces carried out the Cyprus Operation for Peace, executing their guarantor country rights under the Guarantee Agreement for the purpose of reinstating peace and constitutional order on the island.

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DEVELOPMENT AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY IN TURKEY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1950-1980

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Introduction

The main discourse of the young cadres of the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, was based on strengthening political independence with economic independence. Correspondingly, the Izmir Economic Congress, which convened between February 17 and March 23, 1923, determined the basic economic orientation of the Republic and laid the cornerstones for the desired liberal development model that would last for approximately six years. However, as private capital lagged and the desired breakthroughs in industry failed to be achieved in the process, in addition, due to the Great Depression experienced in the world, the First Five-Year Industrial Plan (FFYIP) was put into practice which paved the way for statist development. Thus, the unique statism model of the founding cadre was shaped. The basic economic understanding of this model was characterized by neither the Soviets' unique strict model, nor the implementation of the pure liberalist policies of the West. This understanding of the economy, which was nurtured through the concrete realities of the country, provided achievements in FFYIP, and although it was soon decided to implement SFYIP in 1936, that plan failed to be implemented due to war conditions.

The Republican People's Party (CHP) administration, during its 12-year rule since Atatürk's death from 1938 to 1950, had a hard time keeping up with the old pace of industrialization breakthroughs. Many factors had an impact on this situation. The war environment of the 1940s in particular put the country in political and economic difficulties. The failed implementation of SFYIP due to war conditions, widespread black market practices, and difficulties in accessing staple food products summarize the economy of the period. As a result of these adverse conditions, the Wealth Tax was introduced on November 11, 1942 in order to increase tax revenues. The introduction of the Wealth Tax meant the collection of tax from property owners, big ranchers, businessmen, and certain people and companies obliged to pay tax. The severity of the situation could be even understood from radical decisions, such as sending those who did not pay their taxes to work elsewhere (Lewis, 2018: 399-400).

The radical measures taken within the country manifested within foreign policy in the form of close relations with the West. The main reason for these close relations with the

West arose from the need to overcome the country's economic difficulties. This process, which constituted the beginning of an outward-oriented policy (Tekeli, 1979-1980: 294), became concrete through the Truman Doctrine (Kazgan, 2005: 95-99) and the Marshall Plan. On the other hand, not only economic reasons but also diplomatic and political reasons had been effective in establishing close relations with the West. Turkey's membership in NATO in the face of the Soviet threat and its military deployment to the Korean War brought Turkey closer to the West especially in the 1950s, although the process had started long before. However, on the other hand, the country's development of regional relations in response to the communist threat within the region (Baghdad Pact) also directly affected Turkey's economic policies. Starting from the 1950s, these political developments helped Turkey grow in confidence and integrate with the world, especially the Western world (Göktepe & Seydi, 2015: 206). The country's reflections of these developments came to light with the Urgent Industrial Plan of 1946 and the Economic Development Plans of 1947¹. While the 1946 plan reflected the statist development understanding from the 1930s, the 1947 plan could be considered somewhat as the beginning of the liberalization that would later be frequently expressed. This plan led to the adoption of an approach that pushed industrial development which began in 1923, on the back burner, and prioritized development in agriculture (Avcı, 2000: 41). The plan shows support for agriculture via all other sectors, the establishment of transportation and communication infrastructure, and the serious paradigm changes that ultimately took place in the country. To make an even greater determination, the 1947 Economic Development Plan (Vaner Plan), although it was not able to be implemented, gave the early signals that distance between the West had ceased (Eşiyok, 2009: 123). All these preparations for the changes to take place, first showed effect in the change of political power in 1950.

In the following years, the country's first radical political break was experienced in the general elections held on May 14, 1950. The Democrat Party, which ended the 27 years of CHP government with 52.7% of the votes in the elections, desired to make significant changes not only in political policies, but also in economic policies. In this sense, the beginning of a political and economic tradition whose effects would reach until the present day was established. Undoubtedly, the radical discourse of the process that would take place from 1950 to 1960 was based on the desired change in economic policies. However, the question of how many of these economic policies were realized is disputable. Finally, with the military intervention experienced in Turkey for the first time in 1960, the private capital incentive policies of the DP period would be replaced by planned development, and the First Five-Year Development Plans planned for 1963

¹ According to Eroğul 2013, the liberalization tendencies of the country were possibly said to date back prior to these plans, to 1945. The author bases this opinion on the San Francisco Conference in April 1945 and, from a domestic view, on the speech given by İsmet İnönü to address the May 19 celebrations. The main political conjuncture that this view focuses on is based on the liberalizing perspective on the transition to a multi-party system. In addition, details such as university autonomy and emphasizing the impropriety of anti-democratic practices can be considered the beginning of liberalization tendencies (Eroğul, 2013: 7).

would gain a place on the national agenda. It is clear that this period's effects would continue until the 1980 Turkish coup d'état of September 12, and produced its own unique economic policies which in turn influenced the industrialization processes. The industrialization of this period and the geographical distribution of the industry were shaped around these economic policies.

In this study, the distribution of industrial organizations as a result of changing economic policies between 1950-1980 is discussed according to certain periods. In particular, the unequal distribution of industry across the country, which was also determined by the founding cadres of the Republic, reflects the basic characteristics of the distribution. This study focuses on the period from 1950 - 1980 and the four industrial censuses during these time periods were considered as the main data source. The geographical correspondence of all the data confirm the unequal distribution of industry within these time periods. On a macro-scale, the western part of the country stands out in terms of industrialization, while the eastern and southeastern parts remain weak in terms of industrial investments. This is the first distinct characteristic of Turkish industry. Another characteristic of the Turkish industry in this period is that the established industrial organizations fall under the scope of small industrial organizations. In all four industrial censuses, small industrial organizations outnumber large industrial facilities. This situation is still valid today.

Political First Break: 1950 General Elections and Industrial Organizations of The Democrat Party Era

The young cadres of the Republic of Turkey, which emerged in 1923 with a new formation in the aftermath of the greatest war in the history of the world, proclaimed the Republic in 1923, and later tried to survive with support from a weak legacy inherited from the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, it should be stated that there was no systematic industrial heritage left to the Republic of Turkey, from the Ottoman Empire (İlkin, 1981: 93). Until the elections that took place on May 14, 1950, the country was not really dominated by a multi-party democratic structure. Founded on January 7, 1946 under the leadership of Celal Bayar, the Democrat Party (DP) gained 408 seats in the parliament in the May 1950 elections, whereas the 27-year-old CHP held only 69 seats. This did not just mean the change of the political power governing the country. It also meant that, instead of a bureaucratic and military elite group identified with the CHP, a different group which was less educated and more closely connected with feudalism, and had a commercial and legal formation gained representation in the country's governance. Another development that would further strengthen the DP government in the following years was the elections of May 2, 1954. In this election, with 58.4% of the votes and 503 seats in the parliament, the DP achieved an overwhelming victory over its closest rival CHP (Zürcher, 2017: 257-259). The period between 1950-1954 especially corresponds to the period when the DP was relatively successful, both in political and economic

terms. The liberalization trends that were the main promise for the following years were replaced by an oppressive and authoritarian approach, identified with Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. Together with the deteriorations in the economy, which began in 1954 - 55, this authoritarian structure led to Turkey's first early election in 1957 which also marked the beginning of a period of regression for the DP. Their votes decreased from 58.4% to 47.3% and the number of its seats decreased to 424. The CHP, on the other hand, managed to increase the number of its seats from 31 to 178 in the same election (Zürcher, 2017: 269). The inability to stop the economic downturn and the fact that the DP lost its already weak support from bureaucratic and military circles resulted in a military coup on May 27, 1960 (Acar, 2001: 87) when Turkey faced the reality of a military coup which marked another first for the country, just like the early elections. Although economic problems such as the increase in USD by 300% along with the devaluation in 1958, played an important role in the occurrence of the military coup, internal and external political developments such as the oppressive internal policy of the DP administration² and the approach to the Eastern Bloc led by the Soviets³ were also influential (Çakır, 2004; Bulut, 2009). This situation ended the 10-year political power of the DP, but it could not prevent a tradition formed over those 10 years from surviving to this day.

When the 10-year DP government is evaluated in five year periods and this first four or five year period is considered to be a successful period in economic terms, it can be assumed that the main economic sector behind this success is related to agriculture and developments in this field⁴ (Eroğul, 2013: 132). Some positive developments in agriculture during the DP period are as follows: Providing cheap loans to farmers, keeping the prices of agricultural products artificially high, and increasing the number of cultivation areas in parallel with the increase in the number of tractors (Zürcher, 2017: 260-261). Undoubtedly, these developments in the field of agriculture were the best driving force to ensure growth rates exceeding 10% in those years. However, the other characteristic of the period related to agriculture, as opposed to these developments in rural areas, was the realization of unprecedented amounts of migration from rural areas to cities in Turkey and the increase in the number of residents in the cities (Lewis, 2018: 415). In other words, this corresponds to the dissolution of the rural area. The increase in the number of tractors in rural areas could be considered as the most visible reason for

² For example, the division of Malatya into two (Malatya and Adıyaman) where people voted for the CHP and not for the DP in the 1954 elections; the fact that Kırşehir, once a province, where the CMP (Republican National Party) won all of the available five seats, was lowered to a district status on June 30, 1954 with the votes of DP deputies; arrests of journalists; the press being largely under the control of the DP; the introduction of the "Law on Meeting and Demonstration March" and the establishment of an Investigation Commission in the Parliament on April 18, 1960 (Bulut, 2009: 126-128).

³ For example, Menderes' planned visit to Moscow and the increase in trade volume with the Eastern Bloc countries (Çakır, 2004: 61-65).

⁴ The expansion of agricultural areas during the DP period was mainly in the form of the distribution of public lands. This situation allowed for an increase in the lands cultivated for agricultural purposes, while causing a decrease in meadows and pastures. In 1938 meadows and pastures covered 41,068 hectares (53.9%) while this number was 37,806 hectares (48.7%) in 1950 and 31,054 hectares (40%) in 1955 (Yasa, 1980: 165)

this period, during which those who migrated to cities built shanty houses as informal places to live in within the boundaries of the city. And in the face of this settlement, the existing industrial facilities fell short of providing employment to this rapidly increasing population and, as a result, rapid unemployment began in the cities. All these processes not only caused an increase in the number of cities, but also in the total population and in the number of those living in the cities (Avcı, 2005: 8).

One of the most important parameters in the development literature to determine the level of development in countries is the state of industry. Industrialization and development were generally evaluated in parallel to each other, and the industrialization stage of countries is considered as an indicator of their development. Although the Republic's push of industrial development since its foundation in 1923 lost momentum from time to time, continuity was maintained.

One of the theoretical reflections of the political change in the country after 1950 took place in industrialization policies. The DP's liberal attitude in the economic model at a theoretical level contradicts the statist attitude it embraced in practice particularly in the industrial sector, as well as in other economic sectors⁵. First of all, certain prominent features came to the forefront during the economic conditions of this period. Among the main features of this period's economic policies are the realization of the accumulation of private capital, the expansion of the domestic market and the realization of development depending upon external resources including the Marshall Plan, etc. These policies, which also had an impact on industrialization, can be called as the new statism policies on a macro-scale. The theoretical framework on which these policies are based is shaped by liberal alignment. The idea of transferring activities, other than governance, security, and basic public services, to the private sector is the concrete equivalent of this alignment. One of the contradictions to these liberalization and privatization desires in practice is the SEEs (State Economic Enterprises). The expansion of SEEs and their increase in capital after 1953 is one of the fundamental contradictions to the economic policies of the DP administration (Kepenek, 1983: 1768-1769). From this point of view, it is true that the DP administration in the period between 1950 - 1960 pursued a new statist policy required by concrete conditions, rather than a pure liberal attitude. The reason for this attitude preferred by necessity in some way can be related to the absence of private capital that can feed the domestic demand.

⁵ According to Akat 1938, the definitions regarding the DP confirm this contradiction. Although the DP government was identified by the abolition of import prohibitions and the favoring of private ownership, the fact that it abandoned the contemptuous attitude for public entrepreneurship in its second 5-year term can be considered evidence of its adoption of statist policies. According to Akat, the most radical economic orientation in which the DP differed from the preceding 27-year CHP government is its populist approach to economy under expansionary monetary and budgetary policies. In some way this signaled the end of the previous period's "balanced budget - balanced payment" system (Akat, 1983: 1103-1105). Ultimately, most of the investments during the DP period were made within the scope of governmental industry. However, one of the criticisms in terms of the choice of location in this period's industry is about the wrong choices of location for factories. The factories of this period were established in unpromising places and in wrong sectors. One of the most concrete examples of this can be seen in the sugar industry. Excessive production in the sugar industry caused products to be exported at cheap prices (Zürcher, 2017: 261-262).

When the general distribution of Turkey's industrial facilities in 1950 is looked at, it can be seen that about three important industrial zones stand out (Tümertekin , 1957, s. 39). The first zone is the Marmara Region, where almost half of Turkey's industrial facilities were located in 1950, consisting of Bursa, Sakarya, Kocaeli, Balıkesir and, in particular, Istanbul. The second industrial zone is the area where Izmir and Manisa are at the center, while Ankara and Konya constitute the third most important industrial zone. These central industrial areas in Turkey are followed by Zonguldak and its surroundings, as well as Adana and Gaziantep. The fact that the industrial facilities in Zonguldak consist of heavy iron and steel industries and that new units were added to these facilities since 1950 was influential in the transformation of the province into one of the most important industrial areas. Indeed, the factory which was founded in 1936 with 36 million Turkish liras reached a capital amounting to 42 million Turkish liras in 1948 and 126 million Turkish liras in 1952 (Yurtoğlu, 2017: 177). For this reason, the distribution of industrial facilities in 1950 was related to the geographical characteristics of Turkey, but was largely shaped according to the economic policies of the early years of the Republic. Indeed, the number of existing industrial facilities in the entire Central and Eastern Black Sea regions and Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (except Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa) regions of Turkey is less than 1000 (Figure 1). The limited number of industrial facilities in these areas, as well as the fact that people make their living by cultivating the soil, and that there is no adequate transportation network between the city and the countryside, have effectively contributed to the low urban population in these areas (Figure 2).

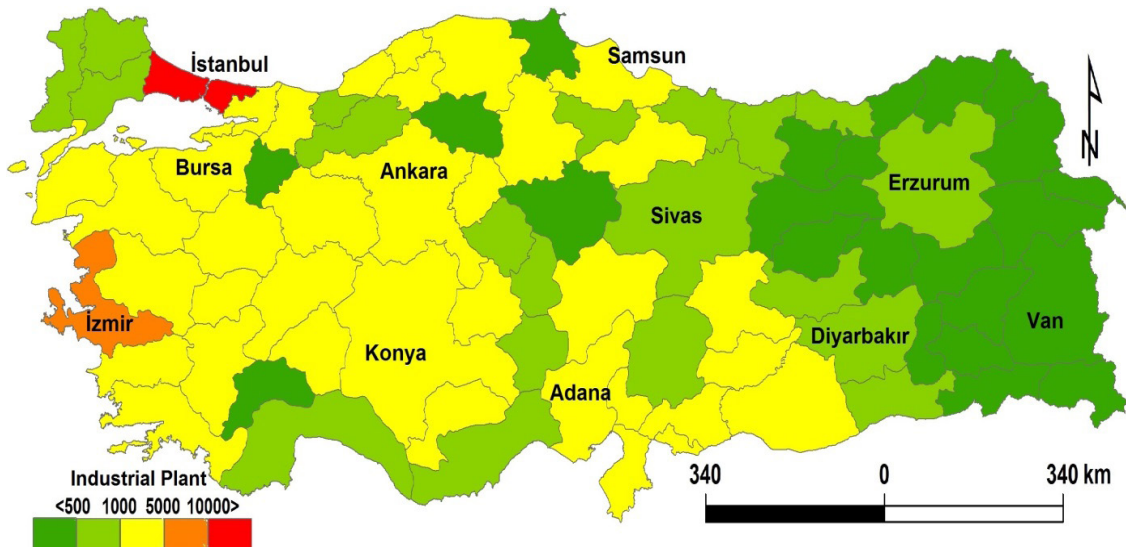


Figure 1. Turkey in 1950, Distribution of Large and Small-Scale Industrial Facilities by Province.

Source: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, (1955). *İstatistik Bülteni*. Ankara: T.C Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü.

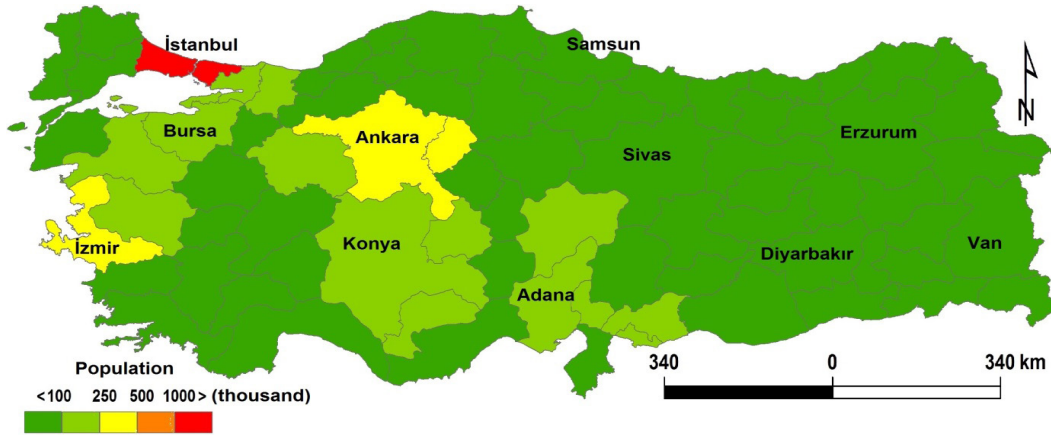


Figure 2. The Amount of the City's Population in 1950 in Turkey.

Source: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü. (1961). *22 Ekim 1950 Genel Nüfus Sayımı*. İstanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları.

According to the 1950 industrial census, the number of provinces with less than five hundred industrial plants was only fifteen, ten of which were to the east of Sivas. At that date, the Turkish province with the smallest number of industrial plants was Hakkari with 28, followed by Bingöl with 66 plants, Muş hosting 113 industrial plants, Ağrı with 115, Tunceli with 136, Bitlis hosting 147 plants, and Van with a total of 196. All of these provinces are located in the Eastern Anatolia Region and none of them was recorded with a number of industrial plants above 200. On the other hand, the provinces in the western part of Turkey host a higher number of industrial plants compared to the eastern ones including even cases with plants less than five hundred (363 in Yozgat, 390 in Sinop, 420 in Burdur, 425 in Bilecik, and 468 in Çankırı), going above four hundred in most cases. In the context of industrial plants across Turkey, such an unbalanced distribution was remarkable during the first years of the Republic (Sönmez & Ayık, 2018), and it still bears similar features today.

When Figures 1 and 2 are compared, it is observed that there is a close relationship between the distribution of industrial facilities and the distribution of urban population in this period. Except for a few provinces such as Zonguldak and Kayseri, the number of industrial facilities and the density of urban population coincide almost exactly. In fact, the existence of heavy industrial facilities in Zonguldak increased the population of the city over time, and the urban population in Kayseri, on the other hand, contributed to the development of industry in Kayseri. Therefore, both parameters triggered each other and contributed to the development.

The inadequacy of the private sector during this period can be confirmed by a number of factors. Various parameters in the number of plants referred to as large industrial facilities in the relevant period confirm this situation. The share of large state-owned

industrial facilities, in both the number of employees per workplace and annual wages is greater between 1950-1960 (Table 1). However, the factor that particularly reflects the basic characteristic of the large state-owned industrial facilities during this period is in the size of the added value created. The added value created in state-owned industrial facilities in the relevant period is greater than that of the private sector, except for some exceptional years (DİE , 1973: 206-207). Undoubtedly, the main reason for this situation is that the technology input was better in the state-owned facilities compared to the privately owned facilities to the degree enabled in that time period.

Table 1. Structure of State-Owned and Privately Owned Large Industrial Facilities Between 1950-1960

S: State P: Private		Employees per Workplace	Annual Wage	Production Value per Employee	Added Value in Thousand TRY	Investment with Current Prices
1950	S	738.2	1.840	12.229	5.629	0.561
	P	35.6	1070	12.013	3.419	0.407
1955	S	605.6	3.028	21.674	9.915	2.351
	P	34.9	1.962	20.792	6.495	1.054
1960	S	584.4	6.507	54.368	27.388	2.810
	P	32.8	4.718	44.050	14.004	1.601

Source: Main source of the relevant data: State Institute of Statistics (DİE) (1973). Türkiye’de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişmenin 50 Yılı. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yayınları. The values used in this study have been taken from Kepenek, Y. (1983). Türkiye’nin Sanayileşme Süreçleri. Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, 7, 1760-1796.

The geographical characteristics of industrialization and industry were common in a number of characterizations during the DP period. The most important point that should be noted in this regard is that the import-substituting industrialization policies which started in the 1930s and concentrated on the production of consumer goods, began to become increasingly visible, thus it created an elementary or easy start for the import-substituting policies that would become more evident in the 1960s (Sönmez M. , 2004: 71-72). In the most general sense, import-substituting industrialization policies are based on the production of a product in the country by taking measures such as raising the customs rates of an imported product. As a result, the market to develop depending on the product is shaped rather according to the domestic demand. Import-substituting industrialization has the potential to turn into something that prevents competition and technology-based production over time (Dülger, 1991: 17). The second main feature of the DP period in the field of industry is the distribution of production by sub-sectors. Production during the DP period was mainly oriented towards the sugar, mining, iron and copper ore production, cement and weaving industries. Another characteristic arising from these conditions of industrial production was that facilities which belonged to these sub-sectors were determined based on political concerns and grounds, rather than according to the industry’s place of establishment characteristics. The criticism was due

to the establishment of industrial facilities during the DP period as it was mainly driven by voting concerns and resulted in high construction and production costs (Eroğul, 2013: 133-137). The industrial facilities established by the government in the fields of weaving and sugar industry during the DP period are shown in Figure 3.

In the DP period, although it was desired to reduce state intervention in the economy and switch to a free market economy and it was further desired to establish a balance between the public and private sectors, such attempts were not achieved. On the contrary, the number of State Economic Enterprises operating in this period increased gradually (Yücel, 2015: 52). In addition, the Batman Refinery, the first petroleum refinery in Turkey, was established in Batman, and another refinery, ATAŞ, was established in Mersin. In addition, the number of institutions that would further increase the functioning of the public sector also increased gradually.

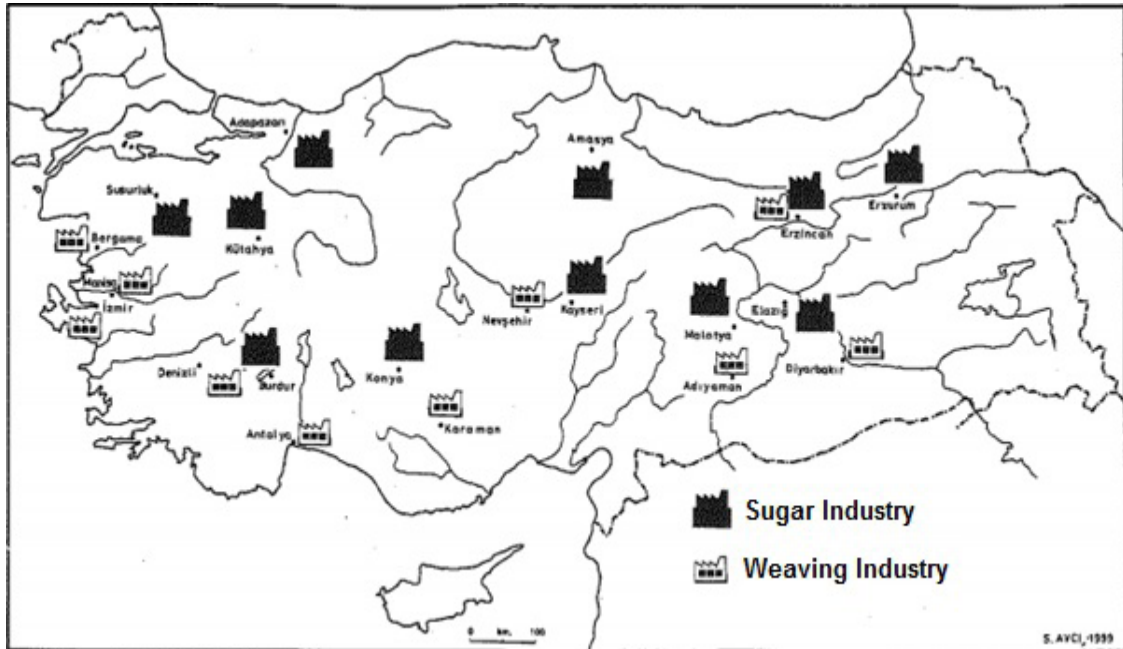


Figure 3. Industrial facilities established by the state in the field of sugar and weaving industry in the 1950s.

Source: Avcı, S. (2000). Türkiye'nin Ekonomi Politikaları ve Coğrafi Sonuçları. Coğrafya Dergisi (8), 29-70.

When the distribution of large industrial facilities with more than 10 workers in 1964 is looked at, it is clear that Istanbul was significantly ahead. During this period, approximately 50% of the factories with more than 10 workers in Turkey were located in Istanbul. Istanbul is followed by Izmir, Bursa and Ankara, respectively. The number of large industrial facilities with more than 10 workers in each of these three cities, is half of Istanbul. These cities are followed by cities such as Adana, Balıkesir, Aydın and Zonguldak. The sizes of these facilities also differ from each other. For example,

the fact that Zonguldak's industrial facilities, which is in the third group and has 60 industrial facilities in total, were so large in size caused the proportion of the population employed in the industry to be almost the same as Istanbul, where there were about 1300 large industrial facilities during the time. In the Southeastern Anatolia Region, Gaziantep continued its development with 43 large industrial facilities, while in the Eastern Anatolia Region, Erzurum stood out with 18 large facilities. Kayseri with 41 facilities in the Central Anatolia Region and Samsun with 38 facilities in the Central Black Sea Region attracted attention as the cities started to develop in terms of industrial facility density (Figure 4).

In the 1950s especially, as the road transportation between rural and urban areas gradually developed, relations between urban and rural areas began to change and this situation started to manifest itself with both economic developments and migration events. Thus, by the 1960s, cities in Turkey began to become more and more crowded and slum areas around the city cores could be seen to take shape. Indeed, in 1960, the populations of Izmir and Ankara exceeded 500,000 while the populations in Adana, Konya and Bursa were more than 250,000. All provinces on the Samsun-Trabzon corridor in the Black Sea Region, as well as Erzurum in the Eastern Anatolia and all provinces in the Aegean Region, except Muğla and Burdur, exceeded a population of 100,000 (Figure 5).

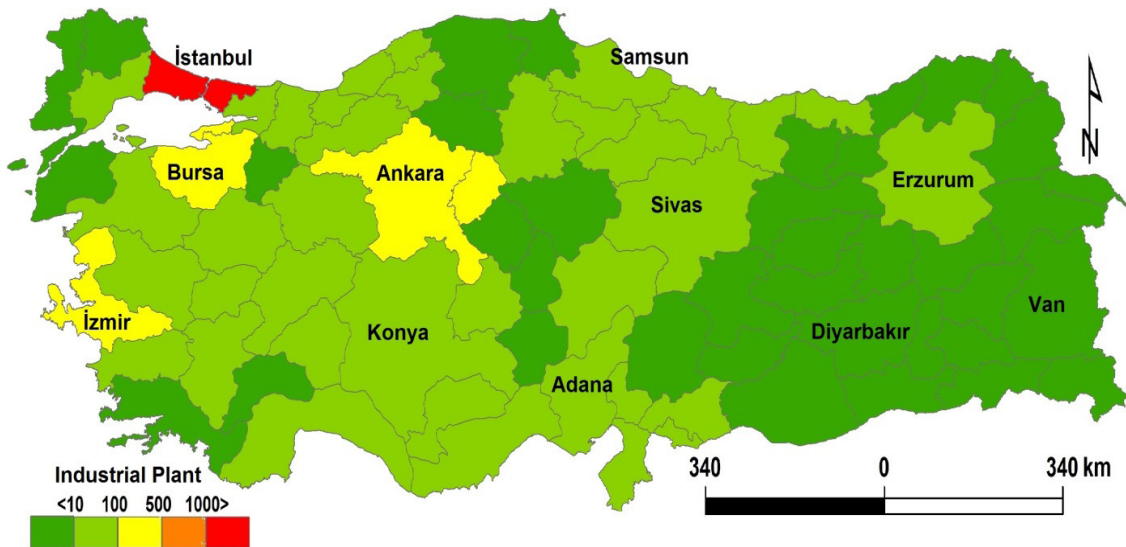


Figure 4. The spatial distribution of large industrial plants in the early 1960s in Turkey

Source: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. (1968). *Sanayi ve İşyerleri Sayımı: İmalat Sanayi 1964*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü.

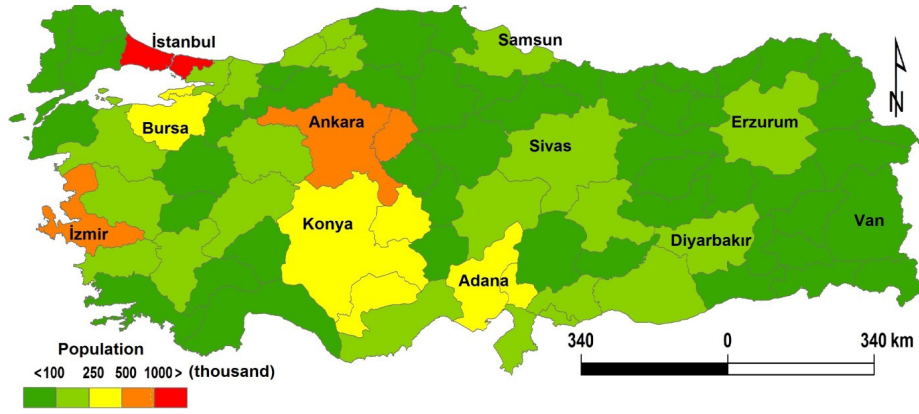


Figure 5. The Amount of Population in the Cities in Turkey 1960

Source: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. (1963). 1960 Genel nüfus sayımı. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası.

Turkey's membership in NATO in the face of the Soviet threat and military deployment to the Korean War brought Turkey closer to the West in the 1950s. But, on the other hand, regional pacts were established in response to the communist threat within the region and thus Turkey's economic policies were affected by this. Starting from the 1950s, these political developments helped Turkey grow in confidence and integrate with the world, especially the Western world (Göktepe & Seydi, 2015: 206). Indeed, although the unplanned and unscheduled economic policy pursued by the DP in the 1950s during a time when a turbulent political situation was dominating the world (Yücel, 2015: 53) caused Turkey to face various problems, the new political, military and political ties established by Turkey helped both the acceleration and diversification of the Turkish economy and contributed to the globalization of Turkey's economic relations.

The Beginning of Military Intervention Processes in Turkey and the Transition to a Planned Development Period

The relations established with the military by political circles in Turkey did not stand out for their characteristics of being continuous, but of being problematic. The military, especially during the late periods of the Ottoman Empire, made people feel its potential to gain authority in the civil government. Although the Republic of Turkey, which was established in 1923, did not see any direct or concrete military intervention until 1960, this did not mean that the military did not oversee civilian administrations. The formal equivalent of the role played by the military upon the administration was based on the continuity of Atatürk's revolutions. Therefore, the military's opinions played an important role in many issues including the post-1938 CHP administrations in particular, as well as the transition to multi-party system. On the other hand, the military seized control of the government when it thought that the continuity of the system was in danger. In the period after 1923, the first time the military gave its concerns regarding the system corresponds to the termination of the 10-year Menderes government with an intervention on May 27,

1960 (Erder, Karaosmanoğlu, Çilingiroğlu, & Sönmez, 2003: 7). This was also the first coup experienced by the young Republic in 37 years.

Many factors played a role in the 1960 coup. However, the most important political reason for this intervention was without any doubt, the DP government's understanding of governance which was represented by Adnan Menderes which became harsher with each passing day. This situation caused a serious disturbance within the DP, the bureaucracy and the military, and in particular within the CHP. In addition to this, the weakening of the military's financial situation, the weakening of soldiers' social status, and the efforts by the DP to take the army under its control were also very effective (Turhan, 1991: 172). The most radical change seen after the coup was the split of the Parliament into two structures: the National Assembly and the Senate of the Republic (T.C. Temsilciler Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 1961). The second radical amendment was the establishment of the State Planning Organization (SPO) by Law No. 91. The last amendment was the 1961 constitution adopted via a referendum (Acar , 2001: 88; Erder, Karaosmanoğlu, Çilingiroğlu, & Sönmez, 2003: 3). One of the innovations brought about by the 1961 constitution regarding the industry were the gains made by the working class from the upper ranks. The 1961 constitution granted many concessions to the working class, which could not assume an organized structure during the history of Turkey. The right to become unionized, as well as subsequent bargaining rights, can be regarded as gains made by the working class after the 1960 process (Keyder, 2014: 183).

The first impression regarding the military's failed involvement in political life through intervention was seen in the aftermath of the elections held on October 15, 1961. In the elections, the CHP gained 173 seats with 36.7% of the votes while the Justice party (AP), which was the successor to the DP, won 158 seats with 34.8% of the votes. This, together with the 65 seats won by the New Turkey Party (YTP), which was on the same political spectrum as the AP, can draw the conclusion that political developments resulted in a manner that the military did not expect at all (Zürcher, 2017: 284). In the 4-year period from 1961 to 1965, the political history of Turkey experienced many coalition governments. Although İnönü rose to prominence in the coalition governments with the support of the military, he could not succeed. As a result of many unsuccessful attempts, the country once again went to the polls on October 10, 1965. Consequently, important political figures, especially Süleyman Demirel, began to be visible in the political life of Turkey. The AP won the 1965 elections by 53% (240 deputies) while the CHP remained at 28.7% (134 deputies). This overwhelming victory also continued in the 1969 elections. According to the results of this election, the AP received 46.5% of the votes (256 deputies) and the CHP had 27% (143 deputies) (Zürcher, 2017: 288-290).

Despite Demirel's strong votes in the political arena, his crises experienced in practice led to the military memorandum of March 12, 1971. This memorandum was the second

military coup experienced by Turkey. The basic expectation of the military was essentially the same as the previous coup, with the termination of the conflicts that endangered the Republic being presented as justification for the memorandum. The first election in the country after Nihat Erim as the prime minister and Fahri Korutürk as the president, was held on October 14, 1973. Under Ecevit's leadership, the CHP received 33.5% of the votes (185 deputies) while the AP remained at 29.5% (149 deputies) (Zürcher, 2017: 296-299). However, this process could not prevent coalition and minority governments or the social conflicts that had been endlessly seen on the political ground since 1973 and brought forth the coup of September 12, 1980 which mainly stood out with social and economic radical changes. This was also the third coup experienced by Turkey.

These changes in the political field created their counterparts in the economic field as well. The fact that one of the policies was implemented by the military into the economy, unlike the DP era, after the 1960 intervention, confirms this situation. After 1960, Turkey established the State Planning Organization (SPO), and with five-year development plans - the first of which was to be implemented in 1963 - the country switched to a planned approach in economy as opposed to the previous periods⁶. On a macro-scale, it is understood that the economy entered a positive development course especially in the period of the first three plans. Undoubtedly, developments in the industry and service sector had a share in this improved and positive development in the economy. The main process characterized in the post-1960 industry was about the import-substituting industrialization model becoming further evident. The import-substituting industrialization model is actually the equivalent of Keynesian policies, which became more and more prominent in the West after WWII, in the surrounding countries. Keynesian structuring in the West was characterized by elements such as statist economics, and the redistribution of income among the classes. In neighboring countries such as Turkey, this process was named as the import-substituting industrialization (ISI) and was characterized by its unique structural features. Within the framework of the general definition, ISI is based on producing goods, which are normally imported from abroad, within the country by means of various customs protection measures. The main elements of Turkey's ISI policies that became evident in the 1960s and were implemented until the 1980s, were not about competing with international capital, but about carrying out one part of the production in the surrounding countries in a manner supported by the international system. It is important to note that there was no detachment from the international system with ISI. The idea of producing industries requiring standard

⁶ It is necessary to evaluate the planned period that Turkey entered with the 1960s within the framework of capitalism's own structuring. Keynesian economic policies, represented by the capitalist system show parallelism with the planned development model implemented by Turkey in the 1960s. In addition, the fact that many Western institutions supported the planning process in Turkey, especially the OECD's statement regarding the need for discipline in public spending, confirms that Turkey was in agreement with the international capitalist system. This situation changed with the crisis of Keynesian policies towards the end of 1970s. Moreover, Turkey lost no time in integrating into the international capitalist system, first with the resolutions of January 24, 1980 and then with the coup of 1980. This transition can be considered the beginning of the full free market economy dominance that survived to this day.

technology in neighboring countries was also supported by the central countries, which confirms this situation. Another reason why ISI policies were encouraged in Turkey was the need to protect the foreign exchange input that was limited in the 1960s. Thus, the production of particularly durable consumer goods in the country would ensure that the scarce source of foreign exchange remains in the country. According to ISI, the production of the required goods within the country necessitates a sufficient amount of maturing also within the domestic market. With ISI, the shift of production from sectors such as textiles to durable consumer goods, especially automotive, brought along a consumer demand that would support the domestic market. The success of this new accumulation model, which Turkey experienced in the 1960s, was based on its ability to keep consumer demand alive. In Turkey, measures were taken after the 1960s to support consumer demand, especially under the leadership of the state, in an attempt to ensure the continuity of production shaped according to the domestic market. After 1977 onwards especially, ISI went through a crisis, one reason was due to the state remained weak in implementing incentives to support consumer demands due to crisis trends seen within the country. The crisis regarding the new ISI-based accumulation model changed to a holistic structure in the 1980s, and the period to switch to an export-based model began (Keyder, 2014: 185-194). In addition to great similarities between the ISI policies in Turkey and other neighboring countries and the Keynesian policies, these two approaches also match due to the failure to support domestic demand in terms of crisis trends' starting points. The most concrete expression of Turkey's ISI policies read as follows in the FFYIP: *"In order to overcome the drawbacks of being underdeveloped in foreign trade relations with developed countries, an ad valorem general protection that is not too high is required. This general protection should tend to decrease over time. In addition, a very selective special protection is required to protect and develop newly emerged industries. However, it is essential that these industries comply with the planned objectives. On the other hand, the decrease in the production costs of these industries over time will be ensured by considering their technical and financial structures. It will be ensured that these industries are as few as possible and do not lead to a large increase in costs"* (DPT, 1963: 521).⁷

The economic policies realized during this period were relatively successful and ensured the continuous increase of Turkey's GNP. Indeed, the growth rate of GNP was 6.4% between 1963-67 while it reached 6.7% between 1968-72 and 7.2% between 1973-77. This period of time also corresponds to the period in which three five-year development plans were made. From this point of view, the driving power behind the growth during the period of the three development plans was due to the industrial and service sectors, while the plans could also be considered successful. In addition, a comparison of 55 countries

⁷ For a detailed analysis of the main components, structure, political and economic implications of the import-substituting industrialization model, see: Hirschman, A. (1968). The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 82(1), 1-32.

with the same income level as Turkey during that period revealed that the average growth rate of 6% in these countries was less than that of Turkey (Çeçen, Doğruel, & Doğruel, 1994: 38). However, the series of developments that began with the oil crises of 1974 would later bring the economy's positive developments to an end. Turkey managed to delay the crisis by three years with various measures, but eventually experienced it more severely. Exports decreased by 200 million USD compared to the previous period, imports increased by 13% and foreign trade deficit exceeded 4 billion USD (Boratov , 2005: 140). In addition to the oil crisis, the embargoes imposed on Turkey due to the Cyprus Peace Operation in this period also had an effect, causing inflation in Turkey to rise above 50% and thus the Turkish economy suffered serious losses.

A detailed review of the plans allows for a better understanding of sectoral trends. At the theoretical level, the outstanding share of the industry is also confirmed by the data. Among the main objectives of the first plan, which covered the period between 1963 - 1967, were to ensure that the annual growth rate is around 7%, solve the employment problem, and achieve a balance in foreign payments, etc. There were also industry-enhancing objectives such as taking special measures to develop industry and carrying out fund transfers for the private sector (DPT, 1963). A more significant emphasis on industry and development took place in the second plan. The basic principle of the second plan was to ensure a rapid and balanced development that would best evaluate the development power of various sectors. According to the plan, industrialization is essential to achieve a rapid development. Apart from the fact that the industry was characterized as an economy-driving sector, the basic strategic industries producing investment and intermediate goods in particular would be established and the industries producing luxury consumer goods would not be encouraged (DPT, 1967). The emphasis on industrialization continued in the third five-year development plan. However, the idea of industrialization in this period contains structural differences from the past. Industrial facilities producing consumer goods would be replaced by investment and intermediate good-producing facilities. The role of the heavy industry, on the other hand, would be increased (DPT, 1972).

After the 1960 coup, economic and industrialization policies changed and until January 1980, a mixed economy was implemented by applying import-substituting economic policies to the public and private sectors as a developmental strategy. The period between 1963-1977 was the period in which the import substitution grew the fastest, as did capital accumulation (Yücel, 2015: 53-54). Therefore in this period, Turkey's industry grew steadily, based on domestic contribution and spatially expanded into larger areas. Indeed, by 1970, the provinces where the number of small-scale industrial facilities

were under 500, were located in Eastern Anatolia with seven in total. The number of provinces, where there were 500 to 1000 small-scale industrial facilities, was only 12, mainly in the Eastern Anatolia Region. On the other hand, the number of small-scale industrial facilities exceeded 10,000 in Izmir, and exceeded 5,000 in Bursa, Ankara, Konya and Manisa. In all the remaining provinces, the number of small-scale industrial facilities was over 1,000. Other cities in Turkey entered an important industrialization phase during this period, and as the number of facilities increased, new industrial areas emerged in different parts of Anatolia (Figure 6).

The fact that the industry in Turkey also began to improve in various provinces in a planned way brought about a dispersed population in Turkey. Indeed, the industrial investments made in and around Ankara from 1950 to 1970 brought forth a rapid increase in the population of the province and in 1970, the population of Ankara city exceeded 1 million. Izmir reached a population of over 500,000 while the population of Konya, Gaziantep, Manisa and Balıkesir exceeded 250,000. In addition, the population of all provincial cities in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, excluding Adıyaman, exceeded 100,000. In Eastern Anatolia, the population of provinces other than Malatya, Elazığ, Kars and Erzurum had yet to exceed 100,000 and the industrial facilities in these provinces were also very few in number. On the other hand, most of the provincial cities in the west of Anatolia, the Black Sea, Mediterranean and Central Anatolia exceeded 100,000 (Figure 7). When Figure 5 and Figure 6 are compared, it clear that this general population growth in Turkish cities shows parallelism with industrial facilities.

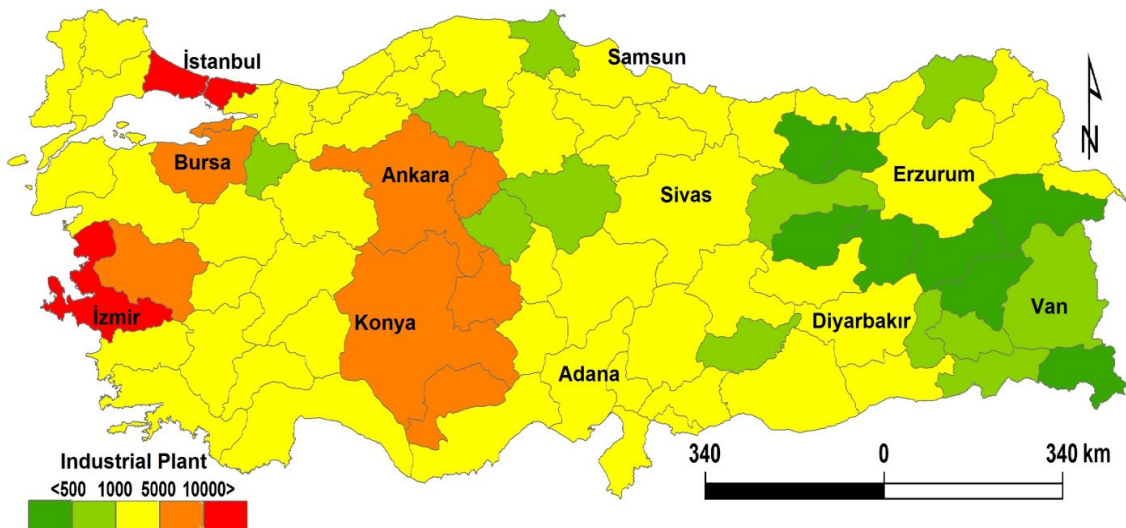


Figure 6. Spatial Distribution of the Small-Scale Industrial Plants in Turkey in 1970.

Source: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. (1976). Genel Sanayi ve İşyerleri Sayımı Temel Anket Sonuçları 1970. Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü.

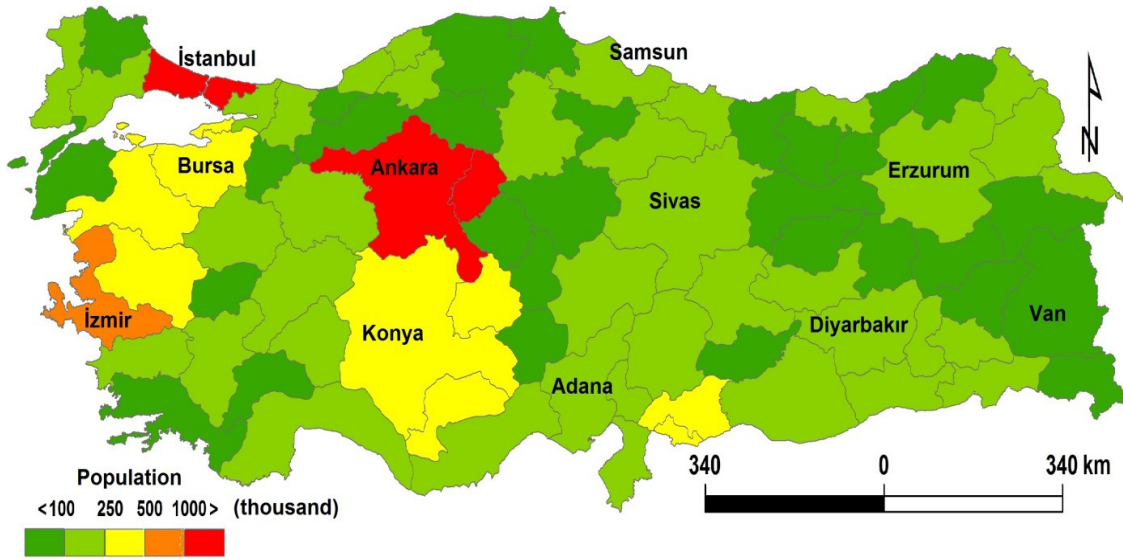


Figure 7. The amount of population in the cities in Turkey in 1970

Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. 1970 Genel Nüfus Sayımları.

New areas of industrial activity began to emerge in Turkey with new planning studies in the 1970s. Especially by the end of the 1960s, new incentive policies were developed along with Investment Incentives and the implementation of Priority Regions in Development attempted to be realized in order to prevent regional inequalities. Moreover, flour, sugar and textiles, which had an important place in the industry of Turkey since the first period of the Republic, began to be replaced by coal, fuel and iron in the 1960s. In the 1970s, it can be seen that the automotive industry, which started to gain an important place in Turkey in the 1960s, came to the fore. Major automotive brands such as Ford, Fiat and Renault made significant investments hand in hand with domestic capital in Turkey.

When these plans are evaluated in terms of the emphasis placed on industry, the targeted rate of fixed capital investment in the manufacturing industry in the first plan was 16.9% while the realization rate was 20.4% in the same period. Likewise, during the period of the second plan, the target rate of 22.4% was realized as 26.8% at the end of the plan. Finally, in the third plan period, manufacturing industry investments, which were targeted as 31.1%, were realized as 28.2%. The role of industry in development during the planned development period is undeniable especially when the manufacturing industry's development course in the three plans is taken into consideration (Table 1). In contrast to the manufacturing industry, there were downward trends in terms of targeted and realized investments in agriculture. Agricultural investments, which were targeted as 17.7% in the first plan period, were realized as 13.9% at the end of the period and the

investment rate targeted as 15.2% in the second plan was 11.1% at the end of the period. The target share in the agricultural area, which was 11.7% in the last plan period, was realized as 11.8% (Table 1). In addition to agriculture, the fixed capital investments in the housing sector are understood to have exceeded the target decided during the three plan periods. In the first plan, the targeted rate of housing investments was 20.3% while the realized rate was 22.4%. In addition to this, while the investment targeted for the second plan fell to 17.9%, the realization rate of the investment remained above the target with 20.1%. In the last plan, the targeted investment rate for housing investments was 15.7% and the realized investment rate was 16.9%.

This period, in which Turkey turned especially towards petrochemical, iron and steel, automotive and mining industries instead of agriculture-based industry, slowed down due to the oil crisis and the Cyprus Peace Operation that arose towards the midst of the 1970s. The start of right-left conflicts in Turkey in the period following these events would later lead to the January 24, 1980 economic resolutions and the 1980 Turkish coup d'état on September 12 that would reshape the economic and political life in Turkey.

In the 1970s, the central industrial areas of today's Turkey roughly began to take shape. When the general distribution of small-scale industrial areas is looked at, it can be seen that Ankara also reached over 10,000 small industrial facilities, just like Istanbul and Izmir. Adana, on the other hand, entered a growth trend especially with the support of private capital and reached more than 5,000 small industrial facilities. In addition, in other provinces of Turkey, a picture that is similar to the situation in 1970 can be seen (Figure 8). When the distribution of the industrial facilities with more than 10 workers is looked at, there was a density based in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa and Ankara in 1964, and in 1980 not only did the number of large-scale industrial facilities increase in these provinces but also these provinces were joined by cities including Balıkesir, Manisa, Aydın, Denizli, Konya, Eskişehir, Kayseri, Adana, Gaziantep, Zonguldak and Samsun which are also today's important industrial and commercial cities. Similarly, while the number of large-scale industrial facilities in the provinces of Malatya, Elazığ and Van in Eastern Anatolia exceeded 10, it is noteworthy that there was an increase in Diyarbakır in the Southeastern Anatolia Region. When Figure 3 and Figure 8 are compared against each other, it is clear that there was a significant increase in the number of industrial facilities employing more than 10 workers throughout Turkey, except for some of the provinces in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions, during a 16-year period in Turkey (Figure 4 and Figure 9).

By the year 1980, there was also a rapid increase in the population of cities in Turkey. During this period, the city populations of Adana, Gaziantep, Konya and Bursa increased to over 500,000. The population increase in these provinces was in parallel with the development of large-scale industry. Other cities that followed included Kayseri, Manisa, Zonguldak, Balıkesir, Eskişehir and Samsun as they exceeded the population threshold of 250,000. While these cities already had an industrial infrastructure, Mersin and Hatay which stood out with their port advantage, as well as Kocaeli located in the hinterland of Istanbul were newcomers to the ranks of rapidly growing cities thanks to industrialization. Apart from this, it is also possible to say that there was a rapid urbanization process in Turkey between the years 1970-80 without being dependent on industrialization. As a matter of fact, all the provincial centers in the Marmara region, except Bilecik, and all the provincial centers in the Aegean and Southeastern Anatolia regions exceeded the population threshold of 100,000. While only the city of Burdur could not reach a population of 100,000 in the Mediterranean region, Hakkari, Bitlis, Muş, Bingöl and Erzincan in the Eastern Anatolia region, Çankırı, Kırşehir and Nevşehir in the Central Anatolia region and Artvin, Rize, Gümüşhane, Bayburt, Sinop and Kastamonu in the Black Sea region also remained below a population of 100,000 (Figure 10). In this period, most of the provinces that could not exceed the population threshold of 100,000 could not increase in population due to the disadvantages created by their geographical location, especially given the transportation drawbacks, while another part could just not find development opportunities due to being located nearby big cities. Therefore, it is possible to say that industrialization in Turkey largely took its present form in 1980 and that the population moved accordingly.

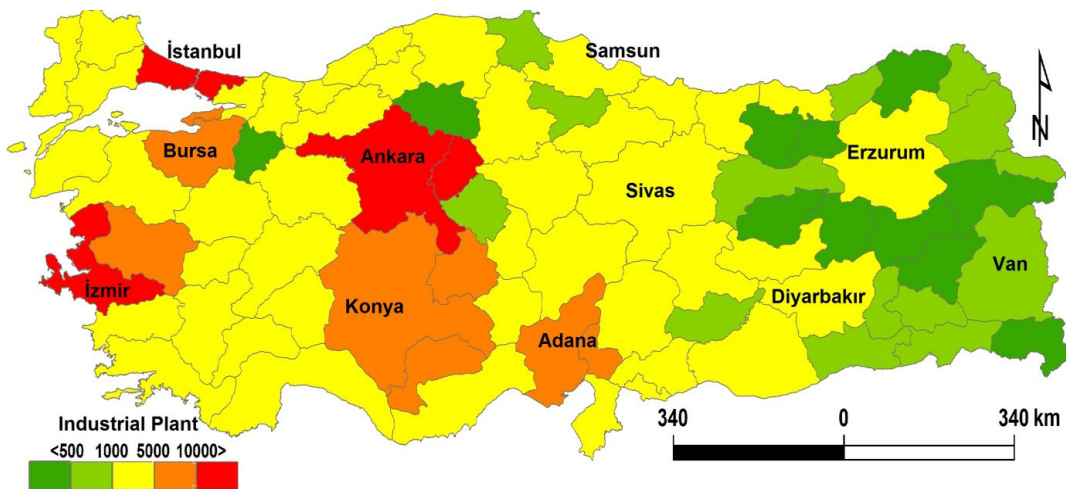


Figure 8. Spatial Distribution of the Small-Scale Industrial Facilities According to the Provinces in Turkey in 1980.

Source: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. (1982). *1980 Genel Sanayi ve İşyerleri Sayımı II Küçük İmalat Sanayi (Geçici Sonuçlar)*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası.

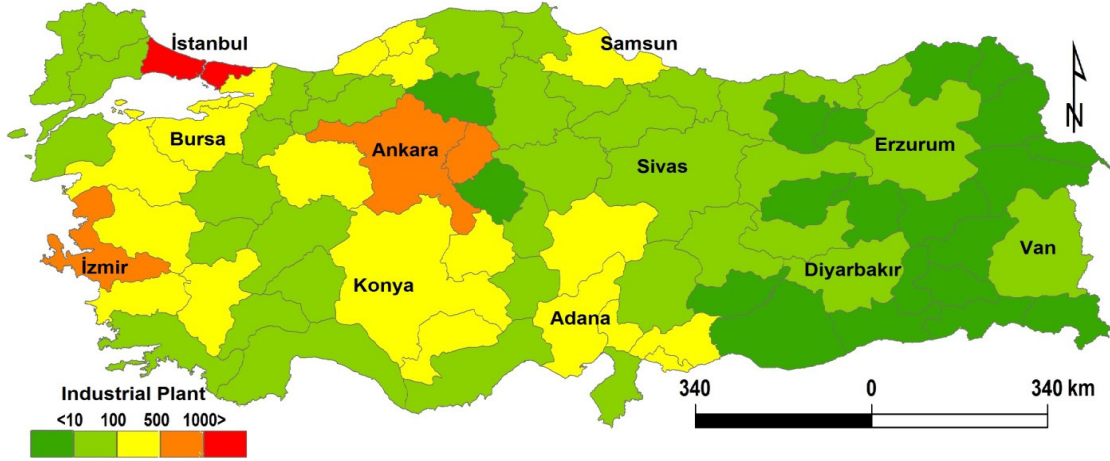


Figure 9. Spatial distribution of large industrial plant in Turkey in 1980

Source: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. (1985). *1980 Genel Sanayi ve İşyerleri Sayımı İkinci Aşama Sonuçları I Büyük İmalat Sanayi*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü.

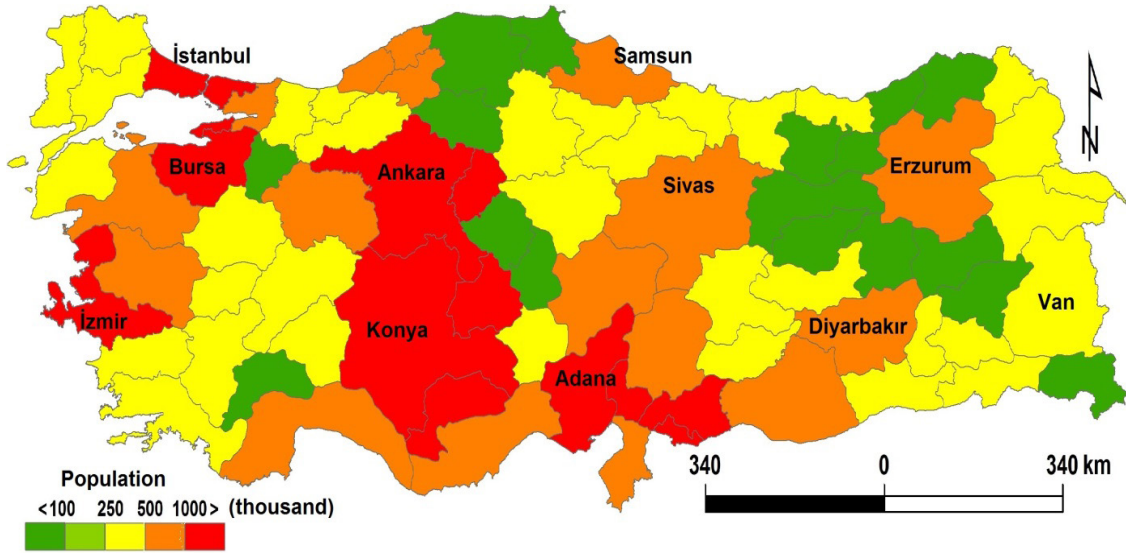


Figure 10. The amount of population in the cities in Turkey in 1980

Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. 1980 Genel Nüfus Sayımları.

When looking at the investment sources among the sectors, some details attract attention. For example, the fixed capital investments realized in the third plan covering the years between 1973-1977 amounted to 626 billion TL in total, in 1976 prices. While 319.6 billion TL of this amount was realized in the form of public investments, the remaining 306.4 billion TL was made by the private sector. In the same period, the total planned capital investment in the manufacturing industry was 215.8 billion TL while the actual investment was 176.8 billion TL. Although the planned and realized investments could not be met, it is understood that the realization in the manufacturing industry had a high ratio of 81.9% in total. Furthermore, the superiority of the manufacturing industry in

terms of the amount of investment realized among sectors is remarkable. In the same period, the closest investment to the manufacturing industry was realized in the housing area with 108.3 billion TL. The doubled difference is remarkable. It is understood that the private sector was slightly ahead of the public sector in fixed capital investments realized in the manufacturing industry during the third planned period. The public sector investment target of 105.9 billion TL was realized as 76.7 billion TL (72.4%) while the private sector investments targeted at 109.9 billion TL were realized as 100.1 billion TL (91.1%) (Table 2). From this point of view, it can be said that public investments in the manufacturing industry had a greater part in the non-achievement of the desired target.

Table 2. Sectoral Distribution of Fixed Capital Investments in 1976 Prices (%)

		First Five-Year Development Plan 1963-1967		Second Five-Year Development Plan 1968-1972		Third Five-Year Development Plan 1973-1977	
Sectors	Planned Goal	Realization	Planned Goal	Realization	Planned Goal	Realization	
Agriculture	17.7	13.9	15.2	11.1	11.7	11.8	
Mining	5.4	5.6	3.7	3.3	5.8	3.7	
Manufacturing	16.9	20.4	22.4	26.8	31.1	28.2	
Energy	8.6	6.5	8.0	9.0	8.5	7.4	
Transportation	13.7	15.6	16.1	16.0	14.5	20.6	
Tourism	1.4	1.3	2.3	2.1	1.6	1.0	
Housing	20.3	22.4	17.9	20.1	15.7	16.9	
Education	7.1	6.6	6.7	4.7	5.0	3.3	
Health	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.1	
Other Services	6.6	5.9	5.9	5.4	4.7	6.0	

Source: DPT. (1979). Dördüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1979-1983. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı.

Due to the complexity of its targeted social and political structure, the sharp deteriorations seen in the economy, the constant increase of foreign debt, the rapid increase in inflation, and the rapid decline of foreign exchange reserves (Yenal, 2003: 94), the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan should be evaluated separately from the first three plans. This is due to the plan being implemented with a one year delay. For this reason, the first three development plans were taken as basis in this study. The magnitude of social conflict, the start of separatist movements, the deteriorations in the economy before 1980 and the September 12 intervention in the country after 1980, provide evidence that the environment in which the plan was implemented was not healthy.

The social and economic conditions that created the September 12, 1980 intervention should be considered separately. Political conflicts, especially in cities, are considered

to be the most important cause of the September 12. However, the most important reason for the September 12, 1980 intervention was the deterioration experienced in the economy. Especially the disappearance of the sustainability of the import-substituting policies in the industrialization policy required the introduction of a new model. Under the influence of this economic structure, Turkey introduced the January 24 resolutions, which are a series of harsh and sharp measures to the extent that was never experienced before.

Table 3. Fixed Capital Investments Realized in the 3rd Development Plan (by 1976 Prices, in Billion TL).

	State			Private			Total		
	Plan	Realization	Realization Rate (%)	Plan	Realization	Realization Rate (%)	Plan	Realization	Realization Rate (%)
Agriculture	42.9	32.3	75.3	38.3	41.7	41.7	81.2	74.0	91.1
Mining	33.0	21.3	64.6	7.1	1.7	1.7	40.1	23.0	57.4
Manufacturing	105.9	76.7	72.4	109.9	100.1	91.1	215.8	176.8	81.9
Energy	54.4	44.9	82.5	4.7	1.3	27.7	59.1	46.2	78.2
Transportation	78.6	79.4	101.0	21.3	49.4	231.9	99.9	128.8	128.9
Tourism	4.2	2.8	66.7	6.9	3.5	50.7	11.1	6.3	56.8
Housing	5.4	6.8	125.9	102.9	99.3	96.5	108.3	106.1	98.0
Education	32.8	19.9	60.7	1.7	0.7	41.2	34.5	20.6	59.7
Health	9.4	6.4	69.2	0.4	0.4	100	9.8	6.8	70.4
Other Services	23.4	29.1	124.4	8.6	8.3	96.5	32.0	37.4	116.9
Total	390.0	319.6	82.0	301.8	306.4	306.4	691.8	626.0	90.5

Source: DPT. (1979). *Dördüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1979-1983*. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı.

Urbanization movements between 1950 and 1980 were also largely associated with the industry. Indeed, the migrations during this period were largely from rural parts of cities, and partly from east to west, and were largely different from the migration movements after 1980.

However, the intervention of September 12, 1980 not only changed the social atmosphere but also formed the beginning of a switch from import-substituting policies to export-oriented economic policies. This changing of economic understanding was realized as a result of the neoliberalist restructuring policies of the resolutions of January 24, 1980⁸. Undoubtedly, the January 24, 1980 resolutions contained such strict measures that had not been seen before in the history of the Republic of Turkey. Some of the main objectives of the resolutions were to take high inflation under control, and to ensure the equilibrium of domestic supply and demand and the balance of payments abroad. Some drastic changes were also stipulated within the scope of these objectives. The basis of the January 24 resolutions consist of the transition from an import-substituting

⁸ For a detailed analysis of the structural features and the ending of the Keynesian period, and the effects of the subsequent neoliberal structuring process, see: Keyder, Ç. (2004). *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

industrialization model to an export-oriented industrialization model; implementation of a realistic exchange rate policy; determination of price controls according to market conditions; transformation of SEEs through reforms; reducing public expenditures; and, opening of some state monopoly production areas to domestic and foreign private capital (Ulugay, 1983: 13-16).

Undoubtedly, the January 24 resolutions are Turkish versions of the neoliberal restructuring economic policies identified with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan throughout the world. The lack of a social and political structure to implement these resolutions which can be considered sharp, caused Turkey to face a military intervention for a third time. In retrospect, the political parties' voting concerns and the presence of a confrontational environment made the implementation of these resolutions difficult, and Turkey only found the chance to implement the resolutions in the appropriate environment provided by the military intervention of September 12, 1980 (Ulugay, 1983: 20-21). The economic and social effects created by the resolutions after 1980, as well as the effects created by the neoliberal economy model in the industry and economy are quite wide. These have therefore been left to be the subject of another study.

Looking at the spatial development and distribution of the industries in Turkey between 1950-1980, it can be said that it was developed largely on the frameworks from the 1923-1950 period (Sönmez & Ayik, 2018). Indeed, during the unplanned period of 1950-1960 and the planned period of 1960-1980, although new industrial centers emerged, investments were made mainly in the existing areas and the disparity in the regional distribution of the industry in Turkey could not be eliminated.

Conclusion

It is observed that the industry in Turkey gained significant momentum in the period between 1950-1980; production diversity increased; and the spatial distribution changed, even if in part, with the emergence of new industrial areas. Especially with the development of road transport in the 1950s, rural and urban areas in Turkey became closer, and the areas where there was no railway network were integrated with other areas. This began to reduce industry dependence on the railway network in Turkey and affected spatial distribution, albeit partially. In addition, since the early years of the Republic, agriculture-based industries such as flour, sugar and textiles, which do not require much capital and energy and do not have raw material problems, were replaced first by coal and then by oil and iron and then, towards the end of the period, a transition was experienced towards the automotive industry which is also the leading important export product for Turkey today. Thus, while the importance of ports such as Mersin, Iskenderun and Zonguldak gradually increased during this period, provinces such as Ankara, Bursa, Izmir and Istanbul and their surrounding areas achieved a faster rate

of industrialization thanks to the automotive industry. Besides, with the emergence of Organized Industrial Zones established by the SPO in a planned manner, provinces such as Manisa, Mersin, Adana, Bursa, Gaziantep and Kayseri began to emerge as new industrial centers. On the other hand, boosts of industrialization in most parts of Turkey, especially in the Southeastern, Eastern Anatolia and Black Sea regions, were insufficient. Not only the policies applied during these periods, but also the geographical conditions had a great impact on these areas falling behind in terms of industrialization and, therefore, economically. It can be seen that the areas where transportation could not be developed, or where the transportation network fell behind due to natural conditions, remained beyond the industrialization stage. On the other hand, industrialization made great progress in areas that have both an important port and a developed and co-existing road and rail transportation. In addition, proximity to raw materials or energy sources were influential in the Turkish industry in the period of 1950-1980 as in the early years of the Republic, also as in today. For example, Karabük became the preference for the iron and steel industry as it provided the similar conditions.

The spatial distribution of industry in Turkey affected the most the population's spatial distribution in the period between 1950-1980, as was the case in other periods. Indeed, some of today's mega cities heavily increased in population as a result of the policies pursued in the industrialization during this period. In particular, the employment created by industrialization accelerated migration from east to west, particularly from rural areas, and established the core of the slum areas that today cover about 50% of metropolitan cities. Moreover, while migrations occurred between 1950 and 1980 were mostly employment oriented and slower, some migrations that occurred after 1980 were compulsory, more dispersed and randomly selected. Particularly, in provincial centers where large investments were made, populations increased more rapidly, and these centers started to receive immigrants from their surrounding areas. This caused these emerging industrial centers to suppress other areas and prevent their own development and caused the industry to be clustered around certain centers in Turkey.

As a result, the period between 1950-1980 in Turkey was a time when industrialization tended to develop, although not in a very planned manner and showed relative shifts towards different areas, based on the development of road transportation and when the iron, coal, oil and automotive industries, in addition to the agriculture-based industry, were also developed and, consequently, the way was paved for new industrial centers.

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DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF MATHEMATICS AND MATHEMATICS EDUCATION IN TURKEY DURING THE PERIOD OF 1938-1980

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Introduction

When the Republic of Turkey was founded there was a drive to keep up with contemporary civilization and an ambition even to go beyond. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk tried to pave the way for the modernization based on reason and wisdom by pointing out the fact that a civilization without science cannot be modern. As in all areas, these efforts are seen in the areas of science and technology. In the newly founded Republic, basic principles relating to science and technology are more often taught in educational institutions. Hence, developing education in scientific areas in an institutional manner and educating scientists have become a necessity. As in other scientific areas, it has been aimed to achieve advancements in the field of mathematics. In fact in the later times of Ottoman Empire era, the modernization of education began with opening institutions that were mainly using mathematics. In order to see the whole picture regarding the advancements in the field of mathematics, it is necessary to focus on the produced works of mathematicians along with the developments of the mathematics teacher education as well as changes introduced into mathematics curricula documents. In this study, therefore, we consider the developments in each of these topics during the years of 1938-1980.

Developments in Mathematics regarding Undergraduate and Graduate degrees and Academic Studies

Some institutions, subjected to radical reforms, have become scientific research centers with their new names and functions. One of the schools subjected to this transformation was Dar ul-Funun. The foundation of this institution dates back to 1846 with attempts to establish a university in compliance with Western models, it has not been fully functionalized until 1900 in Istanbul (Unat, 1964, p. 59; Ihsanoglu, 1993).



Figure 1. Dar ul-Funun Madrasa which was Opened in Istanbul in 1900 (Hurriyet, 2019)

Attached to Dar ul-Funun, the department of Mathematics and Natural Sciences was opened. In this department, instructions were shaped with mathematics curriculum borrowed from the Western universities. However, there were not important contributions to the field of mathematics with an impact on the international arena (Altintas, 2001). Also, mathematics education in Dar ul-Funun aimed to prepare mathematics teachers rather than educating mathematicians. Generally, in this period, we can see the production of textbooks that introduced the basics of contemporary mathematics. These books were more concerned with the transmission of mathematical knowledge already accumulated in Europe than the production of novel and original mathematics. With the University Reform Act introduced in 1933, the name of Dar ul-Funun changed as Istanbul University (Ergun, 1996).

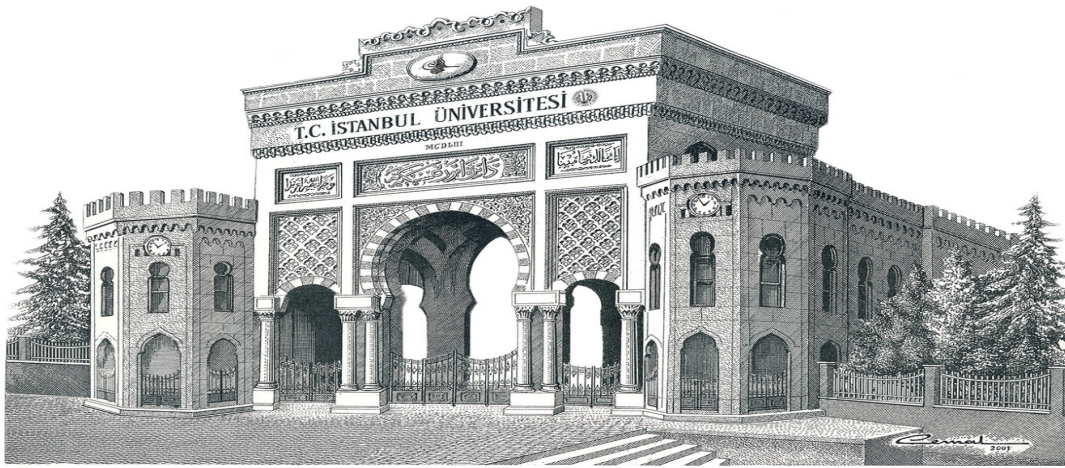


Figure 2. The Gate of Istanbul University Founded in 1933

In this new era, Mathematics Institution within the Faculty of Science, mathematics education gained acceleration with the specialists coming from abroad, especially from Germany. In these years, by bringing some scientists that were unhappy with the regime shift in Germany, such as Richard Edler von Mises and William Prager, they were given the opportunity to deliver mathematics lectures. In fact, Richard Edler von Mises was assigned as the head of Mathematics Institution. In this institution, lectures started on analysis, number theory, general mathematics, advanced algebra, and analytic geometry. There were eminent mathematicians among the members of staff in the institutions including Ali Yar delivering the algebra lectures taught at Dar ul-Funun and Kerim Erim owning the title of the first Turk with a PhD degree in Mathematics. Later, some other important figures joined the team such as Cahit Arf, Ratip Berker and Ferruh Semin who completed their graduate studies at mathematics in the abroad.

Kerim Erim and especially with his algebra studies, Cahit Arf's contributions cannot be ignored in the education of young researcher mathematicians in Turkey since 1930s

and in the occurrence of a new mathematician generation since 1940s. Studies that were carried out in this period began to be published in the Journal of Science Faculty (Duru, 2019).

During these years, in other words in the 1930s, when analyzing the studies in Turkey regarding mathematics, it is also possible to chance upon Atatürk's studies in this context. Between 1936 and 1937, at the Dolmabahce Palace, Atatürk wrote a book of geometrical terms which was published by the Ministry of Culture as a guidance for those who taught geometry and write books on this subject. In the 48 paged book, Atatürk suggested using terms such as geometry instead of "hendese", angle instead of "zaviye", plus instead of "zait", diameter instead of "kuter" and explained 142 geometric terms and definitions with figures and examples (Topçu, 2016). From 1938, on Atatürk's command, when new textbooks which included new terms were being published the new mathematical terms began to appear in textbooks.

During the 1940s, together with faculty members who study for doctorates at Istanbul University at the department of mathematics, Turkish mathematicians have carried out important studies in algebra, geometry, functions theory and topology areas. In 1941, Patrick Du Val, who was from the British Algebraic Geometry School, came to Istanbul University Faculty of Science and studied with Cahit Arf in the area of algebraic geometry. Patrick Du Val stayed in Turkey for 8 years (Ishakoglu, 1993). Under Du Val's consultancy, in 1947, between the years of 1947 and 1948, Macit Bukey has published two important studies (Topcu, 1998). The Mathematics Institution, ongoing until the 1950s, later on divided into more branches such as analysis, algebra and number theory, geometry and applied mathematics. In 1981, after the foundation of The Council of Higher Education, these branches were transformed into departments. These are the departments of Analysis and Functions Theory, Algebra and Number Theory, Geometry, Topology, Applied Mathematics, Fundamentals of Mathematics and Mathematical Logic. Each day new departments were added. This was due to the fact that the dynamics of mathematics shows rapid improvement when interacting with other sciences. As a result of this improvement, in the world of mathematics according to the classification of the Mathematical Review, mathematics is divided into over 60 subbranches and with dissociation of these subbranches, it has been divided into 544 different branches (Altintas, 2001, p. 225).

In 1944, Istanbul Technical University was founded. Foundations of this university were laid in Hendese-i Mulkiye School (Technical School of Engineering). This school adopted the name of Muhendis Mekteb-i Alisi (Certified Engineering School) in 1909 by engaging with the Ministry of Public Works. This civil school was turned into a Certified Engineering School in 1928. Adopting the name of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) in 1944, mathematics lectures were delivered via certified mathematics sections in faculties

of mechanics and architecture. In the faculty of civil engineering, they were carried out in the geometry section. Here, studies were generally geared towards applied mathematics. As well as Turkish professors, well-known foreign professors like Rudolf Weyrich, Heinz Horninger, Revuz and Deheuvels gave lectures (Senkon, 2004). However, since the purpose of this university was education, there were not enough mathematicians to improve mathematical science in Turkey. Mathematicians working here had not had enough students and their limited number of students could not carry out research in mathematics in the harsh conditions of that time. Bringing together all the mathematics sections at Istanbul Technical University, a new department called the Department of Mathematics Engineering was established in 1971. This department, which was a first in the world, was perhaps regarded as strange in the beginning. However, since it was thought of as a way of getting into Faculties of Science for students who had a strong slant towards mathematics in 1970s, the Department of Mathematics Engineering achieved its purpose to some extent.

In 1948, research into mathematics began to be carried out within the Faculty of Science of Ankara University. Cengiz Ulucay (functions theory) and Saffet Suray (1914-1983) (differential geometry and mechanics), who were educated at Lille University in France, were among the first mathematicians in the department. A group of seven mathematicians from Turkey participated in VII. International Mathematics Congress, which took place in Paris in 1948 and their studies won general approval in this congress. Ord. Prof. Dr. Kerim Erim was selected to the management committee of Congress. The eighth of the aforementioned congress (VIII. International Mathematics Congress) took place in Istanbul. During this period, textbooks in different areas of mathematics continued to be written (Picture 3,4).

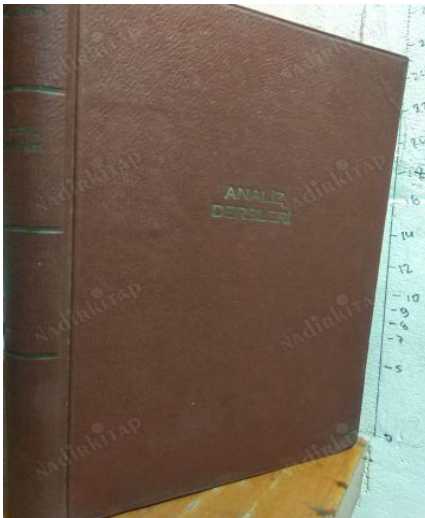


Figure 3. Kerim Erim, Analiz Dersleri, Diferensiyel ve İntegral Hesap, kısım I, 459 sayfa. 17x24 cm, 1948, 2. Basım, İÜ yayımları



Figure 4. Saffet Süray, Ankara Üniversitesi Fen Fakültesi, 1947, Yayın Yeri: İstanbul

The scientific studies movement, starting with reform in 1933, was interrupted because of the economic difficulties between the years of 1955-1960 (Inonu, 1973). Until 1960, Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University and Ankara University were the mathematical study centers after which new centers were added. From 1960, Ege University and from 1964, Middle East Technical University's department of mathematics started to provide education. Subsequently, together with the foundation of respectively Ataturk University, Hacettepe University and Bogazici University, the number of lecturers in mathematics and in parallel to this, the number of papers increased (Altintas, 2011, p. 224-225; Binbasioglu, 2014, p. 522-523). Between the years of 1923 and 1963, Turkey published 477 related articles with mathematical content. 336 of these articles were implemented in several universities in Turkey and 141 of these articles were implemented in several universities abroad (Inonu, 1975).

In 1963, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) was established to support scientific research. As in many branches, this institution has also supported young talented students in mathematics with scholarship opportunities and contributed to the development of mathematics in the period. of the Republic. Thus, students who were sent abroad for graduate education in mathematics lead the way in different universities when they came back home. Nowadays, in each year four different awards are given to the citizens of Republic of Turkey by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK). These awards are; Science, Service, Encouragement and Technology Encouragement Award. Also TUBITAK participated in a science award program initiated by TWAS (Third World Academy of Sciences) in 1992. Each year this award is given in the areas of mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology alternately. Also in 1968, as a result of Cahit Arf's demands and persistence, who was the Chair of Scientific Institution in those times, the Applied Mathematics Unit was established within the scope of ITU Faculty of Civil Engineering by TUBITAK. TUBITAK established research institutions or units within the scope of some universities and gathered there scientists who did not want to take on overwhelming routine work such as an excessive teaching load or consultancy. The unit which was affiliated with the Marmara Research Center (MAM) in 1972, affiliated with the Fundamental Sciences Research Institute which was established in 1983 with the efforts of Erdal Inonu and was named "Department of Applied Mathematics." This institute's other name was "Department of Pure Mathematics." At this unit's core were names such as Erdogan Suhubi, Mithat Idemen and Emin Erdogan and the name and the place of this unit changed from time to time. The unit carried out its studies under the chairmanship of Suhubi until 1985 and by the end of 1996 it was under the chairmanship of Idemen (Kalaycioglu, 2009).

In 1971, with the Rector of Istanbul University Prof. Dr. Nazim Terzioğlu (1912-

1976)'s efforts, the "Mathematics Research Institute", linked with Faculty of Science, was established for the purpose of providing the mathematicians a way to share their knowledge and ideas. He established a mathematics library, consisting of about 2000 books which were bought and donated from abroad. He himself also published many books and articles on mathematics (e.g, See Picture 5).

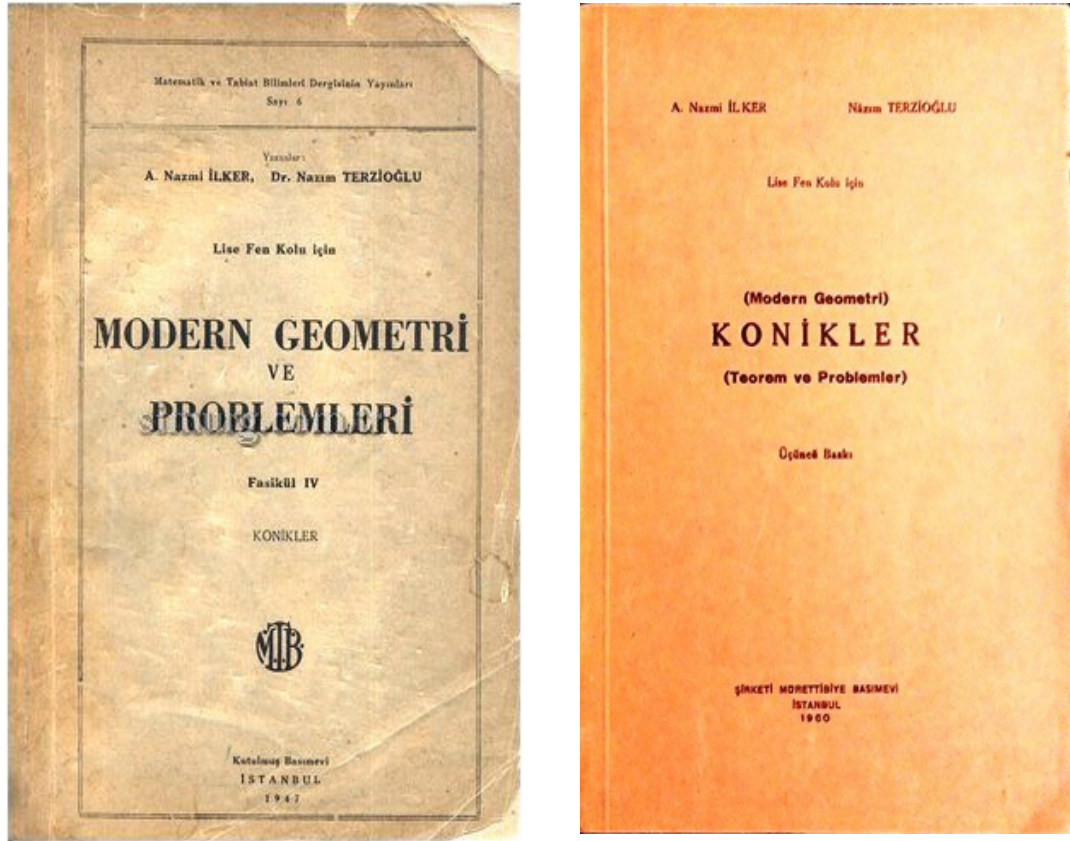


Figure 4. Examples of Books Written by Nazim Terzioğlu (Biography)

Several international scientific meetings were held via the Mathematics Research Institute. Due to his contributions to the institute, the institute was named after Nazim Terzioğlu who passed away in 1976 and then the institute's name was changed to "Istanbul University, Faculty of Science, Nazim Terzioğlu Mathematics Research Institute." In 1982, YOK changed the institute's name to "Istanbul University, Faculty of Science, Nazim Terzioğlu Mathematics Research Center" (Senkon, 2004). The IV. Scientific Congress of the Balkan Mathematicians Association, which was gathered in Istanbul in 1971 with the backing of Nazim Terzioğlu was the first international scientific meeting to be held in Turkey which was solely mathematics in content.

From time to time bibliographies were written on developments in Turkey regarding mathematics such as Erdal Inonu's A Bibliography of Turkish Mathematics Researches in the Period of 1923-1966 and Some Observations and was co-written by Safak Alpay and Alev Terzioğlu's A Bibliography of Turkish Mathematics in the Period of 1967-1982. In 1973, Prof. Dr. Erdal Inonu published a bibliography of mathematics researches

and a total of 660 articles of which 148 different names were determined (Inonu, 1973).

Developments in Educating Teachers of Mathematics

Along with the foundation of the Republic, some regulations were made primarily on schools and on the content of education given by these schools. By the 1928-1929 school year, the Ankara Gazi Secondary School and the Education Institute was opened and started to serve as an institution that educates mathematics teachers to teach at the secondary school institutions (Picture 5).



Picture 5. Ankara Gazi Secondary School and Education Institute (Tamsanat)

The Secondary School and Education Institute moved from Konya to Ankara, in November 1929 with Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boys' Education Institute which was located in Ankara and these two schools were joined under a single roof as Gazi Education School and Training Institute (Aydin, 2011). However, in 1932, the Boys' Elementary School was axed and in that year it was turned into Gazi Secondary Education School and Training Institute. Instead of the axed school, Gazi High School, with English teaching, and a paid boarding school, was opened. The high school was moved to a separate building in 1936-1937 school year and English teaching was dropped. In the 1946-1947 school year, with the purpose of serving more pupils with less teachers, Turkish, History- Geography, Mathematics, Departments of Physical and Natural Sciences were reunited under the name of "Department of Block Courses." In 1948-1949 school year, this department was divided into two as "Science" and "Letters" (Akyuz, 2007, p. 387).

The second phase of the 1960s was the phase of erecting new buildings, enriching teaching staff and it was when departmental differentiation increased due to the desire of

fulfilling the country's need for teachers. The number of departments were increased by opening three new departments namely; Mathematics, Social Studies and Art Training. The names of Departments of Science and Letters were changed to Science and Biology and Turkish (Sakaoglu, 1992). English, in 1967-1968 school year, German and French, in 1968-1969 school year, Music, in 1973-1974 school year were added to the newly opened departments. By 1967-1968 school year, after the amendment of Regulation of Educational Institutes' second article, institutes education period was extended to three years. In the 1971-1972 school year, assistant staff were given to each department of Izmir Institute of Education; however, no records showing that these staff were used were found (Sahin, 2011, p. 1125).

Starting as a pilot scheme in Turkey, the Department of Elementary School was established in the 1992-1993 school year with the purpose of educating teachers for 6th, 7th and 8th grades with elementary school teachers. This started to be opened in several locations along with the end of 1980s and the current Department of Elementary School Teaching was changed to the Department of Elementary School Teaching. In this department, respectively Department of Science Teaching (1992-1993), Department of Mathematics Teaching (1998-1999), Department of Early Childhood Education (1998-1999) and Department of Social Sciences (1998-1999) were opened (Sahin, 2011, p. 1130).

Overview of the National Education Councils Within the Framework of Mathematics Education

National Education Councils hold an important place in Turkey's education system. Seen as a consulting body, National Education Councils determine policies regarding education and take decisions within this framework. General topics mainly on education are taken into consideration in Councils, which have been held every three or four years since 1939. Within the framework of this research each council is analyzed in terms of decisions regarding the education of mathematics.

At the 1st National Education Council, held on July 17-29, 1939, it was decided that the textbooks that were to be taught in Turkey were to be a common and single book, and to be prepared and published by the Ministry of National Education. Also, it was decided that the important courses such as mathematics were to be taught before noon and free and common activities were to be undertaken after noon under the teacher's supervision (Ministry of National Education (MEB), 2017a).

At the 2nd National Education Council, held on February 15-21, 1943, it was decided for vocational and technical schools' textbooks to be written separately and historical readings to be added to these textbooks (MEB, 2017b).

At the 3rd National Education Council, held on December 2-10, 1946, it was suggested that there were some difficulties in educating branch teachers in quantitative terms depending on the increasing number of secondary schools. Within this framework, in the 1946-1947 school year, the Ankara Gazi Secondary Teacher Education School and Training Institute, Balıkesir Necatibey Secondary Teacher Education School and Istanbul and Izmir Boys' Teacher Education Schools were turned into education institutes. At Gazi Education Institute, by means of the opening of "Department of Block Courses", courses such as Turkish, and Chemistry were started to be taught as a block course, however, after two years of trial it was not successful. In 1948-1949 school year, this department was divided into two as Science and Letters (MEB, 2017c).

At the 4th National Education Council, held between August 23-31, 1949, it was decided that educating teachers for secondary and high schools was to be regulated according to the needs of the education institutes and high school teachers organization. As of the 1967-1968 school year, the Department of Science was divided into Science and Biology and the Mathematics Department of Letters was divided into the Department of Turkish and Social Studies and as of the 1968-1969 school year all department's education period was extended to 3 years (MEB, 2017d and Batir, 2008, p. 524).

At the 9th National Education Council, held from June 24 to July 4, 1974, mathematics course content was particularly grasped for the first time. Within this framework, it was decided that the works to be continued for modern ideas were to appear in programs by reviewing elementary and secondary school's mathematics programs and a single book to be written by means of opening competition or establishing a commission (Rule-86). In addition, it was decided that the research project regarding modern science and mathematics programs was to be continued in 100 high schools and 89 elementary schools and for these programs to be applied in some high schools together with some technical and vocational high schools on trial according to potentiality and conditions (MEB, 2017e).

Developments within the Framework of Mathematics Curriculum

In the history of the Republic, revision works were periodically done on curriculums to be applied at kindergarten, elementary, secondary and high school levels. Within this framework, curriculums were improved regarding mathematics education on elementary, secondary and high school levels as part of content in 1924 for the first time. It can be seen that apart from some partial revisions on elementary, secondary and high school levels, radical revisions were made in almost every decade. For example; revisions on elementary curriculums were made in 1926, 1936, 1948, 1968, 1983, 1990, 1998, 2005, 2013 and 2018. Within these curriculums, mathematics curriculums were also revised. In all curriculums, weekly course hours are close to each other and these hours can vary from 4 to 6 hours.

Mathematics lessons were taught in some curriculums as a separate course such as arithmetic and geometry (e.g, the curriculum of 1948) and sometimes as a single course under the title of mathematics (e.g, the curriculum of 1968). Only recognized for its cognitive aspect until 1960s in terms of curriculums; the purpose of mathematics education was highlighted referring to the development of students' affective and psychomotor skills from that date. Also, the necessity of allowing individual differences and constructing mathematics considering students' features were started to be highlighted (Ergun and Ark., 2016).

In 1977, in revised and applied secondary school mathematics curriculum, it is seen that mathematical content was detailed, its lines were drawn and its context was specified in a similar manner. Also, teachers were instructed on how to prepare questions for behaviors and explanations were made on multiple-choice questions. Sample evaluation questions and student observation forms are included in gym class curriculum.

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DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GEOGRAPHY AREA

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Introduction

Human beings depend on a place. This dependence requires him to understand and make sense of the place he lives in. The development of technology, the creation of new business, settlement and transportation conditions do not reduce dependence or increase it. Since the Eratosthenes period, the approach of mankind for two thousand years, recognizing, understanding and planning the geographical conditions in which mankind was born, solved most of the problems, and with the industrial revolution, the growth of the problems brought new perspectives and principles. Intricate analysis of many phenomena, from urban planning to overseas knowledge, from space technology to remote sensing methods, is important in terms of demonstrating the dimensions of geographic information needed in the 21st century.

He finished the classical period represented by Humboldt and Ritter in Europe, especially in Germany, and began the modern period, which continued until about 1945; After 1945, the “contemporary” period was entered. With the effect of the spread of geography in Germany at the level of primary and secondary education, the fact that academic geography is a university subject has been approved by the state. The chair of geography was established in Leipzig in 1871 and in Halle in 1873, and in 1874 the Prussian Government decided to establish such chairs at all public universities. Between 1871 and 1880, 11 chairs were established in Germany, and until 1914 the number of geography chairs rose to 23. The first department of geography in French universities was founded in 1809 in Sorbonne with the history. In 1893 another chair of geography was established in Lille, which later became an independent geography institute (Tümertekin and Özgüç, 2002).

It is difficult to think and evaluate the development stage of the geography in the Republican period from the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the developments in the geography science after Atatürk. According to Doğanay (1995), E. Obst, who was invited to establish and organize the first geography department, Istanbul University Geography Department, has important contributions. However, during the Second Constitutional Monarchy years, the department, which was sent abroad to study geography and returned to Turkey after completing their education, started to work in the department and gained the academic face of four celebrities like Faik Sabri Duran, Ali Macit Arda, Selim Mansur and Hamit Sadi Selen.

The establishment of the Darülfünun in 1846 during the Tanzimat Period, in which the important steps of the modernization and modernization of the Ottoman Empire were taken, should be considered as the period when the scientific step was taken. The process that started in 1846 could be considered institutionalized with the establishment of a geography department in 1915 and the official status of the Turkish Geographical Society in 1941. The process from the establishment of Darülfünun to the establishment of the Council of Higher Education is a milestone in the transition to modern geography.

Given the development process in terms of educational institutions and institutionalization period that characterizes one of the most important features, Turkey is seen as the modern Turkish state and the geography of the fall of the same year, almost equivalent to the organization. This situation makes it necessary to review the relationship between the spatiality of the nation-state in the world and the development of the discipline of geography and the role of Turkish geography through education in the institutionalization of the nation-state. This is meaningful both in the countries and schools where the first and second generation geographers who shape the Turkish geography are raised, as well as the role of the discipline of geography and geography (geography education) in the establishment of the nation-state process in the country (Özgür & Yavan, 2013).

According to Özgür and Yavan (2013), the first years of the republic corresponded to the establishment and institutionalization of modern Turkish geography and it is not possible to distinguish it strictly after the Atatürk period. During this period, the establishment of two geography departments in Istanbul (1915) and Ankara (1935), E. Obst (1915-1918), T. Lefebvre (1925-1928), E. Chaput (1928-1939), H. Louis (1936-1943) and WJ McCallien (1944-1950) to work in these departments during the establishment stage, the first Geography Congress (1941), the establishment of the Turkish Geography Institution (TCK) (1942), as the first period of institutional geographers The publication of the Turkish Journal of Geography (1943) is based on events that have influenced institutionalization, such as the National Education Ministers of the period until 1949 and the membership of the International Geographical Union (IGU) in the same year.

Two geography departments of our universities have been involved in education, training and research activities for a long time in our country, one of which was established in the Ottoman Empire and the other in the early years of the Republic. The first of these, Istanbul University Geography Institute-Department was laid during the First World War. In 1915, professors from Germany were brought together with the other branches of Darülfünun and the Ulûm-î Literary Branch, and a genuine Faculty of Literature was established, which had seminars and laboratories, and various departments and institutes. In the meantime, many teaching materials (collections of maps, wall plates, teaching instruments, research instruments, especially instruments for climatology research) brought from abroad by Erich Obst, professor of geography (then associate professor)

invited from Germany, and the Geography of Darülfünunu Osmani Darülmesai / Institute was established (Bilgin, 1961: 9).

Indeed, Assoc. Dr. Ferruh Ali guess is, in an exclusive interview (Ankara, 1993), depressed years, starting in Europe and because of the Nazis' repressive rule in Germany, Europe in particular had come to Ankara by accepting invitations from Turkey to scientists from Germany has expressed (Gümüştü, 1996: 165).

If we make a general limitation; covering the period 1915-1950 about 35 years in the foreign scientists who contributed to the geography of Turkey, including Istanbul and Ankara have served in our two universities. Istanbul University, Ord. Professor Dr. Erich Obst, Dr. Théodore Lefebvre and Prof. Dr. Ernest Chaput, Ankara University, Ord. Professor Dr. Herbert Louis and Professor Dr. William John McCallien is a foreign geographer. The last two of these geographers are discussed in this article and others in another previously published article (Ceylan, 2013: 311-351) without going into too much detail.

According to Kahya and Topdemir (2002), the scientific developments in the period are closely related to Atatürk's view of science as the founder and director of the state. Atatürk knows very well that science is at the heart of the development of the West.

After Atatürk's death on the one hand and developments related to geography in Turkey and is closely related to the developments occurring in the world. On the one hand, while science and scientific thought developed, on the other hand, II. World War, social transformation and changes, the transition from agriculture to industry, migration from village to city, many phenomena have developed and transformed scientific thinking and thus the science of geography.

Abroad from Turkey to the leading scientists of our country substantially all the years they served, while in the general classification made in the development of geography in Turkey, 1915-1933: 1933-1941 with the pioneers and the first steps of modern geography: the establishment and organization of the Turkish geography (Erinç, 1973: 4).

The first department established after the geography departments established at Istanbul University and Ankara Universities is Atatürk University Geography Department which has started to accept students since 1974-75 academic year. Erinç (1973) is one of the most important developments in the establishment of the nucleus of a geography department of Atatürk University. The existence and activity of a department that provides independent education is especially important in order to train geographers who will address the problems of nature in Anatolia. It seems meaningful that this section is directed to regional studies especially in terms of human-economic geography.

After Atatürk University, the fourth geography department was opened in Ege University in 1979. After the 80s, the number of departments, the number of academic staff, the number of students and the number of publications increased rapidly. One of the important developments that took place in the name of geography after the 80s is the transfer of teacher training to YÖK and the opening of Geography Education departments. Geography teachers were trained in the departments of Atatürk University Kazım Karabekir Education Faculty, Dokuz Eylül University Buca Education Faculty, Karadeniz Technical University Fatih Education Faculty, Selçuk University Education Faculty, Dicle University Ziya Gökalp Education Faculty, Balıkesir University Necatibey Education Faculty and Gazi University Gazi Education Faculty.

Institutional Structure of Geography

The study of Turkish History and the fact that Turkish Language and Geography are the subject of scientific studies are another important emphasis of the Atatürk Period. For this purpose, the Turkish Historical Investigation Society, which was established in 1931, aims to support culture and the production of scientific studies. The reason for the establishment of the Turkish Language Association in 1932 is the same opinion. Later, the Faculty of Language and History-Geography (1935) was one of the last links of the efforts of institutionalization of these areas, which Atatürk started in the Republican era with the emphasis on language, history and geography instead of being a literary faculty like its examples in the west (Gümüşçü and Apology, 2016; Sever & Koçoğlu, 2014).

The Faculty of Language, History and Geography, founded in 1935 by Atatürk's orders, in addition to revealing the inseparable integrity of history and geography as well as revealing the relationship between living and dead languages with history and geography, constitutes an integral part of Atatürk's homeland. history is very significant in terms of showing the relationship between geography. While Atatürk established the Turkish Historical Research Society in 1931 and the Turkish Language Examination Society in 1932, the late establishment of the Turkish Geography institution and its failure to attain an institutional structure like the other two institutions stand as one of the important problems of the present day, not only in the 1930s.

About 10 years after the establishment of the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Institute, under the auspices of Reisicumhur İsmet İnönü, under the auspices of the Deputy Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel, the officials who participated in the First Geography Congress held in Ankara between 6-21 June 1941 as founders 21.6.1941 and proposed the establishment of the Turkish Geography Institution. The application to the Governorate of Ankara on 30.01.1942 was obtained with the letter no. 2350 dated 12.3.1942. The Law of the Turkish Geographical Society was first published in the Journal of Ministry of Education Acts dated 30 March 1942 and numbered 126,

and was published in the copies of *Ulus* and *Cumhuriyet* Newspapers in April 5, 1942. The purpose of the Institution; Turkey and other places in the region and to work on the development and progress of the five sciences, to examine the geography of Turkey with scientific methods, eyle is to follow the progression of movement and geography universe (and Özbakan Ertekin, 2012). Until 1950, the Ministry of Education also served as the head of the institution. During this period, ministers such as Hasan Ali Yücel, Şemsettin Sirer and Hasan Tahsin Banguoğlu served as the president of the institution. After 1950, the presidency started with the election.

One of the important results of the first congress has been the formation of the seven geographical regions of Turkey. In his opening speech, Deputy Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel underlined four points according to Ertek (2012).

1. Geography curriculum (course) programs in primary, secondary and high schools,
2. Geographical terms and how to write geographical place names,
3. Geography textbooks,
4. Outline the naming of places and regions of Turkey.

Hasan Ali YÜCEL proposed the establishment of three commissions on these issues:

1. Program and Textbooks Commission (15 participants),
2. Term Commission (11 participants),
3. Turkey Geography Commission (19 participants)

According to Erinç (1973), the First Geography Congress convened in 1941 is a scientifically superior achievement and the most important turning point in the development of Turkish Geography. The developments that characterize this period are that Turkish geographers start to conduct scientific studies throughout the country, participate in international congresses and represent the country, and prepare books for undergraduate students in both departments. In this respect, 1941 is the beginning of a new era for Turkish geographers. Despite the short period of 25 years since the foundation of the Republic, a significant progress has been made in terms of the scientific works and the scientists raised. Although the level of the west has not been reached in this period, close contact with the West has been established, as well as foreign trainings, geographers coming to Turkey have made an important progress in the development and modernization of geography science. In the ongoing process, it was not possible to create schools, train students and accelerate the course of progress.

After the first geography congress, congresses were organized, workshops were held,

vocational weeks were held, in-service trainings and courses were held. According to Ertek and Özbakan (2012), the Second Turkish Geography Congress was held on 4-8 August 1947, the Third Turkish Geography Congress in August 1951, the Fourth Turkish Geography Congress on 11-16 July 1955, the Fifth Turkish Geography Congress on 14-20 July. In 1958, the Sixth Turkish Geography Congress was held on 11-15 July 1961 and the Seventh Geography Congress was held on 9-12 July 2002.

Publication Activities

Scientific developments in a field are directly related to the number, quality and widespread impact of publications in that field. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire and in the period of Atatürk, the scientific works written about geography as well as the atlas and maps reveal the course of the development of the science of geography. Geographers such as İbrahim Hakkı Akyol, Ali Tanoğlu, Besim Darkot and Ahmet Ardel are among the unforgettable scientists and geographers of the period with scientific works on the one hand, primary and secondary school textbooks on the one hand and maps on Besim Darkot on the other.

According to Gümüşçü and Özü (2016); First Geography Congress on decisions taken in coordination of scientific activities in Turkey geography is also provided. The results of scientific research can be published in a journal of geography (Turkish Journal of Geography-1942) extraction, preparation and geography terms list are other decisions that resulted in the detection of Geography Regions of the Congress in Turkey.

The Turkish geography magazine was established to evaluate and publish scientific studies in the field of geography and scientific studies related to geography were presented to the scientific community. Journals such as East Geography Magazine and Ege Geography Magazine, which started publication in the following years, are also important in terms of their contributions to the science of geography.

Maps are the most important works in publishing activities. Doğanay (1995), the first and largest specialized by Republican Period of Turkish maps and atlases Turkey Besim is Darkot. In addition to the textbooks he has written, Darkot has prepared maps that are especially outstanding in coloring. Prepare the map of the most important of which was published in 1960 with a 1: 800,000 scale published in 1971, and 1: 1,000,000 scale physical map of Turkey, published in 1973 1: 500,000 scale maps are Regions of Turkey. Among the Atlases, the Modern Grand Atlas and the Grand Atlas of the World are the most detailed and perfect of the Turkish atlases.

One of the important publication activities of this period is the 1000 Basic Works Series. In the first years of the “1000 Basic Works” series, which was published by the Ministry of National Education in order to form a single national cultural series by the state,

66 books were published in the first years. The prime minister of the time Süleyman Demirel and Minister of National Education İlhami Ertem stated in their presentation writings that thanks to these works our living Turkish and national cultural heritage will be transferred to new generations. TDK prepared a report on this series in 1971 and criticized the use of Arabic and Persian words especially in the works. This series, which was interrupted for a while, was continued in 1975 with Rıfki Danişman's series of Cultural Works during the Ministry of Culture. In his presentation to these publications, the counselor explained the rationale as to save and protect the Turkish people, Turkish youth and Turkish children from all kinds of corrupt acts and the influence of various harmful publications (Argunşah, 2014; Koçoğlu, 2015).

In the contemporary sense, the fact that our universities and their geography institutes (which took the name of geography department in 1981) to train geographer researchers was established too late compared to Western countries delayed the development of this science in our country. This late stay led to the late establishment of contemporary geography in our country. For example, the Royal Institute of Geography of Great Britain was founded in 1830, but it was remembered that the Turkish Geographical Society was inaugurated about 110 years later, in 1941; causes of delay, more easily understood (Doganay, 1995, 36).

1936 in Istanbul under the chairmanship of the Department of Geography of the four major Turkish geographer is divided into four podium: Physical Geography, Turkey, and World Geography, General Geography, Human and Economic Geography. In the following years, the Chair of Structure and Underground Resources was added. In the Geography Department of Ankara, there was development in the field of physical geography in accordance with the formations of the foreign professors, but after 1945 the departments of Physical Geography, Human and Economic Geography and Geography of Countries were separated. The Department of Physical Geography of Ankara University continued until 1981, as the foreign presidents assigned here focused on geomorphology and even geology, and the Turkish teachers who followed them continued this trend. The “geology indaki named after the department was rightly abolished during the regulations made by the Council of Higher Education (Higher Education Council) in 1981 (Kayan, 2000).

Professional Recognition

In the process that started with the establishment of the Republic, the science of geography took its place in the line of development based on scientific approach and after the death of Atatürk, the Turkish Geography Institution was established and the institutional structure was established with the convening of the 1st Turkish Geography Congress. The opening of new departments, the increase in the number of scientific publications and organizations, on the other hand, created the need for graduates' job

sites. As in the 1980s, this problem has continued to increase and it has become almost impossible for geography graduates to find jobs other than teaching.

One of the biggest problems in the field of geography is the lack of any equivalent in the production of a production made by geographers who are representatives of this field despite the wide interest of geography. Because the greatest requirement for any profession to be represented in the public is that it is demanded by the society. However, according to the current situation, geographers need a serious road map. According to this new roadmap, the representation of any theme of the global / hybrid world by subjective geography approach (geographical method) is seen as one of the priority steps of geographers (Özgen, 2012).

The process of professional recognition is still continuing as before 80 years and it is carried out both by the Turkish Geographical Society and by academicians and stakeholders working in the field. Recognition of the ‘geographer’ profession in the state personnel law will mean increasing the reputation of the geography as well as the shining of the star of geography science.

Result

The establishment and development of modern geography in Turkey is possible to start with the opening of a geography section in 1915 Darulfunun. Then, the opening of the Faculty of Language and History-Geography and the establishment of another geography department revealed the necessity of institutionalization of geography. Atatürk after the death under the chairmanship of President Ismet Inonu, under the auspices of National Education Minister Hasan Ali Yücel collection of geography congress and the establishment of the Turkish Geographical Society followed a parallel process with the period of development of the Republic of Turkey covering the years 1938-1980. The establishment of the Turkish Geographical Society has also led to developments in scientific publishing activities, and many developments have taken place in many areas from primary school to higher education, cartography and periodicals such as magazine publishing. These developments have led to the establishment of new departments, an increase in the number of academicians and an increase in the number of graduating students. With the development and growth, the problems have also manifested themselves. At the beginning of these problems, the issue of professional recognition and public representation is one of the most important.

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THE CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN TURKISH SPORTS WITH THE LAW NO 3530 (1938-1986)

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Introduction

The dissemination of sports, which have a very important place in the lives of people and countries, and achieving success in the international arena depend, to a large extent, on the organization in this field. Because sports services and activities can only achieve their purpose in an efficient and productive manner by being properly organized in accordance with the conditions and structure (Ekenci and Seraslan 1997).

Sports and physical education have an important place in the cultures and processes of modernization of societies. When the Ottoman-Turkish society is examined, it is observed that it is a paternalistic society. In patriarchal societies like us, certain stereotypes, expectations, and norms have been formed for women and men within the social structure. A man is the army power of his family and state, he must be brave and have the characteristics of a warrior (Koçak et al. 2018).

When Turkey's history is examined, body politics gives us important clues about the modernization process. During the periods when sports activities were engaged with the concerns of the army power of the states, the founders of the late Ottoman and Republic developed the Physical Education policies with this concern (Akin, 2004).

The Ottoman Empire lagged far behind the West, thus it had to change in order to get rid of this difficult situation and eventually took steps to become Westernized. The modernization and westernization of the Ottoman Empire took place with the political reforms. During this period, reforms similar to those in the west were made in the fields of military, legal, education, literature as well as sports and physical education, and modern sports entered the country (Çelik, Bulgu, 2010,24). Previously, sports such as wrestling, marksmanship, horse-riding, archery and javelin came to the forefront with the support of the palace and sultans (Güven, 1996). Before the reforms were made, it is seen that sports were introduced as war training rather than an activity in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the places where sports training is provided are limited to military education and training institutions, educational institutions of the palace and lodges providing public education (Soyer, 2004,24). Although modern sports entered the country with the reforms, it is observed that the militarized perception of the body could not be left behind and the body was objectified and shaped in the state- monopoly (Koçak et al. 2018).

Numerous Ottoman sultans were interested in traditional sports themselves, and they also encouraged participation in these activities by means of rewards (Kahraman, 1995). However, faced with political, economic, military, and social issues, the Ottomans could not advance in the fields of sports and physical education either, and consequently, the sportive activities in Turkish territories fell behind those in the modern world (Ünver, 2004).

The aim of creating physically and mentally healthy generations was the rationale behind Atatürk's encouragement of the Turkish youth's participation in sports. It can be observed that this approach paved the way for a number of developments in the field of sports even before the foundation of the Republic. Following the foundation of the Republic, sports came under state supervision. Sports and physical education had four steps during the foundation years: The Period of Turkey Training Associations Alliance between 1922-1936. The Period of Turkish Sports Institution between 1936-1938 during which Turkey participated in international competitions for the first time. The Period of the General Directorate of Physical Education in 1938, Ministry of Youth and Sports after 1946. In this period, sports management took its current form (Fişek 1980). In this study, changes and developments in sport management concept of the Republic of Turkey with the Law No. 3530 will be discussed.

The Period of General Directorate of Physical Education (Law No. 3530)

As is known, with the proclamation of the republic, this continues in order to fulfill the function of national spirit and national representation with the Turkey Training Community Alliance (TTCA) established in 1922 and then the Turkish Sports Association (TSA) established in 1936, and physical training and sport became a compulsory state policy with the Physical Education Law No. 3530 enacted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1938. This law required every needed individual to have the "physical education obligation" for the national defense and health (Bulut, 2007, ss. 125-126)

In the year of 1936, TTCA was transformed into the Turkish Sports Association, thus, the autonomous sports organization was centralized and affiliated to the Republican People's Party (Fişek, 1983; Akman and Meydan, 2018). Therefore, these years are the years in which the policies and politicians on physical education and sports activities were on the march. However, as Mustafa Kemal considered that partisanship in sports prevent the implementation of the desired objectives, the Turkish Sports Association abolished and the General Directorate of Physical Education was established. Major General Cemil Tahir was appointed as the director (Atabeyoğlu, 2001). Thus, the powers of the party on sports were taken and the state gained full control over sports. Physical education reached the desired level after the proclamation of the Republic and started to be implemented as a state policy. After the establishment of the GDPE (General Directorate

of Physical Education), all the federations that served until then were abolished, and new federations of athletics, football, wrestling (boxing, weightlifting), water sports, cycling (motorcycle), shooting, mountaineering, and winter sports were established. Tennis, handball, basketball, volleyball, and other branches fall into the remit of Sport Games Federation. Scouting Federation was incorporated into these federations in 1940 (Canşen, 2015; Akman, 2016).

World political conjuncture was reflected in Turkey more after the Second World War, and militarized physical training policies in various countries started to come into play in the Republic. For this reason, it was expected that young people, who were seen as the watchdogs of the regime, should be able to master military skills and knowledge that will help them fight against the potential war (Akın, 2004). During the period between two world wars, it was seen that the atmosphere and the idea that the wars are inevitable started to affect the Republic's body policies during the years of the General Directorate of Physical Education (GDPE). With the Physical Education Law enacted in 1938, the effective idea was that the youth can be prepared for war in the most effective and shortest way, directly disciplined by the state organization with the implementation of the "Physical Education Obligation." (Canşen, 2015).

This model of organization is similar to the model developed by the Nazis, it was accepted as a defense of the homeland preparing citizens by not imitating the systematic bodily movements for the military service, but by giving the abilities and elasticities to those who might become soldiers in the future. (Akın, 2004). The sport, far from being an individual activity, became a means of national struggle. The idea settled in the political field stating that all wars are inevitable, shaped the physical culture deeply with paramilitary tendencies. In the years when sports progressed on a military level, it can be seen that the body, especially the male body, was idealized and objectified by considering it as a soldier-citizen. All these models of physical education ended with the end of the Second World War and with the transition to multi-party system (Lüküslü, 2009).

Efforts to restructure the sports management in Turkey include the opinions on the election of the Federation presidents in the 1st Physical Education and Sports Council held in 1946, and "a draft law that will organize especially the organization of the General Directorate of Physical Education in a way that will develop Turkish sports and meet the current requirements, for the development and reorganization of Turkish sports," in the Sports Council held in 1961 (Karaküçük, 1999).

This sport organization established and affiliated with Prima Ministry in 1938 in which the state started to take control of the sport organized with the establishment of the General Directorate of Physical Education, was on various grounds affiliated with the Ministry of National Education in 1942, then to the Prime Ministry again in 1960, and

finally to the Ministry of Youth and Sports established in 1970 with the Presidential resolution. GDPE was later affiliated with the Ministry of National Education Youth and Sports, which was established in 1983 with the merge of the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of National Education, and then the Prime Ministry again in 1989. In the meantime, Law No. 3530 was replaced by Law No. 3289 in 1986, and the name of the GDPE was changed to General Directorate of Physical Education and Sports (GDPES). However, this name was changed again in 1989, to General Directorate of Youth and Sports (GDYS) (İmamoğlu 2010).

Conclusion

In Turkey, the search for the management of sports has always been on an agenda since the first national organization of sports. The transition from an autonomous sports administration to the state authority and the fact that the institution representing sports administration is affiliated with another institution for different reasons is a clear indication of the search for a suitable management model.

The goal set with the foundation of the Republic of Turkey is to create a modern society. The Republic accepted science, art, and sports as important building blocks on the way to civilization. In order to realize the revolution rapidly, the education concept of the civilized world and their programs and practices in science, art, and sports were closely followed, educators and scientists from the west have been invited to the country, and the promising students of the young republic were sent to western countries for education.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made significant moves that will develop the country in sports as well as the developments he made in many fields during the process that started with the proclamation of the Republic and lasted until the end of his life. The most important of these is the decision to establish the General Directorate of Physical Education which was established in 1938 and to carry out sports as a government policy. This decision is considered to be the most important decision on the organization and dissemination of sports in the country.

Although the General Directorate of Physical Education, which is regarded as the beginning of the period of sports management by the government, has been affiliated with various public institutions and organizations and has undergone name changes, it can be stated that its philosophy of sports management is still continuing.

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PARTIES ESTABLISHED IN TURKEY AFTER 1960 AND THEIR ACTORS

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Introduction

Organized structures formed in order to gain the authority to govern in a country by elections or to become partners in the administration of the country through coalition governments are called political parties (Gökçe, 2013).

According to the political scientist Duverger's evaluation of political parties, there are two main periods in the formation of political parties. In these two main periods, the background of the emergence and development of parties is taken into consideration. The first main period considers how the parties formed and under what conditions, while in the second main period, how the parties came to the present day after the World War II are examined (Göktürk, 2016).

We can gather Party Political Systems under two headings. These are the two-party political system and the multi-party political system. In the two-party political system there are two major parties that are trusted to be elected by the people voting. Those who vote choose between these two parties, and the party that holds the majority wins power. 3. Parties are far from powerful in this election.

The best known examples of the two-party political systems are seen in the United States and England. The candidates for power in these countries have two large majorities. Other smaller parties are unable to be in power because they cannot get close to the big two parties. Examples include the Republican Party and the Democratic Party in the US, and the Labor Party and the Conservative Party in the UK.

In Multi-Party Political Systems, the formation of political parties cannot be restricted in any way and there are no major disproportions between the structures of political parties in parliament. More than two parties can hold representatives in parliament in close proportion. For example: Italy, Belgium, France and Turkey.

1st Part

1957 Elections And Evolving Events

The Democratic Party won the elections in 1957. The Democratic Party received fewer votes than in former elections; however, according to the new election system, it won the majority.

With the 1957 elections, the votes of the CHP were on the increase and despite the majority

structure in the electoral system, they managed to get a high number of members into the parliament. Considering the poor economic situation in the country, it was possible that the CHP would win the next election (Akşin, 2007). However, Menderes and his friends could not accept or accept the possibility of losing the election. With the new law adopted in 1956, the DP government prohibited opposition leaders from holding rallies outside the elections, and restricted the meetings to be held in closed environments with the permission of the local administrators. In fact, during those years, the CHP Secretary General was arrested for 6 months on the allegation that he performed a demonstration march during his trip to Trabzon (Bulut, 2009). While this is the case in the country, opposition to the DP power has become increasingly difficult.

These pressures could have been the pressures of law enforcement officers, administrators, prosecutors and courts, as well as harsh attitudes of the DP partisans. These included a physical attack against İnönü, which was possibly even an intention to kill him. The activities planned by the CHP in İzmir were blocked and the DP partisans attacked the Demokrat İzmir newspaper. While İnönü was on his way to the city from the airport in Istanbul, DP partisans with their clubs gathered in Topkapı. These events were prohibited from appearing in newspapers, and newspapers had blanked-out columns (Akşin, 2007).

The Previous Political Actors Of The Period And The Political Events

Effecting The Period

Mahmut Celalettin Bayar

Celal Bayar was the third President of the Republic of Turkey. Since the years of the national struggle, he was active in politics alongside Atatürk.

During World War I, while Mahmut Celal Bayar was the clerk of Izmir Union and Progress Party, he started to work for the armed struggle, anticipating the start of the Greek occupation after the signing of the Armistice of Mondros. He played an active role in the establishment of the Turkish Revolutionaries of the Aegean region under the pseudonym Galip Hodja and served as a Deputy of Saruhan in the Last Ottoman Parliament. After the acceptance of the National Pact, the Allies occupied Istanbul. In the last term of the Ottoman Parliament since the breakup, Mustafa Kemal Pasha joined the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on April 23, 1920 (Özgen, 2007).

During the War of Independence, Celal Bayar worked in the Ministry of Economics of the Ankara Government and also in the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by proxy. Upon the completion of the War of Independence with the victory of August 30, Celal Bayar took part as an advisor in the delegation to the Lausanne Peace Negotiations. After the declaration of the Republic on October 29, 1923,

he was made Minister of Development and Housing, and on the proposal of President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in 1924, he resigned from the Ministry and was given the task of establishing İşbank. With Celal Bayar as general manager, İşbank opened many branches in the country, enabling the establishment and advancement of national banking in the country. İşbank opened branches abroad and ensured the development of exports thanks to its successful policies in the financial field (Ahmad F. , 2012).

Celal Bayar, who served as the General Manager of İşbank until 1932 and achieved significant success in the development and industrialization of the country, was brought to the Ministry of Economics by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in 1932. Celal Bayar, who served as the Minister of Economics until 1937, played a major role in the industrialization and development of the country and provided Turkey with a foreign trade surplus in exports. Within the framework of the Statism Policy, he established glass factory, paper factory and many weaving factories, chemical and coal industries, started the construction of Karabük Iron and Steel Factory, made the first domestic steamship in Turkey and made the shipyards to produce ships.

Celal Bayar, who was appointed as the Prime Minister by Atatürk in 1937, continued this duty until the death of Atatürk. During the period when Bayar was Prime Minister, the Hatay problem was solved, Denizbank was established to help finance the developments in the maritime industry, and studies were made in the arms trade industry gauging the forthcoming World War II. Relations were improved with Balkan states, Edirne's unarmed status was ended and the Turkish army entered Edirne (Avcioğlu, 1971). The day following the death of Atatürk on November 10, 1938, İsmet İnönü was elected as the President on November 11, 1938. During this time of transition to the İnönü period, Bayar served as Prime Minister for three months by accepting the offer from President İnönü so that the regime would not be compromised and Atatürk's funeral ceremony could be carried out with the appropriate attention, but he later resigned from his post as Prime Minister (Özgen İ. F., Cumhuriyet Dönemi Celal Bayar'ın Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri (1923-1960), 2007).

In 1945 after World War II, Celal Bayar was forced to resign from the Party as a result of his opposition within the CHP. In order to reflect the democratic movement in the opposition movement in the country and to change the power through democratic means he established the Democrat Party in 1946 together with Refik Koraltan, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü and Adnan Menderes (Özgen İ. F., Cumhuriyet Döneminde Celal Bayar'ın Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri (1923-27 Mayıs 1960), 2007). He was elected president on May 22, with the Democratic Party winning the election on May 14, 1950 (Kutay, 1982).

During his presidency, Bayar was closely involved in foreign policy and the preservation of Atatürk's spiritual existence and ensured the adoption of the Law on the Protection

of Atatürk. Furthermore, the construction of Anıtkabir was completed and the body of Atatürk was moved to the new place, Anıtkabir, with a ceremony held on November 10, 1953. During this period, troops were sent to Korea, Turkey joined NATO and Turkey's rights on Cyprus were protected in foreign policy.

With the London and Zurich agreement signed by Britain, Greece and Turkey in 1960, Turkey's rights in Cyprus were protected. With the Guarantee agreement, Turkey was accepted to be a guarantor state for the protection of the rights of the Turkish Cypriots; and the first Turkish military unit was sent to Cyprus. On May 27, 1960, President Celal Bayar was removed from his post as a result of a government coup by a number of lower-level officers belonging to the Turkish Armed Forces, breaking the chain of command (Özgen İ. F., Cumhuriyet Döneminde Celal Bayar'ın Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri (1923-27 Mayıs 1960), 2007).

Adnan Menderes

Menderes, who was born in Aydın in 1899, started his education in the Primary School of Union and Progress in İzmir and continued his education in İzmir American College (Tanrıöver, 2018). He entered Ankara Law School in 1931 after being elected as a CHP Aydın member of parliament and graduated in 1935 (Günver & Akdağ, 2013). Adnan Menderes, even though he served in a branch of the SCF (Free Republican Party) for a short time in 1930, following his dissolution by the president of the Free Republican Party, Fethi Okyar, passed to the CHP and was elected as an Aydın member of parliament from the CHP in the elections of 1931 (Haber, 2019). Menderes, when he was a member of parliament in the CHP, made his most vehement opposition during the "farmers grounding law" negotiations and as a result of this opposition was expelled from the CHP in 1945 due to intra-party opposition (İnan, 2002).

Menderes, who was expelled from the party together with Fuad Köprülü, Refik Koraltan and Celal Bayar from the CHP in 1945, took part in the establishment of the DP. The elections scheduled to be held in 1947 were arranged to take place one year early by the CHP, which led to the CHP winning the election with 85%. Menderes entered the parliament again as Kütahya member of parliament from the Democratic Party lists. In the 1950 election, which was described by many as the "White Revolution", the DP came out as the first party and Menderes was elected as the chairman of the Democratic Party. During Menderes's tenure as a chairman, very serious events developed in Turkey and Turkey went through critical phases (Arslan, Çağırıcı, & Albayrak, 2017).

The events of September 6-7, which left deep scars in the political history of Turkey, have been cited as one of the most important set of events in the period of Menderes's attrition. During the negotiations in England on the Cyprus issue, several newspapers in Istanbul on September 6, 1955 reported that a bomb had been dropped on Atatürk's

House in Thessaloniki, the birthplace of Atatürk. Shortly after that, especially in the reactions directed against the Greeks, 73 churches, 8 holy springs, 1 synagogue, 2 monasteries, 4,340 shops, 110 hotels and restaurants, 21 factories and 3,600 houses were attacked and 1 priest was killed during the events (Demirer, 2018). As a result of these events, an extraordinary meeting decision was taken in the TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly). Deputy Prime Minister Fuad Köprülü, speaking on behalf of the government, stated that the government was aware of the events experienced, but explained that it was not known what day and time the meeting would be (Arslan, Çağırıcı, & Albayrak, 2017).

In 1960, with the increase of student movements and the constant upheaval of groups dissatisfied with the administration caused the army to seize the administration. When the Turkish Armed Forces made a statement on May 27, 1960, Menderes who was in Eskişehir and those around him were arrested and brought to Ankara. Menderes was detained in Ankara for a while and then sent to Yassıada for trial (Topçu & Topçu Akılmak, 2017).

The High Court of Justice, a court established by the junta who carried out the coup of May 27 tried Menderes and his friends for 9 months and 27 days. As a result of these trials, 14 people were executed and 31 were sentenced to life imprisonment. However, the National Unity Committee withdrew the death sentences of those other than Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Hasan Polatkan and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, while Celal Bayar's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment due to age limit. The court sentenced 418 defendants to prison sentences ranging from 6 months to 20 years or acquittal (Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü, 2010).

Adnan Menderes was executed on September 17 1961 when the decision about Menderes was approved by the National Unity Committee. 29 years after this period, which created a dark era in the history of Turkish democracy, on September 17, 1990, their bodies were taken from İmralı and transported to the mausoleum at Topkapı exit in Istanbul in a ceremony attended by the President and high state officials (İlyas & Sema, 2017).

Alparslan Türkeş

Alparslan Türkeş is the founder of the Nationalist Movement Party. He was born in the Haydarpaşa neighborhood of Nicosia in November 1917. The childhood years of Alparslan were a time of increasing daily oppression and persecution for Turkish Cypriots. Alparslan came to Istanbul with his family in 1933 (Günel, 2018). Alparslan Türkeş, who passed the staff examinations in 1951 and graduated from the Military Academy as a Staff Major in 1955, read on the radio in Ankara, the declaration that the National Unity Committee had seized administration from the state on May 27, 1960 and he was made the undersecretary of the Prime Ministry of the newly established

government (Başbuğun Hayatı, 2019). Shortly after the coup, disagreements began to form within the Committee and these disagreements were shaped by two groups. The first group wanted to leave the power to the civilians and the second group, including Alparslan Türkeş, wanted the military administration to remain in power for a while longer. The fact that these differences of opinion were in the same political organization caused the committee to be unable to work after a while. However, the other wing of the committee quickly liquidated the nationalist-conservative officers affiliated with Türkeş, known as the 14s, and sent them abroad (Bayraktar, 2016). Türkeş returns to Turkey in 1963. They join the Republican Peasant Nation Party in 1963. He is elected leader of the party in 1965. On the eve of the 1969 general elections, the name of the party was adopted as the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and Türkeş was elected as a member of parliament of Adana, becoming the only MHP member of parliament in the assembly and continuing the struggle of nationalist Turkey. He founded Grey Wolves and started to organize patriotic youth. Başbuğ was re-elected as a member of parliament in the 1975 and 1977 general elections and took part in the governments of the 1st Nationalist Front and the 2nd Nationalist Front. Başbuğ Türkeş, who was imprisoned in Mamak prison for 5 years, was exiled in 1985 and later acquitted following a death sentence. He was elected chairman of the Nationalist Labor party in 1987. As a result of the election alliance in the 1991 general elections, he was elected as a Yozgat member of parliament. The MHP, which participated in the 1995 general election alone, could not get the electoral threshold of 10%. Başbuğ Alparslan Türkeş died on 4 April 1997 (Başbuğun Hayatı, 2019).

The Constitution Of 1961

The Constitution of 1961, which has the distinction of being the 3rd Constitution of the Republican History, was adopted by the referendum held in 1961 after the coup on May 27, 1960 by the commission established by the Committee of National Unity on the grounds that the 1924 Constitution could not adequately respond to the needs of the multi-party order of the period and entered into force on July 9, 1961. During the formation of the constitution achieved in these years, the TBMM was dissolved and the 1924 Constitution was abolished. Many people were arrested, especially the President of the time, Celal Bayar, and the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes. Provisional laws were enacted by the National Unity Committee in order to eliminate the gaps in the field of Execution and Legislation. In addition, a House of Representatives using the powers of the TBMM was formed together with the National Unity Committee and work on the Constitution was started in this direction. The constitutional works, which were finalized in 1961, were submitted to public voting and were accepted and put into force by a vote of 60% against 40% (Dunbay, 2016).

The 1961 Constitution is one of the most liberal and pluralist constitutions in Turkish

constitutions due to its articles and ideas. In this constitution, for the first time, the principle of separate control of each of the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary structures was implemented. Legislative, Executive and Judiciary mechanisms have been separated from each other and made more systematic and functional. In the 1961 Constitution, the principle of pluralistic democracy was highlighted and its purpose was to spread democracy to the grass roots. Judicial independence was strongly focused and necessary steps were taken to conduct judicial proceedings in a healthy manner. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, unlike other councils have a dual structure. The election procedures of these two parties, shaped as the Senate of the Republic and the National Assembly, have been different. In 1961, the Constitutional Court was established to ensure control and judicial control but also to prevent constitutional violations. The Constitutional Court, not Parliament, has looked at whether the laws adopted since the opening of the Constitutional Court are in accordance with the constitution. At the same time, in order to provide more comfortable working conditions for judges, some amendments were made to their personal rights and security. The Council of State, which is a constitutional court was given the task of trying to control all the actions of the Executive structure. The feature of being the only body that holds the right of sovereignty of the TBMM has been abolished and parliament has become one of the structures that use sovereignty. The fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals are guaranteed by this constitution. This right constitutes perhaps one of the most important innovations (Birol, 2012).

Provisions that ensure the safe operation of political parties and highlight the importance of political parties were also mentioned for the first time with the 1961 Constitution. The 1961 Constitution first mentioned political parties with the article of “political parties are indispensable to democratic life.” This is also important in terms of highlighting the pluralist structure in democracy. The right of workers and civil servants to form unions and the right to strike was also recognized by this constitution (Aslan, 2019).

Apart from these, the State Planning Organization was also established and universities and TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Association) became an autonomous structure. It is particularly remarkable because of the fact that universities are an autonomous structure, showing the importance of the 1961 constitution to freedom and freedom of expression. The right to form associations and organize demonstrations without prior permission of the 1961 constitution has also been some of the other important rights. Recognition of the right to organize demonstrations without permission, especially for the masses and groups who wish to express their administrative dissatisfaction within the framework of legal limits, once again demonstrates the importance given to freedom by the 1961 constitution. Failure to grant this right to permission was aimed to prevent those in power from becoming oppressive and an administration that does not grant freedom to individuals (Birol, 2012).

The powers of local governments were slightly increased compared to the 1924 Constitution and the activeness was opened to local governments on certain issues. The principle of the social state has been added to this Constitution and some directions have been made in the Constitution for the steps that the state will take to implement the principle of the social state.

When we reached the 1970s, the libertarian situation in the country was found by some groups to be extremely libertarian and was not welcome. In 1961, objections were raised that the constitutional system could no longer be continued with the current political and social order. Political problems and increasing terrorist incidents also supported this attitude of some groups. As a consequence the Turkish Armed Forces issued a memorandum to the Justice Party under Süleyman Demirel, and the government had to resign. This memorandum also introduced a number of amendments to the 1961 Constitution. The amendments such as granting the Council of Ministers the authority to issue a Decree, decreasing the autonomy given to universities, completely abolishing the autonomy of TRT, removing the trade union rights of the civil servants and increasing the powers of the Military High Administrative Court have shown the libertarian mood embodied by the Constitution of 1961 and the 1971 memorandum (Özbudun, 2014).

By September 12, 1980, the Turkish Republic faced its 2nd Military Coup in its history and the 1961 constitution had to share the same fate as the 1924 Constitution and was replaced by the less libertarian 1982 constitution.

2nd Part:

Political Actors And Events After 1960

Süleyman Demirel

Süleyman Demirel was born on November 1, 1924 in Isparta, İslamköy. His father influenced Suleyman Demirel going to secondary school after finishing primary school. Demirel attended high school in Afyon. He completed his undergraduate studies at Istanbul Technical University. After his undergraduate education, his first work experience was at İSKİ (Istanbul Municipality Waterworks), and he was assigned to the Electricity Survey Office because of his free boarding education. After the 1960 military coup, he had to resign from his post in the DSİ (State Hydraulic Works) and was subjected to various investigations. After demobilization in 1962, he started to deal with construction works. During these periods, Demirel won many construction tenders (Karabakkal, Siyasal Liderlik ve Süleyman Demirel Örneği, 2019). Demirel was elected as a member of the GİK (General Administrative Board) at the 1st Great Congress of the AP (Justice Party) in 1962 and was appointed to the Presidency of the organization. On March 23, 1963, when Celal Bayar was released from Kayseri Prison, the AP Headquarters was stoned.

Demirel, who was in the headquarters during this event, resigned from the AP GİK membership and took a break from politics (Çavuşoğlu, Anavatan Partisi İle Doğru Yol Partisi'nin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi, 2010). Following the death of the AP President on June 6, 1964, he was nominated for the presidency at the 2nd Grand Congress of the AP on November 27, 1964 (Çavuşoğlu, 2016).

Justice Party And Süleyman Demirel

The Justice party, which won power in 1965-71 by ending the period of coalitions as a single party, was founded in 1961 under the leadership of retired General Ragıp Gümüşpala. The army was pleased that an honorable member had formed a party. However, there were people in the party who adhered to the tradition of the Democratic Party. When Gümüşpala died in 1964, Süleyman Demirel was unexpectedly elected party leader by gaining their support. As soon as Demirel entered political life, he declared himself “the enemy of communism” and implemented aggressive policies especially against TIP (Labor Party Of Turkey). In the mid-1960s and during his years in power, he pursued a two-faced policy against the rising left. Although AP governments seem to tolerate the demonstrations of students and workers, they ignored their progress and looked after those who increased the right-wing militias they had deceived to become the deputy of the security forces and unleashed them on the student and workers' communities (Turgut, 1992).

Left Of Center in Chp

From the 1950s to “Left of Center”

The CHP did not think it would lose the 1950 elections and did not want to believe that it had lost after the elections. The party had not yet been in opposition, and this was not a situation it was used to, and if it did not get used to this new situation in the first place, it would have to adapt. The CHP set out for the 1957 early elections with a new slogan. The CHP's new program included articles on the right to strike, trade union workers, granting autonomy to universities, granting new privileges to the bureaucracy, abolishing anti-democratic laws and the National Defence Law. These articles were later reflected in the constitutional studies conducted in 1961 and the constitution. The CHP had 174 representatives in the Constituent Assembly, of which 49 were direct and 125 were indirect. It included ideas to be taken directly from the CHP Program, such as a constitutional court and a state planning organization (the system for regulating the economy) to keep the constitution safe (Ayata A. , 1995). The Left of Center movement in 1966, in the book entitled Ortanın Solu (Left of Center), written by Bülent Ecevit, had a very different populism concept than that of the 1930s. This slogan acknowledged the existence of classes, but opposed their struggle. This rhetoric dominated the opinion of the Left of Center movement and the fact that the CHP was defeated in the elections.

Despite all this, however, Ecevit insisted that he would stick to the ideology of the Left of Center movement (Ecevit, Ortanın Solu, 2009).

Chp and Organizational Structure Changes in 1970s

After the March 12, 1971 memorandum, Ecevit stated that he would not support a government that backed the army against an elected government and did not want the name of the party to be mentioned with the army again. İsmet İnönü and Bülent Ecevit had a disagreement on this issue and İnönü supported the established technocratic government. This sparked a tough political struggle. İnönü was seen by a significant segment of the party as representing the status quo and forming the biggest obstacle to any change in party ideology and movement. But forcing İsmet İnönü to resign was not as easy as was thought. The CHP was a party representing the Republican tradition. National Struggle and loyalty to the Republic were symbolized in the personality of İnönü. Ecevit, who knew that the control of the parliamentary group was under the control of İnönü, resigned his position as secretary general for this reason. Seeing the increasing support of Ecevit in the provincial congresses, İnönü requested an extraordinary congress as he felt that there was no need to continue the local congresses. The day before the congress, 43 provincial heads, 8 provincial representatives and 55 provincial youth branch representatives signed a declaration protesting against illegal methods of meeting the Congress and strongly supporting Ecevit. The CHP Congress was held on May 5 1972 with the participation of former delegates. The CHP's "social democrat" movement, which started in 1957, increased in 1969 and gained momentum with the presidency of Bülent Ecevit in 1972 symbolizing Turkey's 1970s, and was the result of the search for a pluralistic democracy. In the main, the Left of Center movement did not change its character in the voter base, except in industrialized regions and major cities, but only in regard to the position of party members. A member of the CHP who is active in the village is from a well-to-do family of that village. However, this delegate became a delegate who knows the outside of the village, knows the city, has direct knowledge and expectations from the state and politics, especially after 1960 when market-oriented production dominated the villages and migration gained importance (Ayata A. , 2019). To sum up the 1970s, CHP neither changed its mindset nor did it experience a vote explosion. The gap was filled between these two important ideas using a new organizational model. With a new cadre, it brought a new understanding of organization to Turkish politics. This aim of participation was the driving force that came from this organization structure, which led to the election of free individuals and members to the Congress, not the ones who took orders in 1972.

Bülent Ecevit

He was born on May 28, 1925 in Beşiktaş, Istanbul. His mother, Ms. Fatma Nazlı, who worked as a teacher at the Istanbul and Ankara conservatories, was one of the first

professional female painters in Turkey. His father, Ahmet Fahri Ecevit, was a professor of forensic medicine at Ankara Law Faculty and served as the Kastamonu member of parliament of CHP in 1943 (Ecevit, Demokratik Sol, 2019). He completed his high school education at Robert College in 1944. Ecevit went on to Ankara University Faculty of Language and History-Geography for a while and started his working life as a translator in the General Directorate of Press Publications. In 1946, he became the Clerk of the Press Attaché at Turkey's Embassy in London. (Ecevit, Demokratik Sol, 2008). His relationship with politics began in 1954 when the CHP signed up to Çankaya Seedbed. Continuing in politics as well as journalism, Ecevit continued writing as a guest journalist for the newspaper The Journal and Sentinel in Winston-Salem between late 1954 and early 1955 (Cinemre, 2009). Ecevit, who was elected as a member of parliament for the first time in 1957 and served as CHP member of parliament from Ankara and Zonguldak until 1980, entered the CHP Party Assembly from İsmet İnönü's list on January 12, 1959 (Bozkır, 2005). Ecevit was elected Zonguldak member of parliament in the 1965 election, when the CHP was the opposition party. Ecevit, who came up with the idea of "Left of Center" with this election, later became the symbol of this movement (Çolak, 2016). His political career began to rise with the democratic left movement, which began in the CHP on October 18, 1966, and he was elected as the General Secretary of the party. He opposed the CHP's contribution to the government formed after the March 12, 1971 Military Memorandum and resigned from the position of Secretary General on March 21, 1971. At the 5th extraordinary CHP Congress held in 1972, he was elected as the Chairman of the CHP. Although the CHP was declared as the first party in the 1973 elections, it did not reach a majority to form a government, but he served as prime minister for the first time in the CHP-MSP (National Salvation Party) coalition on February 6, 1974 (Esmer Tütüncü, 2008). In the same year, he carried out the Cyprus Peace Operation. With the self-assurance of the Cyprus Peace Operation, Ecevit was able to form a minority government but his government did not get the vote of confidence even though his party came first in the election on June 21, 1977. He was able to serve as prime minister for nearly two years in the government established in 1978 (Erdoğan C. , 2017). After the coup of September 12, 1980, he was sentenced to prison three times by the military administration, which he found anti-democratic and had opposed. Nearly 130 lawsuits have been filed against him for continuing his political work during the period when he was suspended from politics for nearly 10 years along with many other politicians. The Democratic Left Party was founded on November 14, 1985 under the leadership of his wife Rahşan Ecevit. With the abolition of political prohibitions by popular vote in 1987, he became head of the DSP (Democratic Left Party) on September 13, 1987. However, he announced that he would quit politics and the presidency due to his party's failure to pass the threshold at the 1987 general election. Bülent Ecevit returned to politics in 1989 to serve as the leader of his party. He was elected as a member of parliament from Zonguldak in the 1991 general elections,

becoming deputy prime minister in the 55th Government established on June 30, 1997, and for the 4th time in the 56th minority government established on January 11, 1999. Ecevit served in the 57th Government which was established on May 28, 1999 as the prime minister for the 5th time until 2002. At the 6th Ordinary Grand Assembly of the DSP held on July 24 2004, he resigned from his position as the Chairman. On May 18, 2006, Ecevit suffered a brain hemorrhage and was treated at the Ankara Gülhane Military Medical Academy and died on November 5, 2006 at the age of 81. On November 11, 2006, his body was buried in the State Cemetery (“Ak Güvercin” ve “Mavi G6mlek” Simgelerinin Ardındaki insan: B6l6nt Ecevit, 2019).

Necmettin Erbakan

Necmettin Erbakan is the founder of the National Vision movement, led the mainstream Islamist movement and served as Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey. He has been given the title of “hodja” in Turkish politics with the politicians he has trained alongside the political parties he founded and directed (Baykal & aha, 2017).

He was born on October 29, 1926 in Sinop. His father’s name is Mehmet Sabri Erbakan. His mother’s name is Kamer Hanım (Akg6l, 2011). He started primary school in Kayseri Cumhuriyet Primary School, but after his father’s appointment to Trabzon, he completed his primary school education here and finished as a top grade student. After finishing his primary school education in 1937, he started his secondary education at Istanbul Male High School in the same year; he graduated from Istanbul Male High School in 1943 with a first class degree (Akın, 1976). He started his higher education in the second grade of Istanbul Technical University. Erbakan was awarded the title of Professor in 1965, and in 1966 he became the head of the Industrial Department of the Union of Chambers; and in 1968 he became a Member of the Administrative Committee of the Union of Chambers. He was elected president of the Union of Chambers in May 1969. However, due to the then Demirel government’s cancellation of this decision, Erbakan resigned his position (Akg6l, 2011). Upon this development, Erbakan decided to go into politics and applied to the Justice Party to become a candidate for parliament. However, his application here was vetoed. He was elected as an independent from Konya in the 1969 elections and entered the Assembly (Akın, 1976). In the 1969 elections, he was elected as an independent member of parliament from Konya and entered politics. He founded the National Order Party on January 17, 1970. Upon the closure of the National Order Party by the Constitutional Court during the 1971 coup, Erbakan founded the National Salvation Party with his friends in 1972 and managed to enter the assembly with 48 members of parliament and 3 senators, receiving 12% of the votes from the 1973 elections. After the elections in 1973, he became a partner in a coalition government with the CHP, and Erbakan served as Minister of state and deputy prime minister in the coalition government. During this period, he defended the Operation of Cyprus and

insisted that the entire island be taken as a result of a disagreement with Bülent Ecevit, and on November 17, 1974 left the coalition with the CHP. Necmettin Erbakan, who served as the leader of the MSP, which served as the opposition until the September 12, 1980 coup, was kept out of politics until September 1987 due to the prohibitions imposed by the September 12, coup. Erbakan obtained the right to rejoin politics with the referendum held in September 1987, at the congress of the Welfare Party which was founded on July 19, 1983, held on October 11, 1987, he was unanimously re-elected as the party's chairman (Akgül, 2011).

Towards the 27 May Coup

The Republican People's Party, founded by Atatürk, became the opposition for the first time after 23 years, after the DP won the elections held on May 14, 1950. Under the leadership of DP, Adnan Menderes founded the 19th Government of the Republic, but could not complete his year and had to resign on March 8, 1951. The 20th Government was also established under Adnan Menderes as Prime Minister and he was re-elected as the leader of the congress held by the Democratic Party. Furthermore, the activities of the National Party were halted on March 8, 1953 on the charge of "harming Atatürk's principles and ideas and using religion in politics", and in 1954 the court decided to close the National Party, believing it to be anti-secularist (Cumhuriyet'in "ilk darbesi", 2019).

In 1954, Menderes left the ballot box with a victory by increasing the DP votes and the number of members in the parliament, which brought Fuad Köprülü as Deputy Prime Minister and Fatih Rüştü Zorlu to the Ministry of State and Foreign Affairs as a result of these elections and formed the 21st government on May 17, 1954. As a result of these elections, the legitimacy of the Democratic Party began to increase and this caused the rise of opposing voices within the party. In 1955, Adnan Menderes was elected as the party chairman at the DP ordinary congress and 9 members of parliament who were seen as opponents in the party were expelled. All 10 members of parliament who objected to these issuances resigned from the party. In the following periods, Sıtkı Yırcalı, Hasan Polatkan and Fatih Rüştü Zorlu were forced to resign from the ministries due to the debates in the assembly board. After all these developments, when the resignation of all the Cabinet members started to come on the agenda, Adnan Menderes submitted the resignation of the government to the then President Celal Bayar and the government fell (Weiker, 1967).

After President Celal Bayar authorized Adnan Menderes to form a government again, Menderes formed the 22nd government on 9 December 1955 and the life of this government continued until the 1957 election. In the 1957 elections, the DP lost votes and members of parliament, although it won the election. Political upheavals and antagonisms in the country began to increase despite the establishment of the 23rd Government by Adnan

Menderes on November 25, 1957 (Börekçi, 2013). When the DP began to intimidate the CHP for its activities in the 1958 parliamentary speech, a counter-statement came from the CHP and the statement stated: “CHP is the biggest guarantor of democracy because it is the protector of the Republic and the government.” During this tense period in politics, dissatisfaction in the military began to increase. While Rüştü Erdelüm was appointed as the Chief of General Staff on August 22, 1958, Full General Cemal Gürsel was appointed as the Commander of the Land Forces. However, the tension between the politicians continued to increase. The discussions between İsmet İnönü and Menderes on the “gallows” and the “punching” made the parties even more tense against each other (Akıncı, 2014).

Arabic Azan Decision

After Adnan Menderes government’s decision on the Arabic Azan, this ruling drew reactions from the communities, especially the military. Reactions to CHP members of parliament as well as making Kırşehir a province, caused this antagonism to greatly increase. With the lifting of the ban on Arabic Azan by the DP, Menderes was accused by the opponents of trying to destroy the institutions of the Republic and of betraying the Republic. Celal Bayar delayed the ratification of the law for a long time. Menderes also reacted to this process and removed İnönü’s sketches from the coins. Upon these developments, Military Schools, Universities and members of parliament started to send messages to the military with opposing communications. The military watched developments closely during this period and expected a possible conflict between the United States and Menderes, and it was the conflict they had been waiting for. During this period, Menderes tried to seek support over the dispute with the United States, this time using the option to improve relations with Soviet Russia (27 Mayıs darbesi ne için yapılmıştı?, 2019).

While these were on the agenda, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes moved to England to discuss the Cyprus issue. The aircraft crashed near Gatwick Airport in London on February 17, 1959. Adnan Menderes miraculously survived this plane crash that killed 14 passengers (Emiroğlu, 2011).

By 1960, domestic unrest increased and the political environment became more tense. The verbal polemic among politicians then became constant, and the opposing actions increased further. İnönü was attacked in Uşak and Istanbul in May 1959, in the same way CHP buses were attacked. The CHP blamed the DP and Said Nursi supporters for the attacks, claiming that there was a treaty between the DP and Said Nursi, but Adnan Menderes denied the CHP’s claims and accused the CHP of being a “front of hypocrisy.” While the Democratic Party’s pressures on the CHP continued, Ismet İnönü sent a warning message to the DP. The DP perceived these words as provocations and a

press and activity investigation was launched on CHP on April 18, 1960 (Göktepe Cihat, 2012).

However, the severity and number of events began to gradually increase. The increasing events in the country and the harshness of the politicians' words to each other did not escape the attention of the military. Cemal Gürsel, the Commander of the Land Forces of the period, wrote a letter to the Minister of Defense Ethem Menderes on May 3, 1960, mentioning the concern about the situation, and then the Cadets marched to Ankara Kızılay on May 5, 1960. However, instead of calming the students, prime minister Adnan Menderes took an increasingly harsh attitude, causing the tension to rise even higher. After these developments, there was talk of the necessity of intervention between Celal Bayar and Namık Gedik, the Minister of the Interior. Adnan Menderes went on a trip to Izmir after the demonstration (Akıncı, 2014).

Some of the demonstrations in the Military School also showed that some of the soldiers were disturbed by the DP. On May 22, a ban on meetings and actions was imposed in Ankara. During Menderes' trip to Izmir on May 27, the students of the Military Academy marched peacefully to the "Victory Monument" (Emiroğlu, 2011).

One of the interesting things is that on May 26, Erdelhun, who was the Chief of Staff at the time, made statements that the military was affiliated to the DP. But the coup the following day clearly showed that the military was divided within itself. On the night of May 26, the committee, consisting of 38 anti-government generals and officers, reported that on the morning of May 27, along with tanks, Colonel Alparslan Türkeş had seized the government of the country with a statement read out on the radio (Cumhuriyet'in "ilk darbesi", 2019).

From May 27 to March 12 and from March 12 to September 12

The Military Junta overthrew the power of the Democratic Party on May 27, 1960 and the DP leaders were put on trial. Although the Junta, which tried Menderes and his friends, did not decide to ban the parties, many groups began to form new parties in accordance with the spirit of this period. The CHP decided to continue on its path. The Democratic Party was banned by the court on formal grounds, as it did not hold its congress on time on September 29, 1960 (Weiker, 1967). The Justice Party which was a candidate to replace it was formed in 1961. In the same year, 10 more parties were formed, including left-wing parties such as the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP) and many right-wing parties that wanted to inherit the DP. Although the pace of forming new parties fell considerably in later years, 10 more parties were formed by the March 12, 1971 memorandum. Thus, during this period, 26 parties were active together with the CHP and the AP (Erdoğan T. , 2017). Many of these parties soon disbanded; the CHP was successful enough to establish itself as an independent channel and enter parliament,

rather than as an opposition from within.

One of the benefits Turkey gained with the 1961 Constitution was the Constitutional Court. Parties were prevented from being shut down by arbitrary rulings of martial law practices or by ordinary judicial bodies such as the courts of first instance. As a more serious and higher judicial body, the Constitutional Court concluded five cases in this period with a decision to close them down. The Workers' Party of Turkey, Labor-Farmer Party, the Great Anatolia Party, Turkey Forward Ideal Party and the National Order Party was closed down towards the end of this period (Akyol, 2009).

As a result of the memorandum that the military junta gave to the AP Power on March 12, 1971, the parliament was not dissolved and the parties were not shut down during this period, as the government passed to some of the regime-controlled governments. New parties were added to the existing parties in this period. Of these, the National Salvation Party was established to replace the National Order Party, which was closed by the Constitutional Court; the other was the Republican Reliance Party, a re-established version of the Reliance Party of the earlier period. But it was the left-wing parties that gave this period its original hue. The closed TİP was re-established in 1975, while other left-wing parties formed during this period were: the Socialist Labor Party of Turkey, the Nation Party, the Labor Party of Turkey, the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey and the Socialist Nation Party and others (Kabasakal, 2013).

Ahmet Kenan Evren

The seventh president of the Republic of Turkey was born in Manisa Alaşehir on July 17, 1917. This date is mentioned in the population records as January 1, 1918. His father, Hayrullah Bey, graduated from Fatih Madrasah and worked in various civil duties and his mother was Naciye Hanım. After primary school, he went to secondary school in Manisa for free boarding. He continued his education at Maltepe Military High School in Topkapı. He graduated from this high school in 1936 and the Cadet School as an artillery sub-lieutenant in 1938. He was promoted to first lieutenant duty in August 1942. He graduated from the Military Academy, where he enrolled in 1946, in 1949 he then rose to become captain of the staff (1950). He worked as a Section Supervisor of the General Staff Training Branch (1952-1956). After being promoted to lieutenant colonel, he was assigned to Istanbul and appointed deputy head of the First Army Operations Department. He taught at the Army Staff College. During the revolution of May 27, 1960, he was the chief of staff of the Ordnance School. During his tenure as chief of staff, the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation was carried out. He became the Ordinary General at the first rank in 1974. He continued as chief of staff of the Land Forces for another year. General Semih Sancar became the second chief of the General Staff during his presidency of General Staff. He was appointed Commander of the Aegean Army

established after the Cyprus Peace Operation (1976-1977). Evren was appointed as Commander of the Land Forces on September 5, 1977. On May 27, the deputy leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, Gün Sazak, was killed. Dozens of people have died in a chain of events in Çorum to protest against Sazak's killing. Haydar Saltık presented his final "Flag Operation Plan" to Evren on June 4. On June 24, the Nationalist Movement Party Istanbul Gaziosmanpaşa District President Ali Rıza Altınok and his family were assassinated. Nihat Erim who was appointed as Prime Minister on March 12 was killed on July 19, and Kemal Türker, the Chairman of the Mine Labor Union, was killed on July 22. On September 5, with the assurance of the National Salvation Party, the Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmén was removed from the ministry. On September 6, 1980, during the Konya Rally organized by the National Salvation Party, it was concluded that the necessary conditions for the intervention took place. Shortly after that on the morning of September 12, 1980 the Turkish Armed Forces seized the administration of the country within the chain of command to carry out the duty of protection and protecting the Republic of Turkey based on the Internal Service Law. On July 1, 1983, Evren handed over the post of Chief of the General Staff to Full General Nurettin Ersin and left the military (Karakoç, Kenan Evren, 1988).

Serial No.	Party Name	Abbreviations Name	Headquarter	Founding Date	Expiration Date	Expiration Reason
1	Liberty Party 2	(HP)2	Ankara	19.07.1960	1960	Disbanded
2	Socialist Party		Ankara	19.01.1961	1962	Closed with Congress Decision
3	Conservative Liberal Party		Ankara	06.02.1961	1961	Disbanded
4	Labor Party 2		Ankara	11.02.1961	07.03.1961	Merged with Socialist Party
5	Republican Professional Reform Party		Ankara	11.02.1961	1961	Disbanded.
6	Nation Liberal Party		Ankara	11.02.1961	1964	Closed with Congress Decision
7	Justice Party 1	AP (1)	Ankara	11.02.1961	16.10.1981	dated 16.10.1981 and no. 2533
8	New Turkey Party	YTP(1)	Ankara	13.02.1961	19.03.1973	closed by law no. Closed by Congress Decision
9	Workers' Party of Turkey 1	TİP(1)	Istanbul	13.02.1961	20.07.1971	Closed by the Constitutional Court.

10	Reliance Party (1)	GP(1)	Istanbul	13.02.1961	1961	Closed by Congress Decision
11	Equality Party		Istanbul	13.02.1961	1961	Closed by Court Decision
12	Service to the Nation Party		Istanbul	13.02.1961	19.03.1961	Closed with Congress Decision
13	Conservative Party		Ankara	13.02.1961	1966	Closed with Congress Decision
14	Republican Party		Istanbul	13.02.1961	1961	Disbanded.

Annex-1 Political Parties Established in the Multi-Party Period - (1960-1980)

S: No.	Party Name	Abbreviations Name	Headquarter	Founding Date	Expiration Date	Expiration Reason
15	Kemalist Youth Party		Istanbul	18.02.1961	1966	Disbanded
16	Labor-Farmer Party		Ankara	30.03.1961	15.10.1968	Closed by Constitutional Court
17	Free Socialist Party		Istanbul	10.06.1961	1964	Disbanded
18	Revolution Party		Izmir	09.11.1961	1961	It could not start operations because it was seen as contrary to the decision of MBK No. 1
19	New Democratic Party		Ankara	18.12.1961	1961	Disbanded
20	946s National Struggle Party		Eskişehir	16.04.1962	1962	Disbanded

21	Radical Party		Istanbul	28.05.1962	1963	Closed with Congress Decision
22	Justice Party 2		Ankara	14.06.1962	16.10.1981	Closed on 16.10.1981 with law no. 2533
23	Salvation Party		Izmir	14.07.1962	1964	Closed with Congress Decision
24	New Peasant Party		Izmir	22.06.1964	1966	Disbanded
25	Social Democratic Party -1		Ankara	21.09.1964	1965	Closed with Congress Decision
26	Union Party of Turkey		Ankara	17.10.1966	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
27	Reliance Party 2		Ankara	12.05.1967	(17.10.1971)	Name changed, became MGP (National Reliance Party)
28	National Reliance Party		Ankara	17.01.1971	(04.03.1973)	Merged with CP (Republican Party) and changed name. Became CGP (Republican Reliance Party).
29	Republican Reliance Party		Ankara	04.03.1973	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
30	Democratic Union Party of Turkey		Sivas	12.11.1967	1968	Disbanded
31	Turkey Forward Ideal Party		Istanbul	06.05.1969	29.06.1971	Closed by the Constitutional Court
32	Grand Anatolian Party-1		Ankara	05.11.1969	19.12.1972	Closed by Constitutional Court

33	National Order Party		Ankara	26.01.1970	20.05.1971	Closed by Constitutional Court
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Annex-2 Political Parties Established in the Multi-Party Period - (1960-1980) II

No.	The Name of the Party	Abbreviations Name	Headquarter	Founding Date	Expiration Date	Expiration Reason
34	Democrats Party		Ankara	06.05.1969	1971	Closed by congress decision
35	Democratic Party		Ankara	18.12.1970	04.05.1980	Closed by congress decision
36	Republican Party-2		Ankara	04.09.1972	04.03.1973	Merged with National Reliance Party
37	National Salvation Party		Ankara	11.10.1972	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
38	National Women's Party of Turkey		Istanbul	17.11.1972	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
39	Great Force Party		Istanbul	30.03.1973	(*)	(*)
40	Turkey Fraternity Party		Istanbul	24.11.1973	17.01.1974	Closed by congress decision
41	Socialist Labor Party of Turkey-2 TSİP		Istanbul	26.06.1974	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
42	Reliance Party (2)		Istanbul	21.01.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
43	Democratic Party-2		Ankara	22.01.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533

44	Labor Party of Turkey		Istanbul	12.02.1975	08.05.1980	Closed by Constitutional Court.
45	Workers' Party of Turkey- 2		Ankara	30.04.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
46	Socialist Revolution Party		Ankara	30.05.1975	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
47	Order Party		Ankara	14.01.1977	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
48	Socialist Movement Party		Samsun	14.09.1977	(*)	(*)
49	Turkey Social Justice Party		Ankara	17.10.1977	18.11.1978	Closed by congress decision
50	Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey		Ankara	30.01.1978	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
51	Socialist Reliance Party		Istanbul	28.08.1979	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
52	Freedom Party		Istanbul	20.12.1979	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533
53	Free Democrats Party		Istanbul	27.06.1980	16.10.1981	closed on 16.10.1981 with law number 2533

Annex-3 Political Parties Established in the Multi-Party Period - (1960-1980) III

Conclusion

In this study, information is given about newly formed political parties and their actors from 1960 until 1980. The subject is expanded and explained with the tables presented in the annexes. The exploits of Turkey's turbulent political period from the 1960s to the 1980s were analyzed with information and tables in sources and documents and information about 53 parties established during this period was provided.

After the coup of May 27, although democracy in Turkey was disrupted, the multi-party life and the democracy journey continued and experienced unrest on its way. After the

coup of May 27, serious changes were made to the executive power of the government of the Republic of Turkey by military administration. After the military coup, multi-party life continued by increasing its influence on society. Many parties gained seats in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and had a chance to represent society. Although Talat Aydemir attempted a coup in 1962 and 1963, this did not stop progress. As a result of the parties established after the coup, Turkish politics gained new actors and these actors became decision makers in the most important stages of Turkish democracy. Politicians such as Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit, Necmettin Erbakan, and Alparslan Türkeş became the most important politicians of 1960 and later.

On March 12, 1971, instead of carrying out a direct military coup against Turkish democracy, the military memorandum was issued. During this period, requests for the withdrawal of the Government from the office were directly advanced. Thus, and by creating a coup, they took direct control. However, despite this military memorandum, Turkish political life and democracy continued energetically on its track. From 1961 until the military coup of 1980, 53 established parties have revealed this situation without hiding anything. In the development of Turkish democracy, the influence of politicians who have adopted democracy, such as Bülent Ecevit, Süleyman Demirel, Necmettin Erbakan, Alparslan Türkeş and İsmet İnönü, despite their mistakes, are very important.

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GEOGRAPHICAL DYNAMICS OF THE 1950-1980 PERIOD IN TURKEY URBANIZATION

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Introduction

The concept of the city, shaped by the human hand and shaping humanity, is a phenomenon that enlarges civilizations in its bosom. Cansever (1996), defines the city as an the most important, the biggest physical product created by man to regulate his life and the structure that directs and surrounds human life.

The most important reference geographic areas for the first urban settlements in the world are; The Euphrates and Tigris Basin (Mesopotamia) are the Nile, Indus and Sarırmak valleys. These areas are the areas where the first city settlements occur due to the presence of water. However, although the physical geography factor appears to be a major factor in the emergence of the first urban settlements, another effective factor is the concepts of religion and power. As a matter of fact, we observe these two elements frequently in the architectural structures of these early cities. Bookchin (1999) emphasizes that the first urban settlements are ideological spaces. In contrast to the earlier widespread belief Collins (2016), opposed the settlement of agricultural activities in the Neolithic age, his urbanization, and the idea of religious structures in cities in the last step. He argued that temples were first built in the first cities and then created agriculture in order to meet the needs of crowded people who came together for the maintenance and repair of such enormous structures. The next step after the emergence of the first cities is undoubtedly the concept of urbanization, which is completely dependent on it but expresses more than that.

Undoubtedly the most important milestone in the history of urbanization is the industrial revolution. “With the industrial revolution, the concept of the city gained an identity that was accepted and preferred by society as a development, progress, economic growth and a fully organized social life (Pustu, 2006; Sever, & Koçoğlu, 2014). This change not only changed the city but also the rural structure, the social structure as a whole, the political structure, a life that had lasted for centuries, and it meant a displacement of a keystone that kept an established world order (Şahin: 2008). Prior to this, urbanization movements in the world have progressed at different speeds with a focus on trade. There has been a significant increase in the rate of urbanization with the Industrial Revolution. Göney (1995) states that as of 1800, the proportion of those living in cities with a population of 20,000 and more constitutes only 2.4% of the world’s population, up to 4.3% in the following fifty years, and in 1900 It indicates that it has increased to 9.2%. In the next century, the factor that triggered urban development was the developments in the service sector. The most important key of today’s cities and urban development is the

phenomenon of globalization. Together with globalization, urbanization movements have changed their functions and continued their development in a different way. Information, which was formerly guided by states, capital mobility is now carried out by cities (Sen, 2018; Koçoğlu, 2015). Due to the bordering of the global economy, geographic spaces, which are mounted to the transnational economic structure, especially emphasize the cities performing global functions and take the direction and speed of urbanization to a completely different dimension.

Between 1923-1950 Urbanization Movements in Turkey

Turkey's urbanization adventure at the same time the Republic of Turkey's is a history of the development. This historical development line, which affects the social transformation related to urbanization processes, not only determines the pattern of development of Turkish cities, but also determines the cultural, class and economic shaping of Turkish society on this line (Arlı, 2005). Turkey's urbanization can periodization in their movements. Between 1923 and 1950, we can state the period of stagnation, between 1950 and 1980 as the eruption period, and after 1980 as a period of confusion and exploration.

In the period between 1923 and 1950, the rate of urbanization was low and cities moved with their own internal dynamics. In the first census conducted in 1927, the population of the country is 13 million 660 thousand 275 people and there are 18 people per square kilometer. About three quarters of the population live in villages. There were only two cities with a population of more than 100 thousand. In this period, the cities bearing the identity of the city are Istanbul, the capital of the Empire, Ankara, the capital of the Republic, and Izmir, Adana and Bursa (Table 1).

Table 1. Cities with Most Population According to 1927 Census in Turkey.

City	Population
İstanbul	690.857
İzmir	153.924
Ankara	74.553
Adana	72.577
Bursa	61.690
Konya	47.496
Gaziantep	39.998
Kayseri	39.134
Eskişehir	32.341
Erzurum	31.457
Diyarbakır	30.709

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute TUIK

In this period, the urban population has found direction with birth and death rates. The only exception of this period in terms of urbanization is Ankara. The reason for this is

that urban planning, zoning activities and new laws and practices related to the city were first implemented in Ankara (Sağlam, 2016). As a matter of fact, Özoğuz (1986) states that the growth rate of the urban population does not differ from the general population growth rate.

Therefore, it can be said that the reason for the increase in the urban population in these years is largely due to its own development (increase) dynamics, not to the migration attracted by the countryside (Çalışkan, 2006). In 1927, the number of people living in settlements with a population of 10,000 or more was 2.2 million, in other words, 16% of the population lived in cities. In the last 23 years until 1950, this number increased to 3,910,000, constituting only 19% of the country's population proportionally (Table 2). In this period, when urbanization is progressing heavily, as Niray (2002) states, urban areas; they were engaged in agriculture, supervising limited non-agricultural production and providing services.

Table 2. 1923-1950 Rural-City Population Change.

Year	Total Population (000)	Rural Area Population (000)	Rural Population (%)	Urban Population (000)	Urban Population (%)
1927	13.648	11.412	84	2.236	16
1935	16.158	13.474	83	2.684	17
1940	17.821	14.618	82	3.203	18
1945	18.790	18.790	82	3.442	18
1950	20.947	20.947	81	3.910	19

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK)

Although the urbanization movements that took place in this period have progressed in the natural flow, it has created the spark of the next period which will initiate the actual urbanization movements with the increase in the industrial facilities in the cities. Indeed Ardel (1943), refers to this situation as follows: young Turkey's empire in 1923 left over in a small number (342) had large and small industrial facilities. In the first decade, in 1932, not only did it rise to more than four times (14731), but after that date there were great attempts to industrialize with an increasing pace. Undoubtedly, this move of industrialization had an impact on the mobility of the rural population.

Explosion Period: 1950-1980 Period Rapid Urbanization

Yücel (1960) refers to the dizzying urbanization speed that began in the 1950s, referring to Tanoğlu as follows: There was a dam that kept the majority of the population in the countryside and protected the cities. The name of this dam was the state of attachment to the land and enduring everything. There are now infiltrations from this dam, even overflows, and they have already begun to fill cities. Really turkey 1950 'is also a period where the urbanization movement gained momentum seriously. Before going into the

causes of this situation, it would be appropriate to look at the general political and economic situation of the period.

While the wounds of the 1929 Great Depression waves, which had caused economic destruction, were still wrapped, World War II erupted in less than a decade. 1940 'li years in Turkey have to enter the Second World War, but the war is drawing to a country landscape living economy by taking extraordinary measures. Decisions taken by the government, which had to meet military needs, put additional burdens on the people living in rural areas. With the economic effects of the war, the people had to go through a very difficult period. Eroğlu (1998) stated that the prices that quadrupled in this war economy had a negative impact on a large part of the population. Batmaz and Erdem (2016) claimed that it was the oppressed peasants who brought the Democratic Party to power and that the forces that benefited the most from it were the big trade bourgeoisie and the landowners. These two forces, instead of industrial-based economic development as in the west, have targeted a land-based economic development in the countryside.

In 1950, the 27-year single-party power came to an end. And this was a turning point in Turkish political history. Together with the Democratic Party, statist approaches to the economy have been replaced by liberal economic approaches. After the years of World War II all over the world with the exigency of Turkey has also begun a relative period of prosperity.

Turkey's rapid urbanization the start of the period adopted in 1950 by the geographical dimensions of urbanization occurring until 1980, geo-dynamics, causes, if we examine the factors that determine the direction and speed of striking first concern is rapid increase in the total population. The population, which was around 21 million in 1950, doubled in 1980 and reached 45 million (Table 3). What is even more striking is the rapid increase in the urban population. The urban population, which was approximately 5 million at the beginning of the period, increased approximately four times and increased twice as fast as the country's population (Table 3). They emphasize that this process (İçduygu et al.) Is becoming widespread in cities and that migration is almost institutionalized. The main reasons for the rapid increase in population during this period are the high birth rates after the war and the improvements in health and death rates at the beginning of declining births. Again in this period, with the increase in welfare, there was a decrease in mortality and an increase in the average life expectancy. 1950-1960 period to 8% of immigrants from the Balkans from Turkey on the population like even if there is a share (Geray, 1970). Kasarcı (1960) draws attention to this situation and connects the reason for the increase in population growth rate to more than 20% in 1950-1960 period in Thrace where there is a decline between 1940-1950.

Table 3. Country and Urban Population Growth Rate by Years.

Census Year	Country Population	Annual Population Growth Rate (in thousands)	Urban Population	Increase Rate (in Thousands)
1950	20.947.188	21.73	5.244.337	22.47
1960	27.754.820	28.53	8.885.731	49.21
1970	35.605.176	25.01	13.691.101	47.33
1980	44.736.957	20.65	19.645.007	30.47

Source: DIE Statistical Years

In parallel with the increase in the urban population and the total population of the country, the average size of the cities has also changed. In 1935, the average size of the city was 33,000 and 47,612 in 1960. It rose to 49,312 in 1970 and reached 63,532 in 1980 (Figure 1). In addition, according to Keleş (2012), the share of cities with a population of more than 100 thousand from the urban population increased from 43.8% in 1950 to 63.3% in 1980. In other words, in this period, big cities increased their share in the urban population and the big cities grew even more.

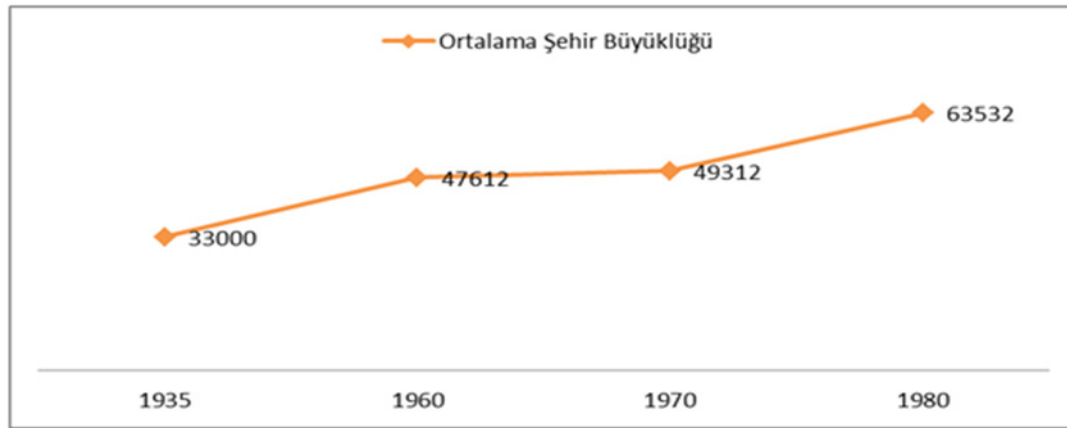


Figure 1. Average City Size Between 1950-1980

Source: It was drawn by the author from Keleş (2012).

Another factor that draws the urbanization dimension of this period is the deterioration of the internal balance of traditional agricultural society in rural areas. The first factor that disrupts this balance in rural areas is population growth based on the reasons explained above. Thus, a flow of migration from the countryside to the city started. The rural population, which has a significant share in the total population, has increased due to the high fertility rate. While the existing agricultural lands remained the same, the number of beneficiaries increased rapidly and there was a migration movement from rural areas to cities, mostly driven by driving factors. During this period of migration from villages to towns and cities, more than one million people left their land (Zürcher, 1998).

Another factor behind this wave of immigration that creates rapid urbanization is the

increase in agricultural mechanization in the countryside due to Marshall Aids. The number of tractors, which was only 1066 in 1940, increased by ten times to 16,585 after 10 years. At the end of the period, this number exceeded 440 thousand. In the same period, the share of the soils cultivated by tractors increased from 0.1% to 51% of the total cultivated agricultural land (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of Tractors and Ratio of Tracted Soils Between 1950-1979

Years	Number of Tractors	Proportion of Tracted Soils To All Agricultural Lands
1940	1066	0,1
1950	16.585	0,9
1960	42.136	14
1970	105.865	33
1979	440.502	51

Sources: DIE Statistical Years

This mechanization in the countryside and the transition to modern agricultural methods have increased the efficiency of the unit area on the one hand and significantly reduced the number of people in the unit area on the other. In addition, it can be added that the soil is now reduced to the extent that it falls below the efficient operating limits. Thus, a considerable rural population, which somehow made a living from its land, was now becoming unemployed. Another noteworthy point here is that not only the landless peasants have left the countryside for the above reasons, but also the small landowners have left their lands and migrated to the city. Small land ownership is a category on the basis of family labor and partially outsourced at harvest time (Erdem and Batmaz 2016; Akman, 2016). Mechanization at this speed has also caused serious unemployment among small landowners. It would not be wrong to say that the steps taken for rural development only developed in favor of the big landowners. Modernization in the field of agriculture in the country, the change of land ownership as a result of the land reform, the increase in rural population and the development of transportation networks accelerated the migration from rural to urban areas in this period (İçduygu&Sirkeci, 1999). This form of migration has not yet completed its industrialization, has not established its infrastructure, has not created a social atmosphere has pushed cities into an unhealthy growth process. This kind of urbanization occurred Keleş (1997); It defines this structure as “agglomeration” or “demographic” urbanization by defining it as population accumulation, which is more than the absorption capacity of the economic and social activities of the city.

Through these driving factors in the countryside, the transportation facilities, which are the driving factors that mobilize the population towards the city and thus to urbanization, have undergone a sharp transformation in this period. Marshall Plan within the framework of Turkey ‘a large part of the funds allocated for transportation to the aid has been spent

on the development of the road network¹. As Kaştan (2016) stated, in this way, the rural area was introduced to the concept of road, and trucks, buses and automobiles started to operate on the roads opened by dozers coming to the country despite soil and stabilization. 47.080 km in 1950 the length of highways reached 61,542 km in 1960. As a result of the large investments made by the state in the highways, the meeting of rural people with the road has also been instrumental in meeting the city. This situation has an undeniable effect on the mobility of the rural population to the city during this period. It contributed to the rapid urbanization process of the period as a forwarding factor. At the same time, the opportunity to move the goods and products obtained from industrial and commercial activities in the city to the countryside was born. However, this situation has made the city an attractive element instead of developing the countryside and stopping the migration and slowing the crooked urbanization. Indeed, Kaştan (2016), in which case the migration flows from town to town aspects, rural to urban areas, from urban, rural and rural areas, it would be for the countryside, but in Turkey the first time in more rural to urban areas because of the relations of production, revealed if the owners of capital as it moved from city to city It puts.

One of the reasons of rapid urbanization in this period is the attractive factors of the city. Tandogan 's (1998), as expressed after the Second World War, the positive developments in the world situation, Turkey's multiparty have started a revival in the economy with democratic life transition and foreign aid and its effects also showed an immediate impact on the demographic structure and hence urbanization. High levels of income, education, health and social opportunities in cities are the phenomenon of attraction that attracts the rural population to the cities. Keles (1997) points out that in 1965, the income per individual in the industrial sector is 4.5 times higher than the income per individual in the agricultural sector in terms of setting an example for this issue. Bulutay et al. (1971) in the same period in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir average household income is 26,470 tl. It states that there are 10,700 tl in cities with a population of more than 500 thousand and this figure decreases up to 8,181 tl in places with a population less than 2000.

Turkey's Ruling against this structure from the 1950-1960 period, urbanization, commercial bourgeoisie and large landowners were shaped in accordance with their own political and economic objectives (Batmaz and Erdem, 2016). Trade-oriented growth of cities rather than industry-based development has brought problems in the city. With the relative prosperity, the resettlement activities in the cities increased and this created the need for relative labor. However, cities were far from employing all those who left their land from the village. As a result, only a small number of immigrants were constantly finding jobs in industry, and most of them were temporary workers or street sellers (Zürcher, 1998). Cities have been shaped in line with the acceleration of industrialization

¹ The total amount of direct Marshall aids used for the railway is 9.882.450 dollars. For the highway, it has used a total of USD 45,372,934 with indirect and direct assistance under the Marshall Plan (Çınar, 2018).

and the redefinition of the strategy of industrialization, the overpopulation of cities, the growth of cities beyond municipal boundaries, and the proliferation of the number and variety of means of urban transport (Osmay, 1998; Akman and Meydan, 2018). Urbanization observed in this way; Unemployment, distorted urbanization, infrastructure problems, increase in crime rates, cultural conflicts have created a ball of difficult to solve problems. Again with this rapid urbanization, people who came from the countryside to the city and did not have regular income started the phenomenon of slums. And this effect has started a process that will extend to the present. As Tekeli (2009) states, they have started to make shanty slums, which can easily be reconstructed when they are demolished, in the areas close to the labor market of the city, extending to unfavorable areas with topographical conditions.

The 1960-1970 period was a period in which urbanization continued. The population, which was 27,754,820 in 1960, reached 35,605,176 in 1970. The urban population reached to 13.691.101 with an increase of 65% from 8,885,731 (Table 5).

Table 5. Country Population and Rural-City Population Growth Between 1960-1970

Census Year	Country Population	Rural Population	Rural Population (%)	Urban Population	Urban Population (%)
1960	27.754.820	18.895.089	68	8.859.731	32
1965	31.391.421	20.585.604	66	10.805.817	34
1970	35.605.176	21.914.075	62	13.691.101	38

Sources: DIE Statistical Years

The urban development of this period, like many other cases, was shaped by the May 27 Military Coup and the 1961 constitution. The new constitution emphasizes the social and welfare state. The State Planning Organization (DPT) was established in line with a planned development target. In the first five-year development plan of the State Planning Organization, a balanced development proposal has been put forward between the metropolitan regions defined as big city regions and the scattered and small-scale village settlement structure to eliminate regional disparities (Yılmaz, 2011). In line with the planned development target, the workplaces and industrial facilities in the city centers were moved out of the city. For this purpose, the first Organized Industrial Zone was established in Bursa in 1962 with the support of the World Bank. In this way, industrial facilities within the cities which caused problems such as transportation, settlement and air pollution were moved out of the city collectively. Small industrial estates have started to be built increasingly since the middle of the period.

Although urbanization continues in this period, there is a decrease in the rate of urbanization. There are two factors that cause this situation. The first is the relatively reduced migration to the city by means of various supports from rural areas and the

decrease in birth rates as a result of women entering the business life. The second is that Işık (2005) states that the migration of workers to European countries, particularly Germany, constitutes a separate option for the rural population (Yener, 1974). In 1966, with the law no. 775, the formalization of the slums had a profound impact on the urbanization of the period and the next period (1970-1980). Mutlu (2007) emphasizes that with this law and the laws and amnesties enacted in the 1960s and 1970s, the shanty houses gained infrastructure and became a means of earning rent by gaining legitimacy.

1970-1980 is the period where urbanization rate is the lowest compared to the other two periods (Table 6). The increase rate which was %52.4 in the period of 1950-1960 was %43.5 in the period of 1960-1970. In the 1970-1980 period, this ratio decreased to %36.1.

Table 6. Country Population and Rural-Urban Population Growth Between 1970-1980

Census Year	Country Population	Rural Population	Rural Population (%)	Urban Population	Urban Population (%)
1970	35.605.176	21.914.075	62	13.691.101	38
1975	40.347.719	23.478.651	58	16.869.068	42
1980	44.736.957	25.091.950	56	19.645.007	44

Sources: DIE Statistical Years

In this period, the economic problems experienced since the beginning of 1970s can be cited as the reason for the decrease in the rate of urbanization. After the 1969 general elections, there were government crises, followed by the March 12 Military Memorandum. 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation and after Turkey's 1980 military coup at the end of the embargo applied for the period to again quashed the economic outlook and the country has undergone a period of instability. Undoubtedly, this unstable environment has had quantitative and qualitative effects on urbanization. In this period, the stagnation in the industrial sector which started with the oil crisis and the decrease in labor need caused a decrease in the rate of urbanization (Kapluhan, 2014). As a result of the economic crises, the slowdown in investments and the fall in non-agricultural employment rate decreased the urbanization rate. In addition, the reasons such as unemployment, lack of infrastructure and lack of increase in public services in line with population growth had negative effects on the quality and quantity of urbanization. In the second five-year development plan of the SPO (1968-1972), the idea of supporting urbanization was expressed. It is thought that economic development will be achieved in this way. In addition, cities were evaluated based on employment. Industrialization, urbanization and modernization in agriculture have been evaluated as a whole. In the third five-year development plan (1973-1977), it was emphasized that cities should be a socio-cultural integration area instead of growth in the form of population agglomeration. As Taşdelen (2011) points out, even though the intensification of the industry is only valid for a short

period of time, the demographic urbanization process that occurs only in the form of a population accumulates large infrastructure needs and leads to the shifting of larger shares from these limited investment resources to unproductive areas. This situation causes some problems in terms of economic development. Urbanization that occurs at certain points in the form of accumulation of population, capital and economic activity and which is not generally based on industrialization; the environment, economic and social development process, and the environment can integrate the social and cultural change of the national economy is not qualified.

Conclusion

The concept of the city is one of the most important milestones of human development. Urbanization means more than that. It has much deeper meaning than just a population build-up. The first urban settlements in the world were found in the Middle East, China and Indian basins. There are two different questions: whether agriculture has created and expanded cities, or if masses of people gathered on the axis of religion and power have created agriculture and therefore the city. There are many studies that give different answers to this question. However, it is the Industrial Revolution that accelerates urbanization. To put it more accurately, the city form in the real sense was the first time with the Industrial Revolution. With the Industrial Revolution, fundamental changes have occurred in the scientific, technological, cultural and political structure of humanity. Since the 21st century, globalization has taken urbanization to a different place and the cities of the states have been replaced by city states. Cities are no longer just geographic units performing their classic duties, but they have become independent trade, industry and service-oriented centers.

Turkey's urbanization adventure also refers to the development process of the country. urbanization in Turkey; We can examine the period of stagnation between 1923-1950, the period of explosion between 1950-1980, and the period of complexity and exploration in 1980 and after. In the period covering 1923-1950, the rate of urbanization is not high and the cities have grown with their own internal dynamics. The increase in the urban population is shaped by birth and death rates. Contrary to this situation, the only developing city; Ankara is the capital city where new zoning plans are implemented and the centers of public institutions are moved. During this period, there were only two cities (Istanbul and Izmir) with a population of more than 100 thousand. However, in the context of the etatism principle, the rapid moves seen in industrialization had a sparking effect on the urbanization of the next period. Turkey's rapid population growth from 1950 to 1980, migration, urbanization and rapid recovery seen in the Second World War After living conditions also began a dizzying pace. The urban population, which was around 5 million at the beginning of the period, has increased approximately fourfold. It has also increased twice as fast as the country's population. In parallel with the increase

in the urban population and the total population of the country, the average size of the cities has changed, and the average city size has increased from 63,000 in 1935 to 63,532 in 1980. Another factor affecting the rapid urbanization of this period is the deterioration of the structure of traditional agricultural society in rural areas. Due to the high fertility rate in the rural population, which has a significant share in the total population, the number of people benefiting from agricultural land has increased rapidly and there has been a migration movement from rural areas to cities.

Another issue that supports this situation is the rapid expansion of mechanization and intensive farming methods developed in rural areas through foreign aid funds. The number of tractors, which was only 1066 in 1940, increased by tenfold to 16,585 after 10 years. In addition, it can be added that the soil is now shredded to the extent that it falls below productive operating limits. Thus, a considerable rural population, which somehow made a living from its land, was now becoming unemployed. This form of migration has not yet completed its industrialization, has not established its infrastructure, has not created a social atmosphere has pushed cities into an unhealthy growth process. With these driving factors in the countryside, it has mobilized a serious population towards the city and thus towards urbanization. The transportation facilities, which are the factors that will transmit this population to the cities (transmitting factors), have also undergone a sharp transformation in this period. Turkey in the framework of the Marshall Plan 'to transport a large part of the separated portion of the aid had been spent on the development of the road network. As a result of the large investments made by the state in highways, it became a means of meeting with the rural areas. This situation has an undeniable effect on the orientation of the rural population towards the city in this period. The phenomenon of attraction, which accelerates urbanization, is due to the high level of income, the high level of education, health and social facilities. Turkey was also shaped by political and economic objectives of the 1950-1960 period, the urbanization of the mercantile bourgeoisie and large landowners. Cities have shown trade-oriented growth, not industry-based. Settlement activities in cities have been increasing, which in turn led to the need for relative labor. However, cities were far from employing all those who left their land from the village. Urbanization observed in this way; Unemployment, distorted urbanization, infrastructure problems, increase in crime rates, cultural conflicts have created a ball of difficult to solve problems. Again with this rapid urbanization, people coming from rural to city and not having regular income have started a shantytown phenomenon whose effects will extend until today.

The 1960-1970 period was a period in which urbanization continued. The military coup of 27 May and the 1961 constitution made after it emphasized the social and welfare state. The State Planning Organization (DPT) was established in line with a planned development target. Urbanization activities are shaped accordingly. In line

with the planned development objective, workplaces and industrial facilities in the city centers were moved out of the city through OIZs and Small Industrial Sites. Although urbanization continues in this period, there is a decrease in the rate of urbanization. There are two factors that cause this situation. The first is the relatively reduced migration of the countryside to the city through various supports. In addition, birth rates have decreased as a result of women entering the business life. The second is labor migration to European countries. 1970-1980 is the period when urbanization rate is the lowest compared to the other two periods. The reason for the decrease in the rate of increase in this period is the economic problems experienced since the beginning of 1970s. Military Memorandum of March 12, 1974 and after the Cyprus Peace Operation in Turkey to the embargo and the 1980 military coup overturned the economic outlook and the country has undergone a period of instability. Undoubtedly, this unstable environment has had quantitative and qualitative effects on urbanization. In the second five-year development plan of the SPO (1968-1972), the idea of supporting urbanization was expressed. It is thought that economic development will be achieved in this way. In addition, cities are evaluated on employment basis. Industrialization, urbanization and modernization in agriculture have been evaluated as a whole.

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FOUNDATION OF THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE’S PARTY-FRONT (DHKP-C) AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

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Introduction

Due to its geopolitical location, the ideology behind its foundation and its potential, the Republic of Turkey has been exposed to various civil rebellions as of its foundation and to national and international terrorism in progress of time (Türkiye ve Terörizm Rapor, 2006:531). When examining the terminological origin of the concept of terror, we see that it stems from the Latin word “*terre*” which means frightening the people, making them run away and spreading terror to intimidate people. Turkish word used for “terror” (terör) on the other hand stems from the French word “*terreur*” which means ravaging things and properties, terror, intimidation, causing damage to life and spreading fear (Turkish Language Association, 2019). When we examine the academic literature, there is no common definition of terror or terrorism (Goodwin, 2012:52) and there are more than a hundred different definitions (Ergil, 1992:140). The concept of terror is generally defined in encyclopedias as the systematic violence, oppression, intimidation attempts of organized groups and institutions which have a hierarchical structure towards the state or people to achieve a certain political-ideological objective (Meydan Larousse Büyük Lügat ve Ansiklopedi, 1990:549).

The concept of terrorism is defined in Article 1 of the Anti-Terror Law No.3713 enacted on 12.04.1991 which was partially amended with 4928/20 on 15.07.2003 as follows; “*Terror is all kinds of criminal actions of any person or persons connected with an organization performed to change the Constitutional qualities of the Republic and/or political, legal, social, secular and economic order, disturb the indivisible integrity of the State with its country and nation, endanger the existence of Turkish State and Republic, debilitate and seize the state authority, exterminate fundamental rights and freedoms, disturb public order or health by way of terror, force and violence and by using any of the oppression, terrorization, intimidation, suppression or threat.*” (www.mevzuat.gov.tr, 2019). According to Anti-Terror Law No.3713 an action will be regarded as a terrorist action-terror crime if the target is the integrity of the state or the nation from ideological point of view, if the action was taken by an illegal group/organization from organizational point of view and if the acts have dimensions such as scaring, intimidating, killing and terrorizing (Kuyaksil, 2004:90).

Terrorism in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey has been exposed to almost all kinds of religious, ethnic and

ideological terrorism threats from its foundation till the present time and the activities of these terrorist organizations in Turkey have always been supported by other countries including our (Bal, 2005:978-979) allies (Türkiye ve Terörizm Rapor, 2006:531). Turkey has become the target of international and particularly national terrorist organizations and their activities after 1965 (Ozankaya, 1980:170). The freedom of expression and opinion liberally provided by the Constitution of 1961 (Beyaz Kitap, Türkiye Gerçekleri ve Terörizm, 1973:16), removal of oppression on different political ideas and removal of the obstacles to organizing and trade union activities were resulted in organization of many political-ideological groups in the country (Taylak, 1998:4). Particularly those who are connected to socialist ideology and acting illegally in the past, the majority of whose leaders were oppressed have become active in a short time in this constitutional freedom environment. Since 1965, Turkey has been severely exposed to 4 waves of terrorism described below (Kongar, 2002:86-95);

- 1) First wave of terrorism: the period of international acts of terrorism by the Armenian terrorist organization ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) against Turkey.
- 2) The second wave of terrorism: the period of terrorism started after 1965 caused by organized opposing ideologies (right-left). In this period, these organizations were politically and ideologically differing from each other and their actions have led to a violence and terror spiral in a short time. Consequently, the period of 1970-1980 was almost like a civil war in the country.
- 3) The third wave of terrorism: the period of ethnic-separatist terrorism which started in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia which has led to death of thousands of people and still going on today.
- 4) The fourth wave of terrorism: the period of reactionary-religious terrorism which started after the military intervention of 1980 caused by various groups like Hezbollah, FETO. Organizations and religious references of these organizations were different but all of them were trying to recruit militants in the regions near schools and mosques. They were secretly organized in the society, in a certain region or within the state institutions and they have become so powerful in time and even attempted to stage a military coup in July 2016.

Being exposed to anarchy and all kinds of terrorism after 1965 as state and people, Turkey lost and keeps losing thousands of its citizens during its struggle against terrorism.

Sociological and Ideological Origin of DHKP/C

Entry into force of the Constitution of 1961 is accepted as the milestone of the terrorism

in Turkey. The democratic environment brought about by this libertarian constitution was particularly abused by extreme left factions in a short time. The socialist ideology was banned until that period but then, the Workers Party of Turkey (TİP) was founded on February 13, 1961 by 12 trade unionists to gather their followers together (Aybar, 2014:9). Under the leadership of Mehmet Ali Aybar, *TİP has managed to have 15 members in the National Assembly in 1965 general elections. The slogans used by the party during their election campaign were “Gracious socialism” and “Socialism intrinsic to Turkey.”* (Doğan, 2005:12). The majority of the left-wing groups in the country have supported TİP in this period (Akkus, 2015:247). During this period, Turkish left has entered a rapid organizing action almost in all fields. The influential organizations founded by the marginal Turkish Left and served as incubators in their own field were as follows (YÖK, 1985:84);

- 1) In politics: Workers Party of Turkey (TİP),
- 2) In business world: Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK),
- 3) In higher education: Federation of Idea Clubs (FKF), which later became the Revolutionary Youth (DEV-GENÇ) organization,
- 4) In education: Teachers’ Union of Turkey (TÖS)

All of these organizations were very influential in their fields and they were aggressively campaigning to propagate the socialist ideology throughout the country. Consequently the Turkish left has become very active in politics and society and particularly among the students of higher education.

The Federation of Idea Clubs (FKF) was founded under the chairmanship of Hüseyin Ergün on December 17, 1965 with the merger of five idea clubs (Feyizoğlu, 2008:45). Although the students supporting TİP were affiliated with FKF, administration of TİP did not take kindly to foundation of FKF with the worry of it would detract the youth from the party (Feyizoğlu, 2008:17). However, after a while, the struggle of different left factions to seize power both in FKF and TİP was initiated. At the end, the students who were supporters of the National Democratic Revolution (MDD) who were advocating the idea of seizing power by way of armed or military revolution as opposed to those who aimed to seize power democratically took control of FKF (Yıldırım, 2008:15). The aim of the advocates of the MDD was spreading the atmosphere of armed turmoil and anarchy, inciting unrest in society, and at the end, staging a coup under the leadership of socialist officers and making the revolution through the army (Sayılğan, 1970:18-19).

Mihri Belli who suggested and heavily advocated the idea of National Democratic Revolution (Eren, 1993:222) and Doğu Perinçek took over FKF and changed its name

to Revolutionary Youth Federation (DEV-GENÇ) in 1968 (TBMM Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu, 2012:711). More radical ideologies were developed within DEV-GENÇ and it has become a student organization which led to foundation of all successive marginal left groups (Mengüç, 1998:91). After changing its name and administration, DEV-GENÇ was reorganized as a socialist and revolutionary organization and has become an important base for the left-wing revolution to be made with arms and pressure in the future rather than being an intellectual idea club where new ideas were discussed. DEV-GENÇ's aim was making a Marxist-Leninist revolution in Turkey and to that end (Karacan, 1984:236-237), they didn't hesitate to use the peasants and workers along with the youth of higher education, among whom they were organized and provoked them at every opportunity over their problems (Landau, 1974:39). Although DEV-GENÇ was seen as a student organization, the march they have selected as the anthem of the federation proves that they were actually a revolutionary and armed anarchist organization (Özgen, 1989:22).

"Hey, Revolutionary Youth! Hey, Revolutionary Youth! Time for war is closing in,

Take your weapon against imperialism,

We workers, peasants, youth, army are ready to die for revolution,

We are powerful revolutionaries, one day we will definitely win.

Workers and peasants will seize the power hand-in-hand with blood..

Long live the People's War ... "

The members of the left-wing movement in Turkey were preparing for and awaiting a communist revolution by intensively getting organized since 1961. The opportunity they were waiting for came up with the student movements spread over Europe and America in 1968. They were ready to adapt these movements to Turkey. The student actions that started all over the world in 1968 under the leadership of Sorbonne University students in France (Wilson, 1969:545) have gradually spread over and accelerated within Turkish left-wing movement but it also resulted in splits in a short time. When university students noticed that the protest movements in the form of organized boycott or building occupation have effect on the administration and politics, cause them to be taken into consideration and create an impression in the public, they wanted to move forward. However, as the sympathy for socialism spreads among intelligentsia, students and workers, these organizations have become certain that a left-wing revolution will take place in the country and they all wanted this revolution to be made in the manner and system they want and the country should be shaped accordingly. The main reason of a crisis of method within Turkish left was invasion of socialist Czechoslovakia by communist Soviet Union on August 21, 1968 (Zürcher, 2000:372).

A clash of ideas begins within DEV-GENÇ and they lead to splits beginning from 1968. In the discussions made between Mihri Belli and Doğu Perinçek, initially Mahir Çayan, Yusuf Küpeli and some active student groups act in unision with Mihri Belli (Akan, 2002:57). However, the difference of opinion between Mihri Belli and Mahir Çayan's group in three key issues¹ brings along a new split.

THKP-C and its Legacy

Mahir Çayan gives a long and criticizing speech in the congress of DEV-GENÇ held in October 1969 and later on, he declares in December 1970 (declaration no 1) together with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, Ulaş Bardakçı, Hüseyin Cevahir, İlhami Aras, Yusuf Küpeli, Captain Orhan Savaşçı, Münir Ramazan Aktolga, Bingöl Erdumlu and Ziya Yılmaz, and announces that (Çayan, 2010:142-146) the Turkish Peoples Liberation Party-Front (THKP-C) is founded (THKP-C Doğuğu ve İlk Eylemleri, 1987:13-14). The THKP was going to be the political leader of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement and the THKC was going to be the striking power that enforces the orders of political leadership (Beyaz Kitap, Türkiye Gerçekleri ve Terörizm, 1973:66). THKP-C was managed by a core team of 12. The Central Committee had three members; Mahir Çayan, Özer Küpeli and Münir Aktolga and the General Management Committee was composed of other 9 (Marmara Brifingi, 1995:52-53). Most important characteristic of THKP-C was that they were the first organization to announce clearly that the Marxist-Leninist revolution needed to be made to have a communist administration in Turkey² could only be achieved with an armed struggle (Çobanlı, 2009:265). Even though the life of the organization was rather short, due to this characteristic and its implementation method, THKP-C has become the opinion leader of many successive organizations and all of them have alleged that they have inherited the legacy of THKP-C.

When acts of terrorism of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) organized under the leadership of Deniz Gezmiş (Çayan, 2003:180-185) create a tremendous impression on the public (Beyaz Kitap, Türkiye Gerçekleri ve Terörizm, 1973:32), opinions of Mahir Çayan who was trying to prepare the founding organization and advocating rural guerrilla operations and his friends begin to change (Feyizoğlu,

¹ Mihri Belli's group and Mahir Çayan's team had some differences. 1) While Mihri Belli was suggesting that a new legal party should be established instead of TİP which he claims that acting against the essence of revolution, Mahir Çayan was arguing that the new party will end like TİP, so an illegal party would be much better. 2) Mihri Belli was stating that the working class should be immediately organized and take action for the proletariat to be the pioneer of the revolution, Mahir Çayan was advocating that the peasants should be the pioneers and the revolution should be initiated in the rural. 3) Mihri Belli argued that the national borders should remain the same and include the Kurdish people but Mahir Çayan said that the Kurds should be allowed to live independently. See; BELLI, Mihri, **Case of June Movement, Documents I**, Compiled by: ASLAN S., Emekci Publications, Istanbul, January 1977, p.14-15.

² The advocates of the armed struggle in the Turkish left-wing have been greatly influenced by the following important principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology; 1) There will certainly be a convenient environment for social revolution and the revolution will take place sooner or later, 2) Armed actions are necessary to prepare the society and ensure the revolution, 3) Former imperialist and bourgeois power should be eliminated for the revolution come to life and survive, 4) A guerrilla structure should be established both in rural and metropolises and cities, 5) It is necessary to go beyond long and classical methods in order to ensure social change in society. See: KARACAN, İ., *ibid.*, p.203-205, cited by: ZAFER, Hamide, **Terrorism with its Sociological Dimension**, Beta Press Release Distribution, Istanbul 1999, p.17.

2002:312). Thus, the first action of THKP-C that hits the headlines was the bank robbery in Ankara (Alkan, 2002:68). The organization continues its actions such as a couple of bombings, a few bank robberies and two kidnappings (Satılmış, 2001:142-143) but the biggest action of the organization which creates a tremendous impression on the public was kidnapping of the Israeli Consul General Ephraim Elrom on May 17, 1971 and killing him (Milliyet Gazetesi, 1971; Tercüman Gazetesi, 1971; Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1971 and Akşam Gazetesi, 1971). This action instantly makes the organization come to the fore and they were firmly chased everywhere upon attracting great attention. After a while they were driven into a corner at a house in Maltepe, where they have taken the owners of the house hostage. The blockade and negotiations lasted 51 hours and finally an armed fight took place. At the end Mahir Çayan was captured alive but seriously wounded and Hüseyin Cevahir was killed (Milliyet Gazetesi, 1971 and Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1971). After a short imprisonment, Mahir Çayan shadily escapes from prison with four of his friends (Günaydın, 1971) and they kidnap two English and one Canadian technicians from a NATO base to stop the execution of Deniz Gezmiş and his group. On March 30, 1972, they were trapped at a house in Kızıldere, Tokat with their hostages and got killed (Gün Gazetesi, 1972 and Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1972) Upon killing of Mahir Çayan and his friends except Ertuğrul Kürkçü who came alive in Kızıldere, the majority of the leading founders of THKP-C were physically eliminated in a short span of time and consequently the organization fell apart (Kürkçü, 1988:2198)

Although the leading staff of THKP-C was actually eliminated in a short span of time like the leaders of THKO, differently from THKO many new organizations were founded alleging that they are successors of THKP-C as a result of theoretical analyses brought along by Turkish left (Aydınöğlu, 2007:309). Especially the Marxist-Leninist groups who were set free pursuant to the Amnesty Law No.1803 enacted in 1974 TBMM Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu, 2012:763) began to dissent and embarked on new quests to take revenge. This has resulted in foundation of many marginal factions including THKP-C, who claims that they follow Mahir Çayan's lead and take him as a reference. These organizations are below: Yurtseven, 2008:196-200).

Various factions derived from the People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey:
Urgent Action (Acilciler)
Revolutionary Pioneers of the People
Revolutionary War
Unity of Action
Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit (MLSPB) ----- Townsmen
THKP-C Fighters (Sympathizers)
THKP-C Road to Front
Union of Revolutionary Sympathizers on the Path of THKP-C (Çayan Sympathizers)
Liberation Socialist Journal (KSD)
THKP-C Fighters
THKP-C (ML) People's Path (Revolutionary People's Path)
Revolutionary Path
Revolutionary Left (Later DHKP-C)

Recovery Attempts after THKP-C and Development of DHKP/C Organization

THKP-C, which was a short-lived marginal left-wing terrorist organization founded by Mahir Çayan and friends has taken the lead for many successive organizations with its new and stern ideological development and militarist tactic. Many sympathizers of the Turkish left which was withdrawn into itself due to the severe oppression after the Turkish military memorandum on March 12, 1972 were set free with the amnesty law enacted in 1974. The first signs of recovery were observed in August 1976 with the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç) (Alkan, 2002:68). However, differences of opinion were arose among the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups while they were trying to recover. As a result of these differences of opinion, the Ankara group within Dev-Genç decided to call themselves the *Revolutionary Path* (**Dev-Yol**) and Dursun Karataş and his friends in the Istanbul group *has called themselves the Revolutionary Left* (**Dev-Sol**) (Kuyaksil, 2004:103).

Immediately after its founding, the Dev-Sol has initiated armed actions to make its name known to the public and to increase its popularity among the left intelligentsia. Based in Istanbul, the organization was effective in Elazığ, Malatya, Çanakkale, Denizli, Bursa, İzmir, Konya, Kocaeli, Trabzon and Tekirdağ provinces (Türkiye’de Anarşi ve Terörün Gelişmesi, Sonuçları ve Güvenlik Kuvvetleri ile önlenmesi, 1982). Within two years, Dev-Sol has become one of the most active terrorist organizations in Turkey and their biggest actions in this period were killing the former Minister for Customs and Monopolies, Gün Sazak on May 27, 1980 in Ankara (Tercüman Gazetesi, 1980; Hürriyet Gazetesi, 1980 and Akşam Gazetesi, 1980) and assassinating the former Prime Minister Nihat Erim who put up a great fight against the radical left-wing movement after 1971 in Dragos, İstanbul on July 19, 1980 (Milliyet Gazetesi, 1980; Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1980 and Hürriyet Gazetesi, 1980). The organization has killed 240 people in total, 35 of whom were law enforcement officers, 25 were military personnel and 240 were civilians until the military coup on September 12, 1980 (Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:5).

Following the assassination of former Prime Minister Nihat Erim, security forces have carried out intensive operations to capture them. But in an attempt to prove that they are still effective after the military coup on September 12, the organization killed İstanbul Security Director Mahmut Dikler and his police escort on February 2, 1981 (Ersan, 2013:383). This assassinations led to increased pressure on the organization and they have lost many militants. In addition, many members of the organization, Dursun Karataş, the leader of the organization being in the first place were captured and the organization enters into the collapse process (Milliyet Gazetesi, 1981).

In the period they called “*Retreat*” after 1983, the organization was trying to gather strength (Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:6) and gravitated towards legal fields and became

inactive. 1989 was an important milestone for the organization. On October 25, 1989 Dursun Karataş (Akyol, 2010) and Bedri Yağan escape from Bayrampaşa prison in Istanbul (Kuyaksil, 2004:2013) and this escape becomes a new source of morale and motivation for the organisation. They initiate the new period of armed actions. Because of the extortions and robberies carried out during its recovery process after 1990 they have committed, the organization didn't have a financial problem anymore (Işık, 2013:39). Dev-Yol provided theoretical and practical military guerrilla training for its militants in Beqaa Valley in Lebanon between the years of 1990 - 1992 and settled some of these militants in cell houses in country and Istanbul upon their return to Turkey (Terör Örgütleri ve Tunceli'deki Yapılanması, 1997:31). However, when Sabahat Karataş, Dursun Karataş's spouse and Niyazi Aydın and Sinan Kukul from central administration committee are captured dead in the operations of security forces in 1991-1992 (Hürriyet Gazetesi, 1992; Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1992; Milliyet Gazetesi, 1992), internal criticism begins within the organization. After escaping from Bayrampaşa Prison in 1989, Dursun Karataş, Bedri Yağan (Middle East supervisor of Dev-Sol), Aslan Şener and İbrahim Bingöl go to Germany and Dursun Karataş manages the organization from there. He was captured at his home he uses as the central quarters and imprisoned in the basement (Hürriyet Gazetesi, 1992; Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1992; Milliyet Gazetesi, 1992). This causes a great chaos and separation within the organization. After this incident Bedri Yağan and his group is called **"the Coup"** and Dursun Karataş and his defenders are called **"Leadership (Nepotists)"**. This split leads to armed internal conflict within the organization (Öznur, 2004: 1505-1567). The Coup accuse Dursun Karataş of bringing the organization to the point of dissolution with his decisions, using the revenues of the organization personally, buying villas, being a womanizer, imitating Abdullah Öcalan and arbitrarily employing a private translator (Demirel, 2001:327). After Bedri Yağan is killed in the operation carried out by the security forces in Istanbul on March 6, 1993 (Demirel, 2001:346), the leadership group takes control of the organization again. After the struggle within the Dev-Sol was won by the leadership group, the organization was dissolved for a while. After recuperating from the internal conflict and chaos, the organization decides to establish a party instead of renewing all staff. In the first congress of the organization held in Syria between March 30 - May 9, 1993, Dursun Karataş was unanimously selected as the Secretary General and the name of the organization is changed to the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) (Alkan, 2002:69). According to this dual structure, political (politik ve siyasi aynı şeydir) activities were going to be performed by the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party (DHKP) and military activities by the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (DHKC) (Işık, 2013:40). Dursun Karataş, the founding leader of the terrorist organization, explains the foundation of DHKP-C as follows (Karataş, 1995:6);

"Beginning of our movement goes back to 1974. Those are the years of absorbing and

owning THKP-C. The years of 1977-1978 was the period when preparations to re-establish THKP-C were initiated. In this period, we have also demonstrated the ideology and practice of THKP-C to the masses and learned how to lead these masses. They were the years we have experienced September 12, 1980, betrayal, learned resistance, and falling and standing up again. We knew our friends and enemies better and improved our consciousness of power. 1985-89 were the years we have learned to retreat and gather strength. 1990 was the year when we put the breakthrough into practice and accelerated our march on the way towards revolution. We have seen the exposed face of war on July 12, 1991 and become aware of the consequences if we don't abide by the rules of this war. April 16-17, 1991 were the days we have experienced the honor of resisting in a war, learned and taught that those who have faith in socialism and who love their country and people cannot be defeated under no circumstances, and when the Revolutionary Left has become immortalized in the eye of masses. September 13, 1992 was the day when internal enemies have become external ones and attacked us to destroy our organization. On that day, we have seen how the imperialists, their local collaborationists, enemies wearing the mask of a friend unite, surround and destroy us. Those were the years we have fallen into carelessness regarding what the internal enemies can do."

After becoming a party in 1993, DHKP-C wants to perform sensational actions to announce its foundation and make itself heard. Their first targets were the District Governorship and Police Headquarters in Bahçelievler, Istanbul (Demirel, 2001:403-404). But when these actions fail, the organization kills the former Minister of Justice, Mehmet Topaç in his office in Ankara on September 29, 1994 (Milliyet Gazetesi, 1992 and Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1992). Following this assassination, DHKP-C officially announces its foundation with their bulletin no. 1 on October 7, 1994 (Demirel, 2001:403-404). The biggest action of the organization after this date was infiltrating the headquarters of Sabancı Holding in Levent, Istanbul. Three militants, one of whom was a woman, kill the Board Member of Sabancı Holding, Özdemir Sabancı, General Manager of Toyota-Sa, Haluk Görgün and secretary Nilgün Hasefe (Demirel, 2001:403-404).

One of the greatest turning points for DHKP-C was death of Dursun Karataş who was the founder of the organization, carried out all kinds of illegal activities for its development and regarded as a charismatic leader by the militants of the organization in the Netherlands from cancer on 11.08.2008 (Hürriyet, 2008). His corpse was brought to Turkey on August 14, 2008. The funeral was held the next day in Hacı Bektaş Veli Gazi Culture Foundation Djemevi (Bünyamin, 2015:170-191) in Gazi District, İstanbul where DHKP-C was very powerful and buried in the cemetery in Gazi District (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 2008). After the death of Dursun Karataş, the struggle for leadership has begun within DHKP-C and Ümit İlder was selected as the secretary general. Various terrorist activities of the organization also continued in his period but upon capture of Ümit İlder

and Caferi Sadık Eroğlu, who was in charge of the activities in Turkey on 27.02.2019 in the secret shelter in the basement of İdil Cultural Center, one of the legal shell companies of the organization (www.ahaber.com.tr, 2019) the organization was entered an inertia-waiting period. Today DHKP-C is led by a *council* composed of Zerrin Sarı, the lawyer girlfriend of Dursun Karataş, officer of armed wing, Hüseyin Fevzi Tekin and operative militants of the organization (www.sabah.com.tr, 2019). Being responsible for many acts of terrorism following its foundation, DHKP-C have also cooperated with other active marginal left-wing organizations from time to time. Actually, these organizations have always been in contact, even if limited, from the time of Dev-Sol. In spite of the fact that the organization was generally more organized and active in western provinces of the country and Black Sea Region, it has always referred to the respect they have for Alevism and Alevi values in Central Anatolia and to Kurdish origin of their leader, Dursun Karataş, in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions (Karataş, 2010:40). DHKP-C was regarding the separatist terrorist organization PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) extremely ethnic nationalist in terms of their ideology but even so, it has attempted to associate with them in 1994 (Demirel, 2001:278-279). Even though these attempts have failed, both organizations have acted together, especially in the country side of Tunceli province (Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:161). Collaboration of these two organizations was not as good as they wanted in the field but they cooperate in the actions they perform in prisons. They jointly plan all actions through the ***“Central Prison Coordination”*** they have established in prisons (Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:162-169). PKK wanted to move its militants who got stuck in the eastern rural of the country and its task force to Black Sea and metropolises through the powerful organization of DHKP-C.

Aim and Strategic Objective of the DHKP-C Organization

From the time of Dev-Sol, the aim of the DHKP-C has always been to destroy the existing constitutional order in the country with an armed struggle and establish a Marxist-Leninist Communist system (Alkan, 2002:70). In accordance with the organizational ideology, conditions for a revolution are in existence in Turkey. However, a powerful organization and mass power are necessary to destroy the dominant bourgeois powers which try to prevent the revolution and protect the system. In order to form this power, a strategy should be formed (Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:87-88).

The strategy selected by the Marxist-Leninist organization to raise the awareness of the masses and make them ready for the revolution was the ***“Politicized Military War Strategy”*** (PMWS) based on armed struggle (Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi (DHKP) Programı, 1995:3). Practical applications of the politicized military war strategy are the ***People's War*** method used during the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua (Korkmaz, 1999:119). However it is stated in DHKP-C's program that some differences required due to the conditions in the country should be taken into consideration when applying the

PMWS in Turkey. These differences are below (Karataş, 1996:413; Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:89-93):

- 1) People's war will follow the *Pioneering War* based on armed propaganda.
- 2) People's war will be based on the "*Principle of United War*" which ensures dialectic integrity of rural and urban areas.
- 3) Since imperialism dominates the most secret and remote corners, it is difficult to establish "*Liberated Areas*" at the onset of people's war.
- 4) The basic fighting forces in the People's War will be workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie.
- 5) The basic organizational principle of people's war is the idea of "*Unity of Political Military Leadership*."

Organization considers ***Pioneering War*** compulsory to actualize PMWS (Terör Örgütleri ve Tunceli'deki Yapılanması, 1997:40). Because in societies dominated by capitalist and imperialist bourgeois forces, there is an "***Artificial Balance***" between the people and the state (Kozaklı, 2007:501). DHKP-C is a party which will relieve the people of this artificial ideological and economic environment created by the state, force the masses to seek for radical solutions, make the state recognize the existence of a powerful organization and raise awareness of the people or an organization which struggles for these purposes. The main form of struggle to achieve this will be armed propaganda (Karataş, 1996:414; Sol Terör Örgütleri, 1997:90). The DHKP-C terrorist organization, which chooses the form of armed action, has caused more armed terrorist incidents than other illegal left-wing organizations. Proportions of marginal and destructive left-wing terrorist organizations in total actions between 2003-2007 are as follows (Demirci, 2011:211);

Name of Armed left-wing Organization	Rate of Performed Actions (%)
DHKP-C	42.4
MLCP	30.7
TKP-ML	6.5
MCP	5.3
Other	15.1

Acts of Terrorism of DHKP-C Organization

Taking the decision to be a party in its 1st Congress held in Syria in 1993, DHKP-C have performed hundreds of acts of terrorism until today to achieve its goal and numerous civilian Turkish citizens have lost their lives in these actions. The actions of the Party after its foundation are as follows in chronological order (www.ozelburoistihbarat.com, 2019 and www.yenisafak.com, 2019);

DATE OF ACTION	PLACE OF ACTION	TERRORIST ACTION
September 29, 1994	Ankara	Murdering former Minister of Justice, Mehmet Topa
January 1, 1995	İstanbul	Raiding Ko Holding’s warehouse
June 9, 1995	İstanbul	Killing the police officer named Rst Erdem who was on guard duty in front of the TPP (True Path Party) building in ŐiŐli.
September 29, 1995	İstanbul	Killing the soldiers named Tarkan Yağcı and Serdar ztrk who were on guard duty at the entrance of the Provincial Gendarmerie Regimental Command with crossfire in Maslak.
January 9, 1996	İstanbul	Killing the Board Member of Sabancı Holding, zdemir Sabancı, General Manager of Toyota-SA Haluk Grgn and secretary Nilgn Hasefe.
January 3, 2001	İstanbul	As a result of a suicide attack on ŐiŐli District Police Department, a civilian and the assailant were killed and 7 people were injured.
September 10, 2001	İstanbul	A suicide attack was organized at the police point in Beyoėlu. Along with the terrorist, police officers Halil Ibrahim Dogan, Tuncay Karatas and an Australian tourist named Amanda Rigg died in the attack. 17 police officers and 6 citizens were injured as a result of the attack.
June 16, 2012	İstanbul	Police officer named Zekeriya Yurdakul was killed.
July 21, 2012	İstanbul	A police officer was injured as a result of commencing fire on patrolling police officers.
September 11, 2012	İstanbul	A suicide attack was organized at 75th Anniversary Police Station. Police officer named Blent zkan lost his life along with the terrorist and 7 persons were injured.
December 9, 2012	İstanbul	An attack was organized at 75th Anniversary Police Station.
December 11, 2012	İstanbul	The police officer named Mcahit DaŐtan was shot and killed in GaziosmanpaŐa.
February 1, 2013	Ankara	The security guard named Mustafa Akarsu got killed in the suicide attack organized at USA Embassy.
March 19, 2013	Ankara	Simultaneous attacks were organized at the Ministry of Justice and headquarters of JDP (Justice and Development Party).
September 21, 2013	Ankara	General Directorate of Security and outbuildings were attacked with rockets.
March 12, 2014	İstanbul	A young man named Burak Karamanoėlu was killed in a fight between opposing viewers due to Berkin Elvan’s funeral.
April 24, 2014	İstanbul	A citizen named Ferhat AMAL, who allegedly sold drugs, was shot and paralyzed.
July 30, 2014	İstanbul	DHKP-C didn’t allow the supporters of Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP) to open a booth an armed conflict took place. 16-year-old Ibrahim ksz died.
August 14, 2014	İstanbul	Fire opened with long barrel weapons at Kartal Courthouse and a security officer was injured; a police car was raked through in Yenisahra.
January 1, 2015	İstanbul	Two hand grenades were dropped at Dolmabahe Palace

February 26, 2015	İstanbul	Two people who were allegedly selling drugs were killed and one person was injured.
March 10, 2015	İstanbul	A person allegedly selling drugs was beaten on the street, and seriously injured person died.
March 31, 2015	İstanbul	Public Prosecutor Selim Kiraz who was ruling the case of Berkin Elvan was taken hostage in his office in Çağlayan Courthouse and got killed.
April 1, 2015	İstanbul	As a result of the attack on the Police Department with grenades and guns, one police officer and one civilian were injured.
May 18, 2015	Adana-Mersin	Party buildings of PTP were bombed.
June 16, 2015	Elazığ	Elazığ-Pertek road was closed to traffic in commemoration of Berkin Elvan.
March 3, 2016	İstanbul	One police officer was injured in the grenade attack organized at the Riot Police Branch Office.
March 30, 2016	Tunceli	Grenades were dropped at the entrances to Governorate and Courthouse.

Conclusion

Terrorism aims to shake, wear out and take down the administration of a country politically, socially and economically by putting fear in the hearts of its citizens. Turkey has been systematically exposed to destructive and separatist terrorist activities as of 1960s. Particularly the left-wing terrorist activities obsessively living on ideological sources such as DHKP-C still continue even though their intensity, dimensions and tactics change from time to time. The left-wing terrorist organizations which have regarded the liberal freedoms brought along by the Constitution of 1961 as an opportunity to spread their ideologies have brought the left-wing protest movements rising in the world due to the effect of cold war to Turkey. Discussions on the method among various left-wing groups which claimed that they did not create the desired effect on the public via the press and associations, TİP (Workers' Party of Turkey) was not effective on legislative power even if it got into the parliament and socialist revolution cannot be actualized in this way result in ideological and physical separations. Particularly the radical student groups who understand that the revolution was impossible with lawful means begin to advocate that armed actions would provoke disturbance and chaos in the country and prepare the environment for a revolution.

Many armed organizations advocating Marxist-Leninist doctrine were founded under the influence of student leaders like Deniz Gezmiş, Mahir Çayan and İbrahim Kaypakkaya in the 1970s. The armed acts of terrorism such as extortion, plundering, bank robbery, kidnapping and bombing begin to occupy the country's agenda intensively. Following the military memorandum of 1971 and implementation of martial law, the majority of the leaders of radical left-wing organizations are eliminated and their militants are imprisoned. acts of terrorism show a decrease in this period to some extent but they begin to rise again after 1975. Upon enactment of the partial amnesty law in 1964 and generalization of this law for all prisoners by the Constitutional Court, numerous militants

are released from prisons. In 1978, Turkey is on the verge of a civil war covering almost all social stratum. Every day, dozens of people were involved in violent acts due to their opposite opinions and hundreds of criminal incidents were occurring. In order to end this chaotic environment which was allegedly the reason of the coup on September 12, 1980, members of all political parties and civil society organizations were suppressed by the military government and tens of persons were imprisoned. In this period, particularly the left-wing organizations undergo a process of introversion or destruction. After the military coup, passive members of Dev-Sol become active again after their leader Dursun Karataş escapes from prison in 1989.

Leaders of Dev-Sol, who obsessively believe that a Marxist-Leninist revolution would still take place in Turkey, provide military training for their sympathizers in Beqaa Valley, Lebanon to ensure the change by force of arms and settle them in rural areas and metropolises. Security forces launch successful operations on the organization which wants to carry on extortion, plundering and armed actions and many militants were either killed or captured. The heavy losses of Dev-Sol initiate discussions, leadership race and disintegration within the organization. When rivals of Dursun Karataş are killed by the security forces, Dursun Karataş becomes the leader of the organization after a short internal feud and continues to lead the organization from abroad until his death.

The organization converts into a party in 1993, changes its name to DHKP-C and violence continues. When the cold war came to an end and Soviet Union was collapsed, the organization has lost its ideological reference point and consequently head towards getting other reference points to survive. The sympathizers of Dev-Sol were previously pursuing an ideological unity rather than paying regard to any ethnical or sectarian difference but today it is observed that they emphasize the origin of DHKP-C's leader more frequently and center upon the Alevi citizens who feel that they have been treated unjustly for long years beginning from the Ottoman era. Beginning to make discriminating and trouble creating publications based on Alevi-Sunni discussions, the organization is after recruiting Alevi sympathizers and militants and establishing a dynamic and permanent social base and use it. All left-wing demonstrations in the metropolises in the country are staged in the districts where Alevi citizens live under the leadership of DHKP-C. Regardless of their religious sects, corpses of the militants killed in the operations of security forces were brought to Djemevis and their funerals turned to agitative propaganda and the majority of the militants on the run and in prisons were Alevi citizens. Consequently DHKP-C has become a sectarian organization besides being an extreme left-wing Marxist-Leninist destructive terrorist organization.

The reason why the leader of the organization, Dursun Karataş was easily travelling to European countries, the security was provided for him, easily financed and easily communicated with the country was that the support provided to him by the intelligence

agencies of some allies which don't want Turkey to be more powerful. Some terrorist attacks organized at places which are not strategic targets for the organization because it is the contractor of these foreign intelligence services.

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TEACHER TRAINING POLICIES IN TURKEY BETWEEN 1938 AND 1982

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Introduction

The elements of the entire system and the interaction between those elements must be assessed together to be able to properly evaluate the positive or negative circumstances and outcomes that have been experienced in the education system. It would also be inappropriate to assess the education system independently of other systems (Social, political, economic) with which it interacts. Every nation has its own specific education system. These systems are established and developed based on the social, cultural, political and economic values of the society (Azar, 2011). As the most important element of the education system, the training and development of teachers is also affected by the social, cultural, political and economic values of the society. What makes teachers the most important component of the education system is their constant interaction with all other components within the education system. Moreover, teachers have the authority and the responsibility to use their initiatives in regard to the other components (Özoğlu, 2011). Qualified prospective teachers are required for quality teacher training. Therefore, candidates who are attracted to the teaching profession should have certain characteristics to be good teachers in the future (Kahramanoğlu and Bay, 2016). The characteristics that the prospective teachers are expected to have are also influenced by the cultural, political and economic structure of the society. For this reason, all components of the teacher training system should be challenged through a continuous evaluation process and it should be continuously improved to ensure the training of a sufficient number of teachers with the qualities required for today and the future (Azar, 2011).

Historically, various models have been used for pre-service and in-service training of teachers in Turkey (Azar, 2011). In Turkey, the society's demands from education increased during the Republican Period, as socio-cultural and economic life evolved, and significant innovations were required in the education system to meet these demands (Duman, 1988). Social, economic, political and cultural transformations were initiated to create a new society for the training of the people of the Republic in the process of establishing a nation-state. The goal of these transformations was the transition from a traditional society and culture to a western society. Teachers were assigned significant responsibilities to realize this goal and to ensure that younger generations would adopt the principles that were determined by the proclamation of the republic (Uygun, 2003; Akman, 2016). The training of teachers and their appointment in accordance with the requirements also played a key role in educating the society to the desired level in Turkey (Saç, 2016). Efforts to train qualified teachers also continued after the Atatürk

period. One of these was the effort to train the teachers for the villages which was the main topics of discussion during the Atatürk period as well. In Turkey, training teachers largely came under the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education until 1982. Since 1982 this responsibility has been transferred to universities. In this section, the teacher training policies in Turkey between 1938 and 1982 are discussed. The teacher training process is assessed in this section based on the training of preschool, primary school, secondary school and secondary education teachers.

Training Teachers for Preschool Education

The preschool period is the period in which human development takes place the fastest. This is also the period during which children are most affected by their external environment. Therefore, it is important to create an environment that is appropriate to the behavior to be taught in this period. The work undertaken on preschool education and training of preschool teachers in Turkey between 1938 and 1982 can be observed. In Turkey, activities relating to childcare and education and awareness of this issue was primarily carried out and raised through the education of young girls and women. Established under the Ministry of National Education in 1952 in accordance with Law No. 6972 on the Protection of Children who are in Need of Protection, a commission prepared the “Temporary Program for a Course on the Training of Teachers for Nursery Schools through the Nursery School program and regulation (Ministry of National Education (MEB), 1995).

The Fifth National Education Council which was convened on February 5-14, 1953 focused on the principle that the teacher and the family should work together and the family’s support was needed in the education of the child so that the child can be raised to be free. In addition, at the council, Reşat Oğuz argued that instead of sending staff abroad to train teachers for nursery schools, teachers should be trained in nursery school branches to be opened in teaching schools for girls (Özalp & Ataünal, 1977; Akman, 2017). In Turkey, significant improvements relating to preschool education after 1960 attracted attention and significant steps have been observed to have been slowly and gradually introduced in terms of institutionalized training (Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016). Preschool education institutions were identified as an optional field of education within the primary education institutions under the “Primary Education and Education Law No. 222 dated January 5, 1961. According to Article 17 of Law No. 222, “those who graduated from teaching schools or special departments opened for this purpose, received an equivalent education in foreign countries, and successfully completed private school or courses after graduating from a high school or an institute for girls” would be able to be appointed as teachers at nursery schools. However, in 1961-1962, a department called Child Development and Education was opened at the Higher Technical Teacher Education School for Girls. In this department, teachers and

administrators were trained for preschool educational institutions (MEB, 1995; Güven, 2015; Saç, 2016).

In 1961, twenty primary school teachers received training and in 1962 they were sent to Italy for a one-month preschool education seminar. Between 1960 and 1970, more attention was paid to the training of staff for preschool institutions. The opening of a Child Development and Education Department at the Art Teacher Education School for Girls, in addition to the Higher Technical Teacher Education School for Girls, is an example of this. In the 1963-1964 academic year, departments relating to child development and care were opened within the Vocational School for Girls. This department was supplemented with teaching formation courses in addition to the vocational training and began to train teachers for preschool educational institutions under Decision No. 120 of the Board of Education dated 1967 (MEB, 1995; Okçabol, 2005; Baydemir, 2009; Güven, 2015; Oğuzcan, n.d.). In the 1970-1971 academic year, the duration of the teaching programs for primary education was raised to four years and certain changes were made to the curriculum. In addition to vocational classes, a “Preschool Education” course was included in the curriculum to meet the teacher requirements for nursery schools and classes. Thus, it was possible for these school graduates to work as preschool teachers (Güler, 1994; Baydemir, 2009; Akman and Meydan, 2018).

In Article 17 of the Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 which was enacted in 1973, as part of the principle of “Education everywhere” emphasis was placed on the following statement: “The goals of national education will try to be realized not only in public and private education institutions but also at home, in the community, at work, everywhere and at every opportunity”. In this law, preschool education was considered as the education of children who had not reached the required age for compulsory education, and its purposes and responsibilities were clearly stated (Bilir et al., 1998 Cited by: Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016). The task of training teachers for preschool education was transferred to higher education institutions under Article 43 of Law No. 1739 and the Child Development and Education Department of the Higher Technical Teacher Education School for Girls was assigned to prepare education programs to train nursery school teachers. The two-year “Associate Degree Program for Nursery School Teaching” which was prepared by this department in 1979 has been put into practice since the 1980-1981 academic year. Hence, the training of kindergarten and nursery school teachers at higher education institutions became legally accepted. In 1982, this program was also adopted and approved by the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), after higher teacher education schools began to be managed by universities (Güler, 1994; Baydemir, 2009).

A “Preschool Branch” was established in 1977 under the General Directorate of Primary Education; and the work on the opening of nursery classes within primary schools, the

training of teachers for preschool education, and the preparation of all necessary tools and equipment were all accelerated (Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016). In the model developed for the training of teachers in the 10th National Education Council which was convened in 1981, preschool education was considered as a natural supplement to the first level of basic education, and it was stated that teachers at these two institutions should be trained by the same resource, and the differences required to be implemented by practice at these two levels should be met with flexibility within the program. In addition, the training of preschool teachers through a 4-year higher education program following secondary education was accepted as a principle at the 11th Education Council which was convened in 1982 (Güler, 1994).

Training Teachers for Primary Schools

Teacher training institutions opened for the training of primary school teachers in accordance with the needs of the time and the programs implemented in these institutions are of great importance. The availability of work undertaken for this purpose in Turkey between 1938 and 1982 is noteworthy. Policies and practices regarding the training of teachers for villages was a topic of significant focus during the Atatürk and İsmet İnönü period. Since the majority of the population lived in villages, the education of the people living there was important. The number of teachers who were considered suitable for such villages and who could adopt the village lifestyle was very low and did not meet the requirements. Training a sufficient number of teachers through teaching schools for primary education was not possible until the establishment of the village institutes (Akyüz, 2007). In Turkey, the number of schools in villages where eighty percent of the county's population lived was very limited in 1935. In addition, the few teachers who were sent to these schools from the cities were unable to adapt to the village lifestyle and, thus, were not successful (Karasolak, 2017). In the summer of 1936, the Eskişehir Çifteler Village Trainers course was opened, initially during the time of the Minister of National Education, Saffet Arıkan. In the 1937-1938 academic year, Village Teacher Schools were opened in İzmir and Eskişehir. It was as if the schools were preparing for the Village Institutes that were to be established later. (Güven, 2015). One of the main problems of village education was the transition of the population in the rural areas to a certain level in terms of knowledge, awareness and skills; and their adoption of the citizenship consciousness and the new regime. However, this goal was not adequately achieved. This was because the work undertaken for education was not enough for the villages although the majority of the population lived in villages (Cenan, 2015).

During the First National Education Council which was convened on July 17-29, 1939, the problem of education in villages and training teachers for the villages were also discussed. During the council, a development plan that would improve primary education was made and it was decided to implement it. After this, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç

began to work with other members who participated in the council on a draft law for the establishment of village institutes. These were the first steps that were taken towards the establishment of village institutes (Turan, 2009). Finally, a total of 21 Village Institutes with 5 year educational programs were established under Law No. 3803 dated April 17, 1940, in or near villages with large areas of land that were suitable for agriculture, to train village teachers and other staff for professions that were required in the villages and subsequently training programs began at these institutes. On April 17, 1940, village teaching schools were established as Village Institutes and their education period was determined to 5 years following a 5-year period of primary school through Law No. 3803 (Cicioğlu, 1985; Aydın, 2013; Güven, 2015).

The rationales for Law No. 3803 on Village Institutes dated April 17, 1940 can be summarized as follows

1. 76.7% of the male population and 91.8% of the female population were illiterate and most of them lived in villages;
2. The places where the ignorance was most intense were the villages which were the homelands of farmers who made up 81% of the active population;
3. The requirement for guidance to educate villagers and improve their knowledge so that they could become better producers;
4. 31,000 of villages had no schools;
5. Existing teaching schools were established mostly for cities and towns. Teachers who were trained at such schools could not adapt to the conditions in the villages;
6. To provide enough land that was suitable for agriculture;
7. To also train health personnel to work in the villages;
8. To train and educate village people in terms of art and culture (Binbaşıoğlu, 2014; Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2015).

The teachers who were sent to the villages did not stay in those places for more than a few years, and were looking for ways to go to the cities. Therefore, the village children to be admitted to the village institutes had to be trained in such a way that they would be encouraged to stay in their village. In addition, what was taught by teachers was simply theoretical knowledge for village children. As the villagers saw children who grew up with this kind of knowledge, they were saying: “reading, writing, learning many things, these are all very well, but what are we supposed to do with them, they are not things that we would like to know and require”. For these reasons, there was a need for the village

institutes (Uygun, 2003; Aydın, 2013). Through Law No. 3803 on Village Institutes, villages were identified as the resource for students, and the students were required to work in the villages for 20 years, ensuring that they would stay in the villages after receiving their education. One of the reasons for opening the village institutes was the idea that people who experienced the living conditions of a village, were familiar with these conditions, participated in village work, and were educated would be useful for education and training in the villages and the selection of such people from the villages could only be accomplished by providing them with the necessary knowledge and skills in the fields of education, culture, health and agriculture, and then appointing them to work in the villages (Giorgetti & Batır, 2008; Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2015:15). The locations of the village institutes were identified in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture based on the agricultural characteristics and climatic conditions of the areas. Arid lands in the appropriate provinces, in the outskirts of appropriate villages ,and on roads were preferred for establishment of the institutes (Okçabol, 2005; Aydın, 2013). The objectives of the Village Institutes were to ensure socio-economic development, accelerate cultural change, raise a knowledgeable and productive society, and teach the public their rights so that they would know what they want (Şahin, 1996). For these purposes, the following principles were taken into consideration when establishing the village institutes:

1. The principle of activity or business in teaching
2. The principle of democratic education or self-education and management
3. The principle of public education or community development (Binbaşıoğlu, 2014).

There is no precise information on the types of programs that were implemented in each of the village institutes until 1943. During the foundation period of 1940-1943, it is understood that roads, structures, and canals were built on the basis of working rather than studying and that work on sowing and planting were the primary focus. The first formal curriculum of the institutes dates back to 1943. This curriculum was accepted by Decision No. 75 of the Board of Education dated 4.5.1943. Accordingly, such schools were providing an education for 5 years after primary education and during this period, “cultural courses” were held for 22 hours a week for 114 weeks, “agricultural” courses and work were conducted for 11 hours a week for 58 weeks, and “technical” courses and work were conducted for 58 weeks. According to this curriculum, the primary duty of prospective teachers who were trained at village institutes was to teach at schools. However, prospective teachers would gain proficiency in two branches that would be relevant for the villages that they would go to, one of which would be work and the other of which would be agriculture, and they would teach these to the students and the village people. The time allocated to cultural courses was increased through changes made in

1947. In 1953, the weight of the cultural and vocational courses was further increased (Sakaoğlu, 2003; Aydın, 2013; Karasolak, 2017).

The plenitude of courses that provided teaching knowledge in the curriculums of the Village Institutes attracted attention. These courses were sociology, work education, child and work psychology, work education and history, and teaching methods and practices. Almost all of the courses in the curriculums of the village institutes were based on work and practice. The “work principle” that was accepted in 1926 can be said to have had the greatest impact on this. In Village Institutes, attention was paid to the principles that work was to be useful, natural and suitable for the environment, be realistic and practical, encourage self-confidence in the student, be democratic and be performed democratically. Each institute made the necessary adjustments in its curriculum based on its own environmental characteristics and requirements, provided that it complied with the general principles set by the Ministry. This flexible curriculum was implemented based on annual, monthly and weekly work plans. Village Institutes were “coeducational”, and the courses relating to the village and village life were extensively included in the curriculum (Foça Municipality and TMMMOB Chamber of Agricultural Engineers 1995; Aydın, Şahin & Topal, 2008; Turan, 2009; Pehlivan, 1992). The Principles to be Applied for Teacher Training in the Village Institutes were identified as follows:

1. To select prospective teachers from the village and enable them to have and apply the knowledge of a good farmer in an environment that is not too far from the village environment;
2. To teach forging, woodworking and cooperative management to prospective male teachers, and to teach childcare, sewing, household administration, agricultural arts, and patient care to prospective female teachers in addition to the teaching profession;
3. To pave the way for higher education for prospective teachers who exhibit extraordinary skills. To allow those who would not become teachers to live freely in the village so that they can do one of the jobs they had learned;
4. To prepare those who would become teachers to be able to withstand the conditions of village life and gain the power to create a more mature and productive life within the environment (Binbaşıoğlu, 2014).

Opened in November 1942 under the Hasanoğlu Village Institute by the approval of the Ministry numbered 6/2323 and dated September 19, 1942, “The Training Course for Assistant Teaching” was soon after transformed into a “Higher Village Institute” (Karasolak, 2017). Providing a three-year higher education at the Hasanoğlu Village

Institute in Ankara, the purpose of the Higher Village Institute was to train teachers for village institutes, mobile head teachers for primary schools and supervisors. Admitting graduates of village institutes as students through an examination, the Higher Village Institute thus, also enabled village children to receive a higher education (Cicioğlu, 1985; Bilir, 2011).

As the by-products of an approach to training a different type of teacher, Village Institutes were institutions that were specific to Turkey. These institutions were products that were developed in line with the conditions in Turkey (Uygun, 2003). The problems arising from the limited budget allocations based on the state's limited resources were attempted to be addressed by the income obtained by the students and employees in the village institutes through their own efforts and their own frugality. The negative circumstances brought on by war and famine resulted in prioritization of the main philosophy of the village institutes, "the productive education" (Turan, 2009). Unlike teachers who were trained at traditional teaching schools, teachers who graduated from Village Institutes served in villages voluntarily and selflessly as they were trained to have an awareness and responsibility of service to a village. In addition to teaching students at the school, the duties of these teachers included teaching alternative and new agricultural techniques to villagers, organizing literacy courses, opening agricultural lands such as gardens and fields, and enabling road construction by means of collective work (Akdemir, 2013). The duties of the village trainers and teachers were identified as follows in Article 10 of the Law on the Organization of Village Schools and Institutes which was issued in 1942 (Binbaşıoğlu, 2014);

Article: 10- The duties and authorities of village trainers and teachers are divided into two:

A. The duties and authorities of village trainers and teachers regarding the schools and courses are as follows:

1. To work in the construction of the building of the Village School and in the creation of the garden, to properly preserve the supplies provided to these schools, to take care of the animals and raise them in accordance with Article 11 of Law No. 3803 and Article 5 of Law No. 3238;
2. To cultivate the land of the school in an exemplary manner, and to not leave it barren;
3. To operate the Village School workshop in a way that would be beneficial for the villagers;
4. To take all kinds of measures relating to the education and training of school

-
- students in the village and to ensure that such measures are taken;
5. To take all kinds of measures relating to the education and training of school students in the village and to ensure that such measures are taken;
 6. To work together and collaborate with villagers on tasks that require cooperation, such as the construction of school buildings and creation of nurseries in the villages under the responsibility of the teacher;
- B. The duties and authorities of village trainers and teachers in relation to training the village people are as follows:
1. To improve the national culture of the village people and to train them according to the conditions and requirements of the century in terms of social life;
 2. To perform exemplary work for the villagers in the agricultural, artistic and technical fields so as to improve the economic life of the village;
 3. To restore historical artifacts and the natural and technically valuable artifacts and monuments which constitute the beauty of the country in the village and the nearby neighborhoods;
 4. To provide any type of assistance in all matters relating to the well-being of the village people and the disasters they might experience;
 5. To cooperate with the villagers and take action as necessary on matters relating to the general interests and future of the state and the village community, such as national defense, collective work, aid for military families, extinguishing forest and village fires, acquisition of joint agricultural and transportation vehicles, and establishing and operating all kinds of cooperatives;
 6. To ensure that the village youth become swimmers, boatmen, wrestlers, riders, shooters, hunters, and are able to ride bicycles, motorcycles and drive tractors based on the specific environment and the vehicles to be procured;

The duties of the village institutes were redefined through a regulation dated 1943. Through this regulation, an Institute Council consisting of the school principal and the department heads and a teachers' council were created. Institutes were also assigned the task of training midwives and health officials (Okçabol, 2005:52). An institute practice school at a primary school level was established at each Village Institute beginning from the 1944-1945 academic year. These schools were like small models of the schools where the prospective teachers would work after graduation. These schools consisted of a teacher's house, a classroom, a workshop, a poultry house, a garden for agricultural

work, woods and playgrounds (Karasolak, 2017). The children of the school staff and the students from three-class schools with instructors completed the primary school here. The prospective teachers were sent to villages in groups of three or five people, were prepared for on-site teaching by practicing for three months and became master teachers (Foça Municipality and TMMMOB Chamber of Agricultural Engineers, 1995).

In 1944-1945, primary education would be based on a ten-year plan and by the 1955-1956 academic year there would be no villages without schools and no schools without teachers. However, the governments changed their perspective on village institutes with the ending of the Second World War and the beginning of the multi-party period in Turkey, and, over time, departed from the foundation goals of the institutes and the implementation of the ten-year plan (Bilir, 2011). After 1946, the 21 village institutes that had been opened began to gradually move away from their original structure when they began to lose their founding staff (Aydın, 2013: 78).

Some changes were made in the structure and functions of the village institutes during the administration of the Sivas Deputy Reşat Şemsettin Sirer who was appointed as Minister of National Education with the transition to a multi-party democratic system in 1946 in the second half of the İnönü period (Turan, 2009). The curriculums of the Village Institutes were changed slightly in 1947. In these changes, cultural courses were called general knowledge courses and they were allocated more hours than other courses. Technical courses were called art courses and workshops and were limited to 1/3 of the school year. This curriculum represented a return to the tradition of the old teaching schools for primary education. The 1947 change is considered as the first significant departure from the philosophy of the Village Institutes (Kalaycı, 2008; Aydın, 2013). Village institute graduates were provided with a place to live before beginning their period of service, a field so that s/he could perform exemplary works for villagers, and all kinds of tools and equipment to plant the fields. It was thought that the graduates would also assist in the implementation of land reform in the villages. However, in 1948, aid for horses, carts, technical tools and machinery that were being provided to the Village Institute graduates were cancelled, and what had previously been provided was taken back. The Hasanoğlu Higher Village Institute was closed (1948), and those who were not born in the villages also began to be admitted to the institutes (Okçabol, 2005:54; Bilir, 2011).

As of 1950-51, it was decided that boys and girls would be educated in separate schools. Female students were gathered in the Kızılçullu and Beşikdüzü Village Institutes and the male students in those institutes were assigned to other institutes (Turan, 2009). In his Report on Teacher Training in Turkey, R. J. Maaske of the United States, who came to Turkey as a Consultant in 1953, suggested that village institutes be provided with better resources, rather than being closed. According to Maaske, students who were to become

teachers should take the vocational courses in educational psychology, the history of education, the history of Turkish educational institutions, educational philosophy, and general educational methods (Okçabol, 2005:56).

The village institutes were closed and turned into six-year teaching schools for primary education by Law No. 6234 enacted in 1954. As of this date, these schools once again continued to mainly admit students who were graduates of village primary schools, and the integration of the curriculums was enabled at a high school level together with the other 3-year Teaching Schools for Primary Education. The curriculum in these institutions, which were converted to teaching schools for primary education, was later organized to train teachers for the villages and cities. With the closure of the Village Institutes, a certain standardization was achieved in the structures and curriculums of institutions that trained primary school teachers. In this way, it was envisaged that the graduates of Teaching Schools for Primary Education would be trained to teach in both village and city primary schools. Law No. 6234 also introduced the principle that teachers who were graduates of teaching schools for primary education would work in village schools until their compulsory service period was completed (Şahin, 1996; Bilir, 2011; Aras & Sözen, 2012; Özkan, 2016).

The objectives of teaching schools for primary education and the specific objectives of the courses taught in these schools were collectively included in the 1953 program. The objectives set for primary schools in this program were as follows:

A. Teaching Schools and Village Institutes are educational institutions which:

1. Train teachers for primary schools;
2. Conduct studies on pedagogical problems related to children of primary school and preschool age, and
3. Assist the professional development of teachers working at primary schools.

B. In their educational and training activities, teaching schools are responsible for training prospective teachers as professionals who:

1. Adopted the goals of national education and gained the knowledge and skills to achieve such goals in the schools in which they will serve;
2. Are ready to serve anywhere in the country;
3. Have a good command - in terms of knowledge and skills - of the course and work topics of the primary schools to which they will be assigned;
4. Gained the ability to improve such knowledge by themselves;

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5. Are handy, cheerful and optimistic;
 6. Are able to consider matters of life and profession from a scientific point of view;
 7. Are investigative, constructive and art-loving people;
 8. Grasped the technique of transferring their knowledge to the students in the most appropriate ways;
 9. Gained the ability to adapt to the environment - and particularly, the village - where they will be serving so that they can recognize and improve it;
 10. Love and understand children, and have the mindset of an educator above all in their professional work;
 11. Know how to ensure that the public relates to the school and how to cooperate with the families;
 12. Worthy of being considered as role models in terms of their lifestyle and their influence on their environment (Özalp and Ataunal, 1977).

The policy on training two types of primary school teacher was maintained until 1953 after which institutions that train teachers were united under the title “Teaching Schools for Primary Education” under Law No. 6234, and these schools provided an education for six years after primary school and three years after secondary school (Üstüner, 2004). The most important topic of discussion at the 5th National Education Council which was convened in 1953 was the curriculum of the teaching schools for primary education. The teaching schools for primary education were organized to provide a 3-year and 6-year education as of 1954 as a result of the work on the duration of education and the report provided by the foreign expert Prof. Roben J. Maaske. Although the number of these schools and the students were raised to 80 and 54000, respectively, in a short amount of time, the teacher shortage in Turkey which greatly concerned the educators was continuing (Ergün, 1987). In the mid-1950s, there were 42 teaching schools across the country. In the late 1950s, this number rose to 52. 21 of these schools were a continuation of the Village Institutes and their education periods were 6 years. These schools were scattered across the entire country in an almost even manner as required by the foundation objectives of the Village Institutes. The goal here was to provide equal opportunity in education for the village children across the entire country and to enlighten all the villages of the country through the light of these schools (Tangülü, 2012; Özkan, 2016). During the period of 1958-1959, there were 19835 students in 52 teaching schools for primary education, 75% of whom were village children. Although the students were not directly involved in production, they worked in areas such as wall construction, beekeeping, fruit growing and poplar tending in the summer terms through

one-month summer course programs, based on the characteristics of the region, and they also continued such work in agricultural courses during the year (Özkan, 2016).

In the 1960s, the main problem was once again the teacher shortage, especially in primary education. Some urgent measures were again taken to address this problem. Those who graduated from high schools or their equivalents up to 1960 were granted the right to become a “Reserve Officer Teacher” and complete their military service as primary school teachers pursuant to Law No. 97 dated October 11, 1960, in an attempt to resolve the teacher shortage after May 27, 1960. Then, those who were willing were assigned as permanent teachers. These measures were usually effective in meeting the teacher requirements. However, such practices broadly undermined the unity in the approach and attitude to primary education (Akyüz, 2007; Oğuzcan, n.d.; Bilir, 2011). Through the Primary Education and Education Law No. 222 which came into force on January 5, 1961, following the year 1960 those who graduated from high schools or their equivalents were appointed as primary school teachers through complementary exams and internships, while graduates of secondary schools or their equivalents who had reached the age of 18 were appointed as “temporary teachers” (with a proficiency certificate) for primary schools by being subjected to training. These practices caused the quality of teachers to deteriorate and weakened the existing perception of teachers in the public (Akyüz, 2007; Bilir, 2011).

The number of hours that were considered suitable for special courses and studies in the curriculum of the teaching schools for primary education, which also had the purpose of providing high school culture to graduates of teaching schools for primary education, the duration of which was raised to four years after secondary school, was increased under Decision No. 44 of the Board of Education dated March 18, 1970 (Cicioğlu, 1985). Until the 1970-1971 academic year, primary school teachers were trained in 3-year teaching schools for primary education which were similar to high schools. In the 1970-1971 academic year, the duration of the teaching schools programs for primary education was increased to 4 years after secondary school and 7 years after primary school (Okçabol, 2005:67; Akyüz, 2007; Güven, 2015).

The Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 dated 1973 introduced a provision that stated “Teaching is a special occupation that requires expertise and that takes on the duties of the state relating to education, training and relevant managerial duties” and stipulated that teachers should be provided with a higher education, regardless of the grade level of teaching. Therefore, it was decided that the period of education would be extended and 2-year Educational Institutes would be opened to train classroom teachers for primary schools, instead of the teaching schools for primary education which then lost their functions (Aküzüm, 2006; Akyüz, 2007). With this practice, both the student selection process on admission and the village internships for prospective teachers during their

education were cancelled (Bilir, 2011). The Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 dated 1973 was enacted for the purpose of raising the quality as well as the quantity of teacher training in Turkey. 30 of the educational institutes which amounted to 50 by 1976 were closed by 1980 due to the transition to technical education (Üstüner, 2004; Aküzüm, 2006). As of the 1974-1975 academic year, some teaching schools for primary education were transformed into teaching high schools (Akyüz, 2007). Teaching high schools were secondary education institutions where modern science and mathematics programs were taught. In these schools, arts and crafts, music and physical education courses were taught for an additional one hour (Cicioğlu, 1985). The educational institutes which trained primary school teachers, began to admit students through a central examination. In 1977, according to a directive prepared by the Ministry, candidates who were entitled to attend the entrance examination based on the results of the University Selection Exam (ÜSS) and who would pre-register undertook a written exam for Turkish composition, and a written exam and interview that covered the areas of literature, social studies, mathematics and science, and that would test the preliminary conditions/admission behavior required to succeed in completing the 2-year educational institute curriculums. While there were a total of 6584 students in the two-year educational institutes in the 1981-1982 academic year, this number rose to 10875 the following year (Öztürk, 2005 Cited by: Karasolak, 2017). The number of schools that trained classroom teachers was reduced to 17 through a regulation issued in 1981. These schools were gathered under the umbrella of universities in 1982 pursuant to Law No. 2547 (Akyüz, 2007; Karahan, 2008).

Training Teachers for Secondary Schools

Established in Konya in 1926 and moved to Ankara in 1927, the Gazi Teaching School and Training Institute was one of the most significant institutions that trained teachers for secondary schools in the first years of the Republic. In 1936, primary school teachers who had successfully served for two or three years were admitted to the school by an exam; courses lasting for three semesters were commenced to train secondary school teachers; and those who completed such courses were entitled to teach at secondary schools. In this school, the departments of Music, French, English and German were opened in 1937-1938, 1941-1942, 1944-1945 and 1947-1948, respectively. In 1941 and 1944, new regulations were made to the Institute curriculums and a regulation was issued in 1943 (Ergün, 1987; Akyüz, 2007; Cenan, 2015).

After the closure of the Higher Village Institute which was established in 1942, the duties of this institution were also assigned to the Gazi Teaching School for Secondary Education. In 1943, the teaching staff of the Gazi Teaching School for Secondary Education and Training Institute was extended, which enabled the number of teachers who graduated from teaching schools to increase and the number of secondary school

teachers to relatively increase as a result of the rise in interest of university students in the teaching profession. A new type of teaching school which was called the Educational Institute started to open in 1946 to meet the need for teachers. Over time, these institutes became highly developed in terms of number and divisions and 17 Educational Institutes attempted to meet the country's requirements for secondary school teachers (Ergün, 1987; Cenan, 2015).

In the late 1940s, when it was realized that the capacity of the Gazi Educational Institute was far from meeting the country's requirements for secondary school teachers, new educational institutes began to open to overcome the shortage of secondary school teachers. New educational institutes were opened in İzmir, Istanbul and Balıkesir. The total number of students in these institutions, which did not number more than 10 until 1969 and were sometimes called the 3-year Educational Institutes, was 69,313. The number of these education institutes reached 18 in 1977-1978 (Kavcar, 2002; Üstüner, 2004; Akyüz, 2007; Güven, 2015).

A provisional regulation which was enacted on January 21, 1947, stated that these were higher education institutions that train teachers for schools with a duration of 8 years, covering primary and secondary education; secondary education institutions; and village institutes. High school and primary school graduates who were nominated by the teachers' board of the relevant school or the directorate of national education were admitted through written, oral or practical exams to these schools (Okçabol, 2005:50). The Necati Bey Training Institute and the Istanbul Teaching School were transformed into Educational Institutes as of the 1946-1947 academic year under a new understanding. Thus, students were admitted for the first year at these schools as students of the Educational Institute, based on the new status of these schools, and the teaching school for secondary education was closed. The first years for the Turkish, History-Geography, Educational Science, Mathematics, Physics-Chemistry, and Biology Departments were removed, and the Music, Arts and Crafts, Physical Education, and Foreign Languages Departments were maintained with their old status and included in the new structure of the Institute (Cenan, 2015).

It became difficult to provide separate branch teachers for each course at the secondary schools whose numbers increasingly rose as a result of the society's increasing demand for education at the end of the Second World War, and teachers in the fields of Turkish, history, geography, citizenship knowledge, mathematics, biology, physics and chemistry needed to be trained, and so the Department of Collective Courses was established at the Gazi Educational Institute and the Balıkesir Necati Educational Institute in the 1946-1947 academic year for this purpose. The Department of Collective Courses was divided into the Science and Literature Departments in the 1949-1950 academic year and all the departments were extended to three years as of that year (Özalp and Ataünal, 1977;

Cicioğlu, 1985; Oğuzcan, n.d).

In the 1952-1953 academic year, the special education department was established but was closed down 2 years later. The pedagogy department took over the responsibilities of this department. Graduates of high schools and higher education institutions were provided with training and appointed as teachers at secondary schools under Primary Education and Education Law No. 22 dated January 5, 1961. In the 1967-1968 academic year, the science department was divided into the mathematics, science and biology departments, while the literature department was divided into the Turkish and social studies departments, and the curriculums were re-organized accordingly. With this new regulation, educational institutes began to teach subjects divided into 12 departments which were science, mathematics, social studies, Turkish, English, French, German, physical education, arts and crafts, music, agriculture and education. Significant changes were made from time to time in the departmental systems and curriculums of educational institutions. The number of these schools increased rapidly after 1965 also due to political concerns. There were no qualification criteria for teachers who would serve at these schools, i.e. who would train the teachers, which resulted in a rapid decline in quality (Kavcar, 2002; Akyüz, 2007; Güven, 2015).

In 1974, the government at the time, which promised to enable all high school graduates to receive a higher education, introduced a practice called higher education by letter and 46,000 students were admitted to programs that train teachers through this system. Efforts were made to train teachers through letters in various branches including Painting, Music, and Physical Education (Total graduates: 42,141). In 1978, a large number of teachers were trained without proper education, through accelerated education (70,557 graduates in total) and night school (15,000 graduates in total). This approach sought to increase the number of teachers to meet the increasing requirement for teachers, but failed to take into account the qualifications (Akyüz, 2007; Güven, 2015).

In the first years, the duration of education at institutions that train teachers for secondary schools was 3.5 years, while in the 1967-1968 academic year, the duration of all departments was identified as 3 years. At the beginning of the 1977-1978 academic year, the number of the three-year educational institutes was reduced to 10, and the duration of education was raised to four years to train high school teachers (Ankara Gazi, İstanbul Atatürk, Balıkesir Necati, İzmir Buca, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Konya Selçuk, Trabzon Fatih, Samsun, Erzurum Kazım Karabekir). In 1981, the names of the educational institutes, whose number had been reduced to 17, were changed to Higher Teaching Schools and specializations in branches was introduced through a restructuring in the departments. These institutions were transformed into Faculties of Education within existing or new universities in 1982 (Özalp and Ataunal, 1977; Kavcar, 2002; Aküzüm, 2006; Akyüz, 2007; Gül Aşar, 2007; Güven, 2015; Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016; Karasolak, 2017).

Training Teachers for Secondary Education (High Schools)

A review of the development of teacher training for secondary education in the history of the Republic reveals that secondary and high school teachers were trained through similar resources. In the Republican Era, the Istanbul Higher Teaching School was the only resource that trained teachers for high schools in 1923-1956. This school was opened in 1891 as the Teaching School for Boys for Higher Education in accordance with the 1869 Regulation on General Public Education, and prior to 1934, the school was named the Higher Teaching School. The Arabic words in the original name of the school were later changed to be in line with the modern-day words. In the 1930s and '40s, the Higher Teaching School was one of the few schools which accepted students through an examination, while many departments of universities, including medical faculties, admitted students without any exams. Furthermore, educators frequently emphasized that the success of high schools in those years was measured by the number of students who were admitted to the Higher Teaching School because of the quality of this school. (Eşme, 2003; Aküzüm, 2006; Kahramanoğlu, 2014).

It has been observed that the problem of teacher shortages in high schools could not be resolved from the establishment of the Republic until the 1940s. In addition to the work undertaken in relation to assistant teachers, the Balıkesir Necati Educational Institute was opened in 1944 to resolve this problem (Duman, 1988). The term for the “Law on Employing Assistant Teachers at Secondary Schools”, which was adopted in 1934 and was in effect during the 1940s, was extended for three years in 1941 and for 5 years in 1943 (Cenan, 2015).

The general purpose, structure and operation of the school was redefined by the “Directive on Higher Teaching School” which was accepted by Decision No. 167 of the Board of Education dated 28.8.1940. The first article of this regulation stated that the school was an institution that was opened to train teachers for secondary schools, while the second article stated that it had seven departments which were: (a) Turkish Language and Literature, (b) Philosophy, (c) History, (d) Geography, (e) Mathematics, (f) Physics-Chemistry, (g) Biology. The establishment of a new branch of the Higher Teaching School to train foreign language teachers, as well as amendments to the main directive and the student admission directive of the school were adopted through the “Directive on Higher Teaching School” which was accepted by Decision No. 185 of the Board of Education dated 26.9.1940 (Duman, 1988; Cenan, 2015).

The Higher Teaching School which was developing with each passing day and whose star was shining experienced a negative development in 1946. The university law which was enacted on June 12, 1946 prohibited faculty members from working at external institutions. This development was a milestone for the Higher Teaching School. As a result

of this law, the academic staff who played an important role in increasing the quality of education at the school thanks to their negotiation skills were cut off from the school. An increasing number of obstacles led to the closure of the school at the beginning of 1949-1950 (Eşme, 2013). The opening of the Higher Village Institutes represented another attempt to train teachers for secondary education in this first period of the Republican era education. This school was established within the Hasanoğlu Village Institute in the 1942-1943 academic year. The Hasanoğlu Higher Village Institute, which offered an education period of 3 years, was closed in the 1947-1948 academic year after producing 104 graduates up until the end of 1946 and its students were dispersed to other higher teaching schools under the Ministry of National Education (Duman, 1988).

Between 1951 and 1960, the shortage of teachers at high schools had become a major problem. The ministers of national education argued that the Higher Teaching School in Istanbul was not enough to meet the need, and stated at the National Education Councils that such a school should also be opened in Ankara. After this proposal was accepted, the Minister of National Education at the time, Tefik İleri, asked Roben J. Maaske to prepare a model for a Higher Teaching School and present it in a report. This led to the opening of two more higher teaching schools, first in İzmir (1956) and then in Ankara (1959), thus raising the number of such schools to three. The Higher Teaching School which was opened in İzmir only admitted students for the science branch. Higher teaching schools provided very important services in the education of secondary school teachers, especially teachers of high schools and their equivalents (Kavcar, 2002; Oğuzcan, n.d; Bilir, 2011; Tangülü, 2012).

The Istanbul Higher Teaching School was very underutilized in terms of the number of students. After the 1950s, the number of graduates per year fell to 7-8 (Akyüz, 2007). In Turkey, the engineering branches began to be considered as favored professions during these years, which had a negative impact on the attractiveness of the Higher Teaching School and ultimately, the school was never able to regain its former ability to enroll qualified students. The number of graduates in the 1950s is provided below (Eşme, 2013).

Table 1. The Number of Graduates of the Istanbul Higher Teaching School in the 1950s

Academic Year	Number of Graduates
1950-1951	0
1951-1952	4
1952-1953	0
1953-1954	3
1954-1955	7

1955-1956	4
1956-1957	5
1957-1958	7
1959 -1960	24

The Ankara Higher Teaching School was opened by a decision of the Board of Education No. 209 which was issued in 1959. While its teaching structure was the same as that of the Istanbul Higher Teaching School, the Ankara Higher Teaching School chose to select its students from the most successful students at the Teaching Schools for Primary Education, instead of from the Faculties of Science and Literature. Initially admitting students to the science branch, the Ankara Higher Teaching School also began admitting students to the literature branch by the same method in 1960. Students who completed the three-year and six-year Teaching Schools for Primary Education in June 1959, whose names were notified to the Ankara Higher Teaching School as candidates were sent a notice in accordance with Circular No. 4562 which was sent to the governor's office (Kavcar, 2002; Eşme, 2013; Aküzüm, 2006; Akyüz, 2007).

In 1959, the Higher Islamic Institute was opened in Istanbul. This institute was training teachers for vocational schools of religion to enable them to teach vocational courses as well as teachers for secondary schools so that they could teach the religion course (Akyüz, 2007). The education period for the department of foreign languages, and the science, literature and education departments was raised to 3 years at the beginning of the 1960-1961 academic year and in the 1967-1968 academic year, respectively. In the 1966-1967 academic year, the science department was divided into the mathematics, and science-biology departments, while the literature department was divided into the Turkish and social studies departments, and the curriculums of these departments were re-organized accordingly (Duman, 1988). From 1964 onwards, those who were selected from the most successful students of the teaching schools for primary education and who were of good character were admitted to the İzmir and Istanbul Higher Teaching Schools as students. However, since such students were not considered as high school graduates in those years, they first needed to obtain a high school diploma after a 1-year preparatory high school program, and they received their branch education at the Faculties in which they enrolled and their vocational courses at the Higher Teaching Schools. In 1965, a Faculty of Education was established at Ankara University, followed by the establishment of departments of education at Middle East Technical University, Hacettepe University and Boğaziçi University in the following years and these universities opened programs that provided teaching certificates which consisted of 7-8 courses and initiated a graduate program in educational sciences (Okçabol, 2005; Akyüz, 2007).

The Ministry of National Education ended the preparatory program implementation starting from

the 1974-1975 academic year. As a result of this development, the Higher Teaching Schools began to admit students, by exams, from among high school graduates who had passed the university exam, as of 1975-1976. The vocational courses provided at night could not be offered at regular times; teaching schools for primary education began to produce High School graduates under the name Teacher High Schools as of 1974-1975; the universities began to provide teacher formation education in those years; and there were violent ideological clashes between Universities and Higher Teaching Schools, all of which led to the false idea that they were no longer needed. Despite maintaining their position for many years as the country's most established educational institutions for training high school teachers, the Higher Teaching Schools were closed down in 1978. On July 20, 1982, some of the Higher Teaching Schools were transformed into Faculties of Education, while others were transformed into Higher Schools of Education and became a part of existing or newly established universities. In addition, the Higher Technical and Artistic Teaching Schools which had been meeting the technical teacher requirements of Turkey since the 1930s were transformed into Faculties of Technical Education (Ergün, 1987; Duman, 1988; Eşme, 2013; Akyüz, 2007; Güven, 2015).

Between 1938 and 1982, there have been significant developments in vocational and trade teaching schools. In this period, new institutions were added to the existing ones that train teachers for vocational and technical schools. These were: The Ankara Higher Industrial Teaching School (1975-1976), the Ankara Higher Artistic Teaching School for Boys (1975-1976). The Ankara Higher Artistic Teaching School for Girls (1975-1976), the Istanbul Higher Technical Teaching School (1976-1977), the İzmir Higher Artistic Teaching School for Boys (1975-1976) and the Konya Higher Artistic Teaching School for Girls (1976-1977) (Oğuzcan, n.d.). The Technical Teaching School for Boys was a four-year high-grade vocational school that trained teachers for secondary art and construction schools for boys, as well as for construction and art institutes. As a result of the decision to also admit female students to this school in the ensuing years, the name of the school was changed again after 1970 to the Higher Technical Teaching School and the school began to admit female students as well (Duman, 1988). Teachers were obliged to receive a higher education under the Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 which came into force in 1973. The Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 stipulated that those who were to be appointed as workshop and vocational course teachers at industrial vocational high schools, technical high schools, Anatolian technical high schools and Anatolian vocational high schools of the Ministry of National Education should have received a four-year undergraduate education. (Bilir, 2011). The revival that was seen in industry and in the economy increased the need for qualified intermediate personnel, which led to an increase in the number of vocational and technical schools that provided an education at a secondary level. A second "Higher Technical Teaching School" was opened in Istanbul in 1976 to meet the increasing demand for vocational and technical teachers in parallel with the

increase in the number of schools (Akpınar, 2005).

Even though the number of secondary trade schools had increased considerably until the 1950s, it was not possible to provide them with adequate teacher resources for many years. The Ministry tried to meet the requirements for vocational teachers at these schools through the graduates of the Higher Economic and Trade Schools. (Duman, 1988). While the number of Educational Institutes increased over time, a Trade Teaching School was opened in Ankara in 1956 for the purpose of training teachers for trade and tourism schools, and it was later styled as the “Higher Trade and Tourism Teaching School (Duman, 2009; Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016). The opening of vocational schools of religion and the increasing number of these schools, as well as the inclusion of a course of religion in secondary school curriculums created a problem regarding the training of teachers for religious education. Initially, the need for teachers in this field was attempted to be met by graduates of the Faculty of Theology. At the beginning of the academic year of 1959-1960, the Istanbul Higher Islamic Institute began operating as a 4-year higher education institution to train religion teachers, as well as clergymen. The Higher Islamic Institutes which numbered seven in 1982, were re-organized under the title of Faculties of Theology by Statutory Decree No. 41 and became part of the universities in the provinces where they were located (Duman, 1988).

Result

Teacher training policies in Turkey between 1938 and 1982 (especially in the 1970s) were usually geared towards increasing the number of teachers. After the 1960s, more importance was attached to training preschool teachers, laws were enacted and schools were opened. Between 1938 and 1982, one of the most important developments in the process of training teachers for primary schools was the opening of the village institutes. Through these institutes, harmony was attempted to be established between the village life and the school where the teachers were trained. With their unique philosophy and curriculum, for many years village institutes trained teachers who would adopt the village lifestyle and assist the villagers in many issues. Practices such as the “Reserve Officer Teacher”, which were implemented to meet the teacher requirements for primary schools, adversely affected the quality of the teaching profession. The teaching profession was highlighted as a special area of expertise in the Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 dated 1973, which was an important development in terms of the prestige and status of the teaching profession in Turkey. In Turkey, the need for primary school teachers was met to a large extent during the 1970s.

Established in Konya in 1926 and moved to Ankara in 1927, the Gazi Teaching School and Training Institute served many years as the sole institution for training teachers for secondary schools. Subsequently, new educational institutes were opened in İzmir, Istanbul and Balıkesir to meet the need for secondary school teachers. In the 1970s, a

large number of teachers were trained without proper education, through training by letters, accelerated education and night school. The Istanbul Higher Teaching School was one of the most successful institutions for training qualified teachers for secondary education. One of the most important developments that damaged this institution was the university law of 1946. This law prohibited faculty members from working at external institutions. The academic staff who played an important role in increasing the quality of education at the Istanbul Higher Teaching School thanks to their negotiation skills were cut off from the school. Since the shortage of teachers in high schools became a major problem between 1951 and 1960, higher teaching schools were opened in İzmir and Ankara. Between 1938 and 1982, there have been significant developments in vocational and trade teaching schools. In this period, new institutions were added to the existing ones that train teachers for vocational and technical schools. In Turkey, teachers were generally trained at schools under the Ministry of National Education until 1982. In 1982, all institutions that train teachers were transferred to universities.

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AN OUTLINE OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE YEARS OF WWII

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Introduction

After the end of World War I, the most important problem on the global agenda was to create a lasting environment of peace. However, a study of the treaties signed after the war, which were intended for the so called “peace”, and one could easily guess that this was never going to happen. due to the fact that these treaties were forcing very onerous conditions on the losing states.

The destruction of large empires led to changes in the balance of power. On the one hand these treaties were far from being able to restore world peace, and on the other, the power vacuum brought about by the collapse of the great empires had created a generally unstable situation throughout the world. This instability led to another great war in, arguably, a very short period of time.

Germany had been a defining force in Europe, but after the war the government was forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles, which placed too many difficult conditions for the state to regain its power. The Soviet Union, which was established in place of Tsarist Russia, could not assume any significant roles in international policies for the time being as it was trying to establish and internalize its own new regime. New states were established in the lands of the collapsed Austro-Hungarian Empire and these lands were the scene of many future conflicts. Although Italy was among the victorious states, the country was so worn out by the war that it faced serious internal turmoil in the post-war years, which then led to a regime change in 1922 to Mussolini’s fascist administration. As England was not interested in the structures in Europe as it had been before the war due to its foreign policy, the rising power elite in Europe was France.

The Middle East had been under Ottoman rule for a long time, but when the empire lost that territory, it became the stage for the power struggles within Europe. It was a known fact that Britain and France often conflicted over strategic territories which would establish dominion over Middle East. The two states signed secret treaties between themselves which they would implement immediately after the war, thereby filling the void of power in that part of the world.

The unstable environment in Europe forced the European powers to compete for resources outside the continent. Before the war, the defining powers in the far east were Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Japan. However, when the German Empire and Tsarist Russia were brought down, these two states’ Far East policies also came to end.

Britain immediately focused its foreign policies on the Middle East and India, thereby pulling away from the Far East, albeit indirectly. France, out of concern for possible German strikes, focused on the security of its own territory. This only left Japan as the defining power in the Far East. Japan became stronger due to its advantageous position over China, which drew the attention of the US. Between the two wars, competition in the Far East was driven by the US and Japan. Turkish foreign policy during Atatürk's era was developed in this environment (Balcıoğlu, 2002). Atatürk's ideal was to bring Turkey in line with the West in terms of civilization. His vision was to create a modern Western society in Turkey so he directed the state's foreign policy in line with this (Duran, 2008: 47) and paid utmost attention to establishing good relations with the West. Atatürk believed that creating a Western structure in Turkey was necessary for security. In the same vein, Europe could only be on good terms with a Turkey which was similar to it in nature (Gönlübol ve Kürkçüoğlu, 2000: 24).

In Atatürk's era, Turkey's foreign policy focused on principles of maintaining good relations with neighboring states and establishing regional defense alliances. Atatürk always followed a proactive path in foreign politics. A reactive policy result in a state defining its policies according to those of its counterparts, which means that the counterpart always maintains the initiative. The Ottoman Empire was significantly damaged due to its reactive foreign policy, therefore Atatürk reacted to this by establishing a dynamic foreign policy for the new state. An example of this was Turkey's pioneering role in the signing of the Balkan Entente on 9 February 1934, as a consequence of its proactive policy against Italy's expansionist politics (Sandıklı, 2008: 105). In this way, it can be said that the ideas of İsmet İnönü in the second half of the 1930s were consistent with the foreign policy Turkey adopted during Atatürk's era. Turkey followed a Western-centric foreign policy in the times of both Atatürk and İsmet İnönü. In this sense, it is not really possible to draw clear lines between the sub-phases of Turkish foreign policy that was pursued during the era of single-party administration. Throughout this period there was a consistency and totality in the approach to foreign policy, rather than a differentiation (Koçak, 1992: 159).

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü strove to direct Turkish foreign politics in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne. Protecting the balance implemented by the Treaty of Lausanne was among the fundamental foreign policy objectives of Turkey (Gönlübol ve Kürkçüoğlu, 2000: 22). The "holiness of land" understanding brought about by the National Pact had resulted in a tendency for the administration to preserve the status quo. For this reason, Turkish foreign policy has always rejected developments in its region which could lead to changes to the status quo (Gözen, 2009: 48). The fundamental objective here is to preserve the status quo so as to maintain the order established by the Treaty of Lausanne. The Turkish Republic always strove to

contribute to the policies of countries which aimed to maintain the balance of power within Europe. However, when Italy and Germany, the two expansionist powers within Europe, made attempts which threatened the security of Turkey, Turkey was forced to follow a more dynamic policy in the international arena. Therefore, Turkish Foreign Policy actively developed bilateral relations with other states in order to prevent potential situations in the region which may have posed a threat to the survival of the country.

The foreign policies adopted by the Turkish Republic were centered around a neutral stance. However, European power groups generally attempted to draw Turkey into line with them due to the country's strategic location. Turkey's primary concern was its own safety, therefore the state chose to establish a variety of diplomatic relationships with each side. General foreign policy in İnönü's time was important since it represented one of the best examples of the concept of "balance policy". Turkey's balanced attributes set an example for a country, which was relatively small and underdeveloped in terms of its military, in dealing with international matters. It is also a striking example of how a small country could avoid being used as a pawn in international politics. (Hale, 2003: 74).

Outline of Turkish Foreign Policy at the Beginning of the War

Although the general path of Turkish foreign policy in relation to the war emerged primarily as a neutral stance, there were also some rapprochements in diplomatic relations with some states. In diplomatic relations, however, Turkey sought to avoid arrangements that could directly involve the state in a possible war. Turkey tended to sign treaties that would secure the country's borders without the state becoming involved in the European power struggles.

Turkey's commitments, which the state undertook until 1 September 1939, the starting date of World War II, which could have affected its relations with the different sides in the war, were as follows (Aydın, 2002: 399-400):

1. The Kellogg–Briand Pact.
2. A neutrality and non-aggression commitment made under the Treaty of Amity and Neutrality (Non-Aggression) signed with the Soviet Union on 17 December 1925.
3. The commitment to not enter into a pact against each other within the framework of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed with Afghanistan on May 25, 1928.
4. A commitment to neutrality in accordance with the Neutrality, Reconciliation and Judicial Resolution Treaty signed with Italy on 30 May 1928.

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5. In line with the protocol on extending the Treaty of Amity and Neutrality signed with the Soviet Union on 17 December 1925, “... *A commitment to refrain from entering into any negotiations aimed at making political agreements with neighboring states directly by land or sea without the knowledge and consent of the counterparty*”.
 6. A commitment to nonaggression and neutrality in accordance with the Treaty of Amity, Security, Neutrality and Economic Cooperation signed with Iran on 5 December 1932.
 7. In accordance with the Balkan Pact dated 9 February 1934, a commitment to intervene if any member of the Pact is under attack by a country or a country cooperating with a Balkan country.
 8. A commitment to refrain from intervening in internal affairs, to respect the immunity of borders, and to commit to nonaggression in accordance with the Sa’dabad Pact dated 8 July 1937.
 9. In line with the declarations signed with Britain on 12 May 1939 and with France on 23 June 1939, a commitment to provide naval assistance in the event of any war in the Mediterranean, and a declaration of the intention to sign a treaty for the same purpose.

Certain developments in the Middle East forced the Turkish Republic to side with Britain and France in 1939. Nevertheless, this policy drew a harsh reaction from Germany and Italy. With foresight, the Turkish administration considered that by siding with Britain and France, the Soviet Union would follow. The Italian expansionist policy in the Middle East and the Balkans was a source of concern for Turkey. In 1936, Italy began militarizing the islands it had invaded in the Aegean Sea, which was a sign that Turkey was right to be concerned about their expansionism. At that time they were not the only country to be concerned about it. The British and French interests in the Mediterranean were also under threat from Italy. This prompted the declaration of the Anglo-Turkish Agreement on 12 May 1939. The reason being that common threats began to emerge as common interests (Çiftçi, 2010: 238). Being concerned about certain inclinations in Germany’s foreign policy, Turkey took action regarding its straits which played a crucial role in its security. The Montreux Convention dated 20 July 1936 gave Turkey rule over its straits and the right to deploy military force to disarmed locations. Turkey’s support for Britain was also helped by the Nyon and Geneva Conventions (Soysal, 1989: 520).

Turkish support for the Western states prompted Germany to adopt a harsher attitude towards Turkey. Five days before the publication of the Joint Declaration, on 7 May 1939, Germany halted the shipping of war munitions which had previously ordered from

them by Turkey. The *Batıray* submarine had also been ordered and had been built in the shipyards in Kiel but it was also not delivered to Turkey. The engines of two submarines which were built by the Germans in the Golden Horn were taken back to Germany when on their way to Istanbul. In addition, the deliveries of 29 cannons, 12 torpedoes and 68 war planes to Turkey were also cancelled (Uçarol, 2013: 880). In response Turkey played their chromium card; they reduced the amount of chromium that they had been exporting to Germany and also slowed down delivery (Koçak, 2013: 115). Germany thus threatened politically in the context of trade relations with Turkey. Then İsmet İnönü reminded the German Ambassador Von Papen, by way of historical reference, that Turkey had entered WWI in 1914 on the side of Germany because of two ships which had not been delivered by Britain, and also protested Germany's attitude by refusing to participate in a ceremony on 28 August 1939, in honor of the Golden Horn launching of the submarine *Yıldıray* built by Germany (Özgüldür, 1993: 115). Germany's negative attitudes towards Turkey, which began in May 1939, created very tense relations between Ankara and Berlin. On the other hand, the Soviet Union were in talks with Britain and France, which offered hope to Turkey, but the talks did not last long. On top of this, the signing of the German-Soviet Pact on 23 August 1939 created a further predicament for Turkey.

Turkey was quite aware that they could not singlehandedly cope with a potential Soviet threat. On the other hand, Britain attached importance to Turkey and through its statesmen, the government was demonstrating its willingness to support Turkey. The disclosure of tension in Turkish-German relations and the resultant Turkish-British rapprochement led the Soviets to enter into a treaty with Turkey. The fundamental reason behind this action was concern for a possible German attack. For this reason, the Soviets were inclined to side with Turkey against an alliance between Italy and Germany. The Soviet plan was to respond to a prospective German attack on British and Turkish lines, or to get on good terms with Germany to avoid their first attack (Bilge, 1992: 130). However, in a short time the Soviets came to an understanding with Germany in a treaty signed on 23 August 1939, rather than pursue an alliance with Britain and France, which also included Turkey.

Originally, Turkey intended to stay neutral and refrain from entering any alliances but Italy invaded Albania on 7 April 1939, and after that Turkey was looking to become part of an alliance. The first embodiment of this was the publishing of a Joint Declaration between Britain and Turkey on 12 May 1939. According to this, the two states would sign an alliance agreement which would guarantee each other's national security. The common security zones discussed here were the Mediterranean and the Balkans. In a sense, this tied Turkey to the "Peace Front". The Soviets had not reached an agreement with Hitler as yet and were also on good terms with Turkey, therefore they did not respond to the Turkish-English rapprochement. As soon as the French crisis in Hatay

was resolved, a declaration similar to the one entered into with Britain on 23 August 1939 was signed (Üçok, 1955: 357). However, in a very short time Turkey encountered a very disappointing development in which they were left with no options regarding the two other states. On 23 August 1939 Hitler and Stalin signed a nonaggression pact. Until this time, Turkey had hoped that the Soviets would join the Peace Front.

At this time Mussolini was on the same terms with Hitler and the three leaders presumed that Turkey, left in a conundrum against the German-Soviet Pact, would be forced to change its stance, which would then ruin the plans of Britain and France for the Eastern Mediterranean (Gönlübol ve Sar, 1987). Turkey was apparently being forced into a predicament. Left with the dilemma of either siding with its sizable neighbor, the Soviets, and leaving the Britain-France alliance, or staying neutral in order to maintain the Joint Declaration, Turkey realized that it had also a third option which was to maintain friendly relations with both sides. The third option was what Turkey would go with.

Even after five weeks from the start of the war, Turkey retained its hope that it could become a “bridge” between Britain and the Soviet Union. However, the Soviets intended to alienate Turkey from Britain. Within this environment which was very delicately balanced, an invitation was sent from the Soviet Union to a committee, comprising Foreign Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Vice Secretary General Cevat Açıkalın and Political Affairs General Manager Feridun Cemal Erkin, to pay a visit to the Soviets on 22 September 1939. The committee arrived in Moscow on 25 September. The Soviets were aware of the issues being pushed by the Germans and in the talks, they set up their conditions which were very difficult for Turkey to accept. Their intention was to have a pact signed which would set up a joint defense in the Turkish straits, alter the Montreux Convention so that the straits would be closed to warships of states which had no coastlines to the Black Sea, and generally have Turkey separate from the Western countries (Bilge, 1992: 138-139). Şükrü Saraçoğlu stated that since the tripartite treaty had been initialed and the Treaty of the Straits was international in nature, it would not be possible for the states to simply alter this treaty (Erkin, 1968: 140). In 1936 a treaty similar to Stalin’s proposal had been on the agenda between the Soviet Union and Turkey. At that time Turkey had made a similar proposal. These developments were an indication that the world order and international relations had changed fundamentally, and that Turkey and the Soviets had exchanged their roles (Deringil, 2003: 92). During the talks, the German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop came to Moscow, which led to a German influence in the Turkish-Soviet negotiations. The Soviets even went so far as to postpone their talks with Turkey to make room in the schedule for German-Turkish talks. The second Turkish-Soviet meeting was between Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Stalin and Molotov and the Soviets repeated their demands made at the first meeting. The Soviet protocol, prepared under German influence, showed almost no respect for the independence of

Turkey. In their proposal, the Soviets demanded that they be given exclusive rights to cross the Turkish straits and administer the straits jointly with Turkey. As a result of the opening of the straits completely to Soviet warships, and the closure of the Black Sea thereby turning it into a closed inland sea, the balance that had previously existed in the straits was tilted in favor of the Soviets. In this sense, the Soviet demands effectively gave the Soviets a final say in all of Turkey's affairs (Uçarol, 2013: 884). In addition, the Soviets had requested that Turkey remain neutral in the event that the Soviets annexed Bessarabia and Dobruja in Bulgaria, which basically meant that Turkey should accept any Soviet expansionist movements into the Balkans. As could be understood from these Soviet requests, any Turkish defense would be subject to Soviet consent in the event of war, which ignored Turkey's right to its own security, and in particular to the principle of independence. Hence Saraçoğlu rejected the Soviet requests. Negotiations did not yield any results and ended on 16 October 1939, when Saraçoğlu left Moscow (Gürün, 1983: 72). The failure Saraçoğlu suffered in Moscow began a new era in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey had failed to bring its two powerful friends to an understanding. Consequently from that point on, Turkey had to regard the Soviet Union from a different perspective (Deringil, 2003: 94).

Concerned with its sour relations with the Soviet Union, which was made clearer by the abovementioned negotiations, Turkey was forced to adopt a new line of foreign policy which was focused on a Soviet threat, which then prompted Turkey to side with the Western governments. The Turkish administration therefore referred back to the negotiations which had previously been started with Britain and France, with the intention of concluding them as quickly as possible. As a result, the administration signed a Mutual Assistance Treaty with Britain and France on 19 October 1939. This alliance treaty acted as an indicator of the country's position in the war. The 13th Council of Ministers (9 July 1942 - 8 March 1943), presided over by Şükrü Saraçoğlu, expressed the following regarding foreign policy within the government program: *"Turkey, which accepts no foreign power as its guide, sought to stay outside the war, which was made possible through a conscious and constructive neutrality"* (Ateş, 2008: 58). The principles mutually agreed to in this treaty were:

1. In the event of an attack against Turkey by a European country, Britain and France would provide every assistance needed to Turkey for defense.
2. In the event that Britain and France are attacked in the Mediterranean, Turkey would provide every assistance reasonably possible to both countries.
3. Due to the warranties given by Britain and France to Greece and Romania, Turkey would provide assistance to Britain and France should they enter the war against a third country.

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4. Apart from the cases mentioned above, in the event that Britain and France enter the war due to an attack by a European country, Turkey would stay neutral in response to any developments regarding these two countries.
 5. In the event that the parties enter the war due to the enforcement of this treaty, a mutual decision would be made regarding an armistice or peace.

The term of the treaty was to be 15 years. However, if, during the six months prior the end of this term, none of the parties announce their wish to terminate the treaty, then the term of the treaty would automatically extend for another five years. According to an additional protocol included in the agreement, it was multilaterally accepted that the warranties that Turkey was committing to, by way of the agreement, would never result in circumstances in which Turkey would be prompted to enter into armed conflict with the Soviet Union. According to this agreement, Turkey was completely severing its ties with the Soviet Union and at the same time taking precautions that would prevent it from entering into any war or conflict with the Soviet Union (Üçok, 1955: 358). These developments also led to changes in Turkey's foreign policy, which had been established based on positive relations with its neighbors. Here, of course, the approach of the Soviets had been effective. When Turkey established their alliance with Britain and France, the Soviets reacted by halting their oil shipments to Turkey (Koçak, 2013: 95).

Turkey Faced with the Predicament of War and Pursuing a New Balance in Foreign Policy

By establishing an alliance with Britain and France, Turkey guaranteed its security against possible Italian and German attacks as well as the Soviet threat, thereby creating a balance in foreign policy. When France lost to Germany in the summer of 1940, they also lost the status of being an ally to which Turkey would provide support. This development created a void in Turkey's foreign policy. When the war broke out, Turkey began facing threats from various directions, particularly from the Balkans.

After a short time, Turkey took steps to reenact the Balkan Entente due to the threat developing in the Balkans, because Germany and the Soviet Union had already shared Poland's territory between them. Despite all its efforts, Turkey was left isolated because the Balkan countries all refrained from confronting Germany (Gönlübol ve Sar, 1987: 145).

Germany's attack on Poland did not force Turkey to enter the war, but Italy's entrance into the war brought Turkey virtually face to face with the conflict. The reason for this was that when Italy entered the war it extended the conflict into the Mediterranean. On 13 June, the British and French ambassadors sent requests, via Şükrü Saraçoğlu, for Turkey to enter the war in accordance with their alliance treaty. This was a natural request,

since Turkey had already accepted this obligation pursuant to the treaty. However, on 22 June France signed the armistice with Germany. Meanwhile, Turkey never received the armaments that they had been promised. If Turkey entered the war and the front was extended to the Middle East, this would place Britain in a difficult predicament. Britain would then not be able to provide any assistance to Turkey. Considering the status of both Britain and France and the reaction of the Soviet Union, Turkey determined to stay out of the war.

On 28 October 1940 when Italy attacked Greece, this became a matter of concern for Turkey as this development demanded that the 3rd Article in the Turkish-British-French alliance be put to effect. The articles of the Balkan Entente only guaranteed the borders between the Balkan countries, therefore Turkey was under no obligation to assist Greece. However, Britain demanded that Turkey enter the war as soon as possible. At this time Turkey, facing the German threat, was prevented from entering the war. On the other hand, Turkey informed Bulgaria that in the event that they attacked Greece, then Turkey would assist Greece against them. Consequently Turkey effectively took Bulgaria out of the war, and Greece was then able to withdraw its military forces from its Bulgarian border and use them to fight against Italy, which meant that Turkey had indirectly helped Greece (Armaoğlu, 1994: 408).

The issue of the division of the world into zones of influence was discussed between the Axis Powers and the Soviets in November 1940. Turkey was used as a tool for negotiation in these talks. According to the Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, Russia had to have bases in the Turkish straits (Erkin, 1968: 167). Molotov also pressed to influence Turkey into separating from the British alliance and joining the Axis Countries. Despite Britain being left isolated when France pulled out of the war and the Balkan countries coming under imminent danger, Turkey stayed loyal to the British alliance. Turkey's stance and the declarations of President İsmet İnönü were warmly welcomed by Winston Churchill.

The Germans' attempt to invade Bulgaria through Romania in January 1941 was a source of concern for Britain in regard to both Greece and Turkey. If the Balkan countries fell, Turkey would then be faced with threats both from the North and the West, so it would be extremely difficult to cope with the German pressure. Therefore Britain was intending to stop the German advances in the Middle East and, for this purpose, they attempted to mobilize the Balkan countries against Germany. On 31 January 1941 Winston Churchill sent a letter to İsmet İnönü, which set out the possible outcomes if Germany were to succeed in its invasion of Bulgaria and requested that Turkey enter the war to prevent this. The German plans to invade the Balkan countries also concerned the US. Then President Roosevelt sent Colonel William Donovan to the region. Donovan arrived in Turkey on 1 February 1941 and asserted that the US would prevent the Axis Countries from winning the war by themselves entering into the war (Gönlübol ve Sar, 1987: 153).

When the British and American attempts failed to prevent the German advances, Turkey took the precaution of mobilizing its military forces in the Thrace region. This gave Bulgaria cause for concern. Afterwards, at the Bulgarian government's instigation, a joint statement was published in Ankara on 17 February 1941. This joint statement was an assurance for Bulgaria. On the other hand, Turkey was relieved since this declaration would prevent Bulgaria from aiding a possible German attack on Turkey. In his message to İsmet İnönü on 4 March 1941, Hitler stated that Germany had to intention of attacking Turkey (Soysal, 1989: 631). In his message, Hitler stated *"I commanded the troop commanders to refrain from closing in on the Turkish borders unless they were forced to by way of precautions that the Turkish state takes"*. However the Turkish decision makers believed that they could only secure themselves by their own measures, hence they did not trust any external assurances (Çiftçi, 2010: 243).

Britain was not content with the situation in the Balkan region and the fact that the progression of events was working against them, and therefore they attempted to reenact the Balkan Entente. For this purpose they sent their Foreign Minister Anthony Eden to Ankara on 26 February. Eden had a meeting with Saraçoğlu in Cyprus and following this meeting, a proposal was made to Yugoslavia to establish a united Balkan front. This received to response. This meant that Britain did not succeed in establishing a Balkan Block against the threat of the Germans moving in on the Balkans. This was due to the fact that Yugoslavia was avoiding a provocation to Germany (Armaoğlu, 1994: 409). An agreement signed on 25 March 1941 in Vienna added Yugoslavia to the Axis Countries. However, just two days after this agreement an insurrection broke out in Yugoslavia, which put the government established by Simovic, which did not recognize the agreement made with the Axis Countries, in charge of the state. This prompted Germany to declare war on Yugoslavia, shortly after which they invaded the country and then went on to invade Greece.

The situation was becoming riskier for Turkey. As with the Polish situation, it was thought that Germany, which had placed Turkey in a very dangerous situation, and the Soviet Union, would crush Turkey. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was concerned that the Germans might also take control of the Turkish straits after taking control of the Balkans, so they sent a message that they would remain neutral in the event of a German attack on Turkey. This prompted a Turkish-Soviet Declaration in Moscow and Ankara on 25 March 1941 (Soysal, 1989: 634-636).

The war in the Balkans was progressing in favor of the Axis Countries. Yugoslavia was beaten and Greece surrendered. In another part of the world, Iraq had suffered a coup led by Rashid Ali-al-Geylani on 5 April, after which a pro-German government was put in charge. Even though it was known by then that the Germans would aid Rashid Ali-al-Geylani, they had not foreseen that he would come to power, nor were they ready to aid

him. At this stage, Hitler had no plans to oust the British from the Middle East. Rather he was interested in the Balkans and was preparing for Operation Barbarossa (Hale, 2003: 82). The new Iraqi government needed German support before anything, in order to stand firm against Britain. But this assistance could only come through Turkish territory. Germany put pressure on Turkey to use Turkish land as a transit for their military cargo in order to both provide aid to the new government in Iraq and to seize the bases that the Vichy administration had left for them in Syria. In the process, when Germany seized Crete and Aegean islands, Turkey stood against the German pressure and rejected offers to be granted territory from Western Thrace and the Aegean Islands. Despite pressure from Germany, Turkey stayed out of the war, and in addition, prevented any bellicose states from exploiting its territory. This in turn prevented Germany from extending its operations into Syria and Iran for the primary objective of capturing the Persian Gulf in order to unite with the forces of Japan in the Indian Ocean (Gönlübol ve Sar, 1987: 156).

The developments in Iraq also delayed the execution of Hitler's plans for the Soviet Union. Consequently Germany signed the Turkish-German Nonaggression Pact on 18 June 1941 in Ankara. While Turkey was expected to adhere to their British alliance, the fact that they tried to reach agreement with the Germans can be subject to criticism. However, considering the strategic situation of the time, it is obvious that they took the most secure path. (Hale, 2003: 86) According to this pact, which consisted of three articles and extended for a term of ten years:

1. The Turkish Republic and the German Reich would mutually respect the immunity and integrity of their respective territories and refrain from any direct or indirect aggression against each other.
2. In relation to all issues which are in the common interest of the Turkish Republic and the German Reich, the parties would henceforth hold friendly talks in order to come to a mutual understanding and resolution (Soysal, 1989: 639).

This result was the fruit of rather resilient Turkish policies. Germany secured its geographical right wing with this pact, and then as their next logical step, they attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June. Due to this pact the US reacted against Turkey, since they were on the side of Britain, and halted the "Loan-Hire" assistance they had been providing to Turkey. In response, Britain transferred part of the aid it had been receiving from the US to Turkey (Armaoğlu, 1994: 410).

These developments, which occurred within a short time, also provided relief for Turkey because, when Germany attacked the Soviet border on 22 June, Turkey declared neutrality towards both states. In actuality, Turkey did not want to face either a German or a Soviet threat. As the Italian Ambassador De Poppo said "*The Turks' ideal outcome was that the last German soldier would fall upon the last Russian corpse*" (Hale, 2003: 86). During

this process, Turkish chrome had been a significant matter of competition. Germany sent committees to Turkey for negotiations regarding chrome, which concerned Britain as Britain was buying all the chrome that Turkey could export. On 9 October 1941, a commercial treaty was signed between Turkey and Germany, under which Germany guaranteed to buy 45,000 tons of chrome, 12,000 tons of copper, 7,000 tons of cotton and 8,000 tons of olive oil in 1943 and 1944 from Turkey (Koçak, 2013: 443). The US reacted strongly to this treaty, even though it was, at this time, more anti-war than Britain. However, the US Ambassador to Ankara, Mc Murray, intervened to avoid a greater problem. To the US, Turkey was an ally of Britain. Therefore the US continued aiding Turkey through Britain (Arcayürek, 1987: 146). Towards the end of 1941, Turkey received a certain amount of American aid. In addition, Turkey sent a list to the Washington Government on 16 December 1941, which contained details of the country's most urgent needs for its air defense (Arcayürek, 1987: 152-153). So as a general conclusion, Turkey managed to use the Axis Countries and Allies as leverage against one another for commercial purposes, just as it did for political purposes (Weisband, 1974: 113).

When the US entered the war on 7 December 1941, some reservations were resolved but Turkey spent 1942 under pressure from both the Axis and Allied countries, which made its policy of neutrality increasingly difficult to pursue. The Axis Countries' attack on the Caucasus in the north and on Suez in the south directly involved Turkey in the process. Meanwhile, Germany was still hopeful that Turkey would join the war against the Soviet Union. But Turkey did not comply, even though they were offered the Aegean Islands by the Axis Countries. They were merely spectators to the Soviet-German war and the developments in Africa, and it was wrong to obtain a benefit from Britain's affairs in the North African wars and the Soviets' losses against the Germans. As far as territorial promises were concerned, certain very interesting details arose from the Saraçoğlu-Von Papen meeting. In a report dated 27 August 1942, Von Papen quoted Saraçoğlu's opinion concerning Soviet expansionism and therefore the Russian Turks. As a Turk, Saraçoğlu would have very much liked Russia to be destroyed. On the other hand, as the prime minister of the country, he knew that the state must act neutrally for the sake of its future (Alman Dışişleri Dairesi Belgeleri -Türkiye'de Alman Politikası (1941-1943), 1977: 68-71).

The losses of the Axis Countries in El-Alamein in 1942 and in Stalingrad in November 1942 greatly relieved the German pressure on Turkey, but there was then an emerging Soviet threat. In a very short time, the Soviet Union reassumed its hostile attitude against Turkey with the Soviet press directing very harsh criticism at Turkey, and relations between the two countries became more tense. Another development which also contributed to these tense relations was the assassination attempt on the German

Ambassador to Turkey, Von Papen, by Soviet agents. Despite all attempts by the Soviet Union, the Turkish justice system convicted two Soviet agents. These results led the Soviets to further increase their pressure on Turkey.

The allied countries did not cease their attempts to urge Turkey to enter the war. It can be seen that, at all conferences held throughout the war in which Turkey participated, Turkey had been encouraged to enter the war. Before setting out for Adana, Churchill told the US Foreign Minister, Hopkins, in Casablanca: *"I'll tell [İsmet] İnönü that if they stay out of the war, then I will not be able to control the Russians after the war regarding the straits issue. They wouldn't stand for this"* (Deringil, 2003: 189). As a result, at the Casablanca Conference it was decided that a Balkan front would be opened with Turkey's participation. On 30-31 January 1943, during talks with İnönü and Saraçoğlu, Churchill communicated the allied states' requests on the Presidential Train at Yenice Station in Adana to the Turkish committee. The allied states requested that Turkey enter the war by the end of 1943 at the latest. The Turkish committee responded to Churchill, stating that they could not be sure of the Soviet Union, that the Soviets would be in a position to gain control over Europe now that the Germans had been defeated in Russia, and demanded that Turkey be effectively guaranteed of security, and its military be compensated for its shortcomings in terms of armaments. Despite pressure from Britain, who were very determined to get Turkey involved in the war, Turkey stood firm to maintain its neutral position. The fundamental reason for this was that Turkey did not trust the allied states either. According to Turkey, the actual issue in this process was the imminent loss of any balance once the Soviets had settled in Europe. On 19 June 1943, a written communication sent to Von Papen in London by Menemencioğlu is reported to state: *"We do not wish that Germany be destroyed. We can not contribute to this destruction. Preserving Germany's existence is important for the European continent"* (Deringil, 2003: 189).

The Axis Countries were suffering loss after loss on their fronts and this gradually increased the pressure on Turkey. On 17 August 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill discussed Turkey at the Quebec Conference. They decided that they would request that Turkish airports necessary for a second Balkan front be allocated for Allied use. At the Moscow Conference for foreign ministers held between 19-30 October 1943, the Soviet administration insisted that Turkey join in the war. According to the Soviets, Turkey's neutrality served Germany more than it did the allied states (Armaoğlu, 1994: 412). Immediately prior to the conference at the beginning of September, an article, which had previously been published elsewhere, was published again in Izvestia (a Soviet newspaper). The article stated *"Turkey's neutrality is becoming more and more beneficial and indispensable for the Germans. Due to Turkey securing the Balkan wing of the German armies, it has made it possible for Germans to hold that territory with*

very little military force so that the Germans can use the majority of their troops in the Soviet-German front” (Weisband, 2002: 155). Throughout the conference, Britain’s attitude towards Turkey mirrored that of the Soviet Union. (Deringil, 2003: 205) Another important issue discussed in this conference was the role Turkey would play in the war. The Soviet Union demanded that Turkey be included in the war through pressure, if necessary. According to Molotov, Turkey was not to be “requested” but rather “ordered to” enter the war (Armaoğlu, 1994: 413). Molotov also stated that the Turkey issue “*could turn into a festering wound after the conference*” (Deringil, 2003: 207). The intentions of the British were in the line with the Soviets, but the US objected, stating that they would not be able to provide Turkey with necessary military equipment because of the military landing planned in France. As a result, it was decided at this conference that Britain would request the right to use Turkish airports, and that efforts would be made to force Turkey to enter the war by the end of 1943.

Afterwards, the British foreign minister, Anthony Eden, and his Turkish counterpart, Numan Menemencioğlu, held a meeting in Cairo. Eden considered Menemencioğlu as pro-Axis (Weisband, 2002: 166) and, in this respect, Menemencioğlu seemed to have a tough job ahead of him. During the talks held over 5-6 November 1943, Anthony Eden expressed to Menemencioğlu that the British were having a difficult time in the Mediterranean and that the islands of Leros and Samos had been invaded due to Germany’s supremacy in the air, and he requested that British aircraft be allowed to use Turkish airbases in order to bomb the islands held by the enemy, and he requested that Turkey enter the war by the end of the year (Erkin, 1968: 215). As a response, the Turkish administration stated that they would prefer to directly enter the war rather than open up their air bases to foreign countries. According to Menemencioğlu “*The British squadrons would be enough to drive the Germans crazy but not enough to save Turkey from invasion*” (Weisband, 2002: 168). The US Ambassador, Steinhard, whom Menemencioğlu met with before his return from Cairo, reiterated Turkey’s views in his report to Washington: “*Turkey wouldn’t open up their air bases and they would rather directly enter the war. Because to them, opening up air bases and entering the war mean the same thing*” (Deringil, 2003: 212). The British administration already knew that Turkey would be asking for arms if they entered the war, so they insisted only on access to the air bases.

The British pressure on Turkey, which was made apparent in the Eden-Menemencioğlu talks in Cairo, became even more intense after the Tehran Conference. This conference was held between 28 November and 1 December 1943 and the participants were Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. Stalin insisted that Turkey be involved in the war. Stalin even said “*if need be, Turks should be grabbed by their necks and thrown into the war*” (Armaoğlu, 1994: 413). However, such discourse from Stalin is only to be found in

Churchill's memoirs and cannot be verified from the American documentation (Deringil, 2003: 217). Therefore the consensus has been that when writing his diaries, Churchill wrote what "he wanted to hear". Since the US and Britain wanted Turkey in the war, Roosevelt and Churchill invited İnönü to Cairo and between 4-6 December 1943 they held talks with him. This was the second Cairo Conference. The Allied countries further increased their pressure on Turkey. On 15 February 1944, American and British war planes wanted to come to Turkey and demanded that they be allowed to land. They also threatened that if this demand was rejected, the consequences would be dire. In response, İnönü stressed that Turkey needed arms and expounded a list of needs which was given to Britain at the Adana Conference but only 4% of the list was fulfilled. After strenuous insistence from the allies, İnönü agreed to enter the war "in principle". The Turkish administration demanded that the ammunition and armaments needed for their defense be provided by the Allied states. Churchill accepted this, but Roosevelt thought that Turkey should enter the war after they were armed, and therefore with İnönü's view. İsmet İnönü's intention was to exploit the clear ideological differences between the Allied sides. In the end, İnönü managed to negate the intense British pressure to include Turkey in the war by using the power balance between the allies (Koçak, 1992: 170).

Having failed in North Africa and on the eastern front, Germany had to fundamentally change its policy towards Turkey. They gave up trying to include Turkey in the war and focused their efforts on securing their southern borders in the Balkans while keeping Turkey neutral in the process. For this purpose, the German administration decided to aid Turkey so Turkey could better resist the Allied pressure (Koçak, 2013: 287). In response, the Turkish administration adopted a sensitive approach. The two states signed a new commercial treaty on 18 April 1943. Germany delivered Turkey the armaments they had previously promised by the end of 1943 and Turkey increased the amount of chrome they had been exporting to Germany. In order to avoid being the target of a German attack, the Turkish administration resisted the Allied pressure and strictly adhered to their policy of balance. The state also remained indifferent to the military cooperation proposed by Britain because Germany gave the impression that they would destroy the airports in Western Anatolia before even the first British aircraft had landed on Turkish soil. That is why the German threat for Turkey persisted for such a long time (Koçak, 2013: 303).

In January 1944 and in accordance with the decisions made at the second Cairo Conference, the Turkish and British committees began negotiating matters of aid. However, the negotiations held with the British committee in Ankara were stopped on 3 February 1944. The British administration stated that Turkey had requested too much ammunition, and that delivering such a significant amount would delay the entry of Turkey into the war. Churchill presented a further threat declaring that the Turkish administration's attitude would not place them in a strong position at the peace conference (Armaoğlu,

1994: 413). The US and British administrations adopted a stern attitude in an attempt to bring Turkey into the war. On 28 February 1944, all British engineers, technicians and consultants left Turkey. The Turkish pilots, who had been receiving training at the English base in Cairo, also returned to Turkey. In addition, the American and British diplomats in Turkey were prohibited by their governments from communicating with any Turkish officials. Consequently, Britain and the US ceased providing the weaponry and ammunition assistance that they had been providing to Turkey on 2 March 1944 and 1 April 1944, respectively (Uçarol, 2013: 905). On 19 April 1944, they also sent a diplomatic note to Turkey, demanding that Turkey desist with all chrome exports to Germany, and that a failure to comply would result in an economic embargo on Turkey. In response, the Turkish administration declared that all chrome exports to Germany would cease by 21 April 1944. This decision was another milestone in Turkey's foreign policy (Uçarol, 2013: 906).

This attitude by Britain and the US prompted Turkey to enter into talks with the Soviet Union in May-June 1944, but the Soviet prerequisite for these talks was that Turkey enter the war. Britain sent another warning to Turkey at the end of July 1944 to effectively refrain from any talks with the German administration. At this time, Turkey accepted this as at this point Germany was in a much worse condition in terms of military power. On 27 July 1944, the Soviet Union objected to this final attempt by Britain and the US to put pressure on Turkey, stating that they were too late to cut the ties between Turkey and Germany, and that this was unacceptable to the Soviet Union (Erkin, 1968: 238). This approach by the Soviet Union meant that they now wanted to separate themselves from their allies and focus on pursuing their own course to resolving their problems with Turkey on a one-to-one basis, which became the source of concern for the Turkish administration (Uçarol, 2013: 908).

In the summer months, when Germany weakened in terms of military power, and on 2 August 1944 Turkey cut its diplomatic and economic relations with Germany, taking into account recent developments in the war, in order to restore its relations with the allied states. The Turkish administration also obtained a guarantee from Britain and the US that it would be treated as a full ally at the peace conference. The reason why Turkey gave more importance to its relations with Britain and the US was that the Soviets declared war on Bulgaria on 5 September 1944, which was a threat for Turkey. In the fall of 1944, Turkey was pleased when the British transported troops to Greece and, in order to improve its cooperation with Greece, the Turkish administration declared in November 1944 that they would relinquish all claims to the Dodecanese (Armaoğlu, 1994: 413). However at this point it would be wise to point out: Although Turkey rejected the British offer and refrained from becoming an active side in World War II, Greece yielded to the same pressure and as a result, they annexed the islands at the post-war Paris Conference.

However, given that if Turkey had sent troops to the islands that would have resulted in a German invasion, it would not really be wise to blame the Turkish foreign policy makers (Gözen, 2009: 49).

It is clear that since the end of 1944, the Soviet Union had vigorously pursued their objectives in relation to the Turkish straits. They had been attempting advances on the straits since the beginning of the war, but had achieved nothing. Towards the end of the war, they clarified their demands regarding the straits and attempted to get help from their allied states to achieve their wishes. In the Yalta Conference, which was held between 4-11 February 1945, the UN had included Turkey in the agenda due to the issue of the Turkish straits. At the conference, Stalin stated that the Montreux Convention must be changed. However, the US was not in favor of any change in status which would violate Turkish sovereignty over the straits. Britain also stated that Turkey must be assured of its independent control of the straits. It was decided at the conference that the foreign ministers would handle the issue of the straits and that Turkey be notified of the outcome (Armaoğlu, 1994: 414). Furthermore, Roosevelt requested that Turkey join the United Nations Organization which was in the early phase of establishment. Churchill, referring to Turkey's friendly attitude, supported Roosevelt's view. Therefore Stalin had to reluctantly accept the Allies' proposal (Erkin, 1968: 379).

After the Yalta Conference, Britain communicated to Turkey on 20 February 1945 that the Allied states would hold the San Francisco Conference on 25 April 1945, that the states to be invited to this conference were the ones which had declared war against Germany prior to 1 March 1945, and that Turkey would be able to join the United Nations Declaration if they decided to enter the war before this date. Whereas they could not foresee their fate after the war, Turkey still intended to play an active role in international organizations (Hale, 2003: 100). For this reason, on 23 February 1945 Turkey immediately declared war on Germany and Japan. On 27 February 1945, the Turkish administration signed the United Nations Declaration. Turkey also fulfilled the formalities specified at Yalta in order to gain the right to participate in the San Francisco Conference, the purpose of which was to re-establish the world order. Invited to the conference on 5 March, Turkey became a founding member of the United Nations. In a general sense, these developments could be construed as a solid advantage for Turkey in exchange for the favors they performed for the Western countries. Turkey was left alone in the final phase of the war, and after the war, it expected to be left alone in the intended new world order. Therefore it was only natural for İsmet İnönü to be concerned about the situation (Koçak, 1992: 170).

The Soviet Union, taking advantage of the power void in Europe left by a defeated Germany and made their imperialist ambitions against Turkey very clear. On 19 March 1945, they cancelled the Turkish-Soviet Neutrality and Nonaggression Pact which

was signed on 17 December 1925. The Soviet Union sent a diplomatic note on 7 June 1945, which stipulated the abandonment of Kars and Ardahan to Russian rule and the provision of a military base for the Soviet Union in the straits. When handing the note to the Turkish Ambassador, Molotov said: *“Since we abandoned these lands to you in 1921, the Soviet Union has been weak”*. Meanwhile Germany surrendered on 7 May 1945, Japan on 2 September 1945, which effectively ended World War II. This meant that Turkey, two months after declaring war on Germany and its allied states, never physically entered the war and became one of the victorious states among the Allied countries (Uçarol, 2013: 911).

The Soviet Union wanted to negate the advantages Turkey had gained by participating in the UN, and to spoil the international balance the state had gained prior to the San Francisco Conference. At a time when the ending of the war meant hopes of peace and calm for the allied countries, the Soviet Union sought to leave Turkey in an unstable international position (Erkin, 1968: 250). The Turkish administration requested proposals from the Soviets on 7 April, but did not receive a response until June. In June, a meeting was held between the Turkish Moscow based Ambassador and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, at which Molotov stated that some issues needed to be resolved before the two states could sign a new pact. These issues were (Gönlübol ve Sar, 1987: 185):

1. Changes to the eastern Turkish-Soviet borders.
2. Provision of a military base for the Soviets in the event of an attack.
3. Review of the Montreux Convention.

The Turkish administration rejected the first two demands. Britain demanded that the Soviet Union postpone their demands until the Potsdam Conference. This conference took place between 17 July - 2 August 1945. At the conference, Churchill objected to the Soviet approach on the issue of Turkish straits, which had been handled as a bilateral issue between Turkey and the Soviet Union only. The US's President Truman agreed with this view. On the very first day of the conference, the Soviet administration stated that they wanted guardianship of one of the former Italian colonies. This was a clear indication that the Soviet Union was wishing to establish a presence in the Mediterranean (Armaoğlu, 1994: 415). The Soviet insistence on bases in the Turkish straits prevented the sides from coming to an understanding. This time, it was decided that each of the three states should separately communicate their views on the straits to Turkey. The approach adopted by Britain and the US against the Soviet Union meant that the Soviets would not be able to push through their demands for a base and control of the straits.

Conclusion

Turkey adopted a principle to remain neutral and stay out of every phase of WWII and their external policy was shaped accordingly. Due to the geopolitical importance of Turkey, the Axis and Allied countries expended significant effort in attempting to encourage Turkey to join their side, or pressured them to do so. Despite promises of land from these power elites, Turkey still adhered to its original foreign policy and, ultimately, managed to stay out of the war. Furthermore, the state managed to become one of the victors of the war without physically entering into it.

Turkey's attitude during the war process could be referred to as "active neutrality". Considering the geographical position of Turkey, this is indeed has proven to be quite a successful foreign policy. The fundamental reason for this success was, most certainly, the political heritage bequeathed by Atatürk. Kudos must go to İsmet İnönü for adhering to these principles during very difficult times because, in this period, Turkish foreign policy was directly administered by Çankaya, which was the heart of Ankara and the Turkish administration. The bureaucrats involved in the foreign policy arena became not only the definers but also the implementers of the policies. İsmet İnönü was always at the heart of every policy that was pursued and of every decision that was made.

The primary requirements of the security policies were to establish a Turkey which was in line with the West, to makes us of the power balances, and to use the power shifts throughout the war as leverage. Gaining time and staying out of the war, despite significant pressure, proved to be an irrefutable success. The main tactic in Turkish foreign policy was shaped according to military developments that occurred during the progress of the war. There were also certain views that Turkey had left some situations to chance and that, in particular critical situations, the country had just been lucky. However, in general, it is necessary to concede that it was Turkey's own strategies which created this luck. Considered in this way, it would be unfair to say that Turkey's success in foreign policy was due purely to luck.

Yet it should be noted that the policies Turkey pursued during WWII kept the country out of the war, but also led to some serious problems after the war. Turkey was virtually abandoned in the post-war conjuncture and this was mainly due to the foreign policies adopted in the time of war. For this reason, it would be scientifically prudent to approach the issue of Turkish Foreign Policy in a holistic way. The country faced certain economic turmoil which was mainly due to the wartime conditions and the policy of neutrality, but the government of the time gave a very respectable performance in managing the country's economy throughout.

All these negatives aside, it is another irrefutable truth that had Turkey entered WWII, they would be confronted by enormous difficulties and hardship.

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II.nd WORLD WAR AND TURKISH ECONOMY

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Introduction

Turkey as being a country which was aiming to protect her territorial integrity more than being a neutral one managed to reach her aims. It would be a true statement to say that she carried out her cyclic relationships with the countries which were less threatful to her. Turkish State felt the need to adhere to the agreements it had made with France and Britain on one hand, and on the other hand to set up relations with Germany and Soviet Union not to engage a combat. ¹ This political attitude showed itself in economic behaviours. The primary method to accomplish this problematic process was turning to equity.

Economic Prospect in Turkey and in the World Before the War

The Republic of Turkey which had adopted and implemented “mixed economy model” in İzmir Economy Congress, managed to reach some of her targets, but after the Great Depression seen all over the world in 1929, she started to have a more regulatory role in economy administration with 1930 policies. Subsequently, by the establishment of Central Bank, and the laws like “*Protection of the Value of the Turkish Currency Law*”, “*The Prohibition of Mixture in Trade and The Inspection of Exportation Law*”, the republic started to apply the principle of etatism in economy instead of mixed economy model which also had some point of views containing liberal approaches. One of the biggest indicators of this is the raise of the number of State Economic Enterprises from 31 to 111 between 1932-1939. ² The economy direction which got into an etatistic point of view against the difficulties seen before the war started to take harder hedges after the burst of the war in Europe in 1939. The First Five-Year Industrial Plan which was one of the samples of etatistic approach was started implementing in 1934 and it managed to reach targets just in two years before the integration of 5 years. However, the same success level could not be achieved when the second Five-Year Industrial Plan announced in 1936 which had more challenging areas such as energy and mining instead of producing domestic consumption materials in the first plan. The Second Five-Year Industrial Plan which was proceeding by postponements because of both technical difficulties and economic deficiencies encountered serious paralysations. Coming to 1950's it was seen that just in chrome, copper and iron-steel corporations could have developed.³

¹ KÖYLÜ Murat, *Türk Siyasi Tarihi 1789-1980*, Kripto Publications, Ankara, 2017, p. 399

² ÖZTÜRK İbrahim Mert, İkinci Dünya Savaşı Türkiye'sinde Olağanüstü Ekonomik Kararlar: Milli Korunma Kanunu ve Varlık Vergisi, Ankara University Turkish Revolution History Institute Atatürk Yolu Journal, 2013, V:2, I:54, p.137

³ Bkz. BORATAV Korkut, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985*, Gerçek Publishing House 3.ed., İstanbul, 1990; KOÇAK Cemil, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945)* 2. Baskı., C.2, İletişim Publications, İstanbul, 1996

Naturally, Turkey was not the unique country that had developed precautions against the constrictions seen in economy. Especially the problems seen in the siding countries in the war made them get out of the conventional layouts. Even before the burst of the war, under the lights of the indications, most of the countries started applying war economies. In 1939 the consumption of the vital needs was rationerened, by the help of a law named as “*Emergency Power Acts*” in Britain on August 1939. The government started to regularize the economy by the hands of the state. Britain prohibited the workers to leave the job and limited them to go on strike by the help of a law named as “*Essential Works Order*”⁴

Defence Economy and National Protection Law

These implementations which were brought by the compulsory conditions swept the humans and the social life to problematic processes and created some sociological problems. Turkish nation which was generally formed as low-income or indigent people lived some complications to resist against the production restrictions and black-marketings. Almost all of the previous commercial partner countries’ were participating in the war and this caused the lack of the compulsory consumption needs in the country. This challange led serious problems accompanying the acquittances of the debts from Ottoman Empire, the charges coming from Turkish Independence War, and onto the 1929 Great Depression. Even though the volition’s success on not joining the war, Turkey had to get prepeared in half-mobilization after the Axis Powers took the Balkans accompanying to those economic challenges.⁵

The population of young men who were enlisted climbed over one million. Not just taking this most prolific group out of the economy by fulfilling the needs of these soldiers while waiting ready at the front, the challenges in economy and society piled up. Nearby the gap in rural areas created by the absence of these young and strong people who were mostly farming, their consumption as being soldiers were more than their consumption as being villagers. The population of animals were very high adding to human population and those animals were taken out of the economy like humans and they turned to be consumers instead of producers as well. Those all were big costs and they are overlooked at first sight.⁶

Turkish State took care of the signs of the war and started the discussions of etatism which was called as “*Defence Economy*” by the President of Industry Survey Commission, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir’s 23 items of article on defending the economy.

⁴ ARSLAN Mahmut, *2.Dünya Savaşı ve Türkiye’de Savaş Ekonomisi*, Aydın Toplum ve İnsan Journal, Year 2, Issue 2, 2016(1-14), s.2

⁵ GÖZCÜ Alev, İkinci Dünya Savaşı Türkiye’sinde Ekonomik Durumun Sosyal Hayata Etkilerine Dair Tespitler, Ankara University Turkish Revolution History Institute Atatürk Yolu Journal , I.62, Spring 2018,p.87-89

⁶ TEKELİ İlhan, İLKİN Selim; İktisadi Politikalarıyla ve Uygulamalarıyla İkinci Dünya Savaşı *Türkiyesi*, İstanbul,2016,V.2, p.83-84

Recep Peker submitted the project to the Parliament for approval with a 70-point law proposal under the criticism of whether the state has a lot of authority in accordance with the constitution. This regulation, known as the “*National Protection Law*”, put all economic institutions under the control of the state at low or high levels. The proposal for the approval of the Parliament on January 18, 1940, was enacted on February 19, 1940. It was determined that the National Protection Law, which was amended with 51 articles in time, was adopted with 72 articles in the first place and 359 regulatory actions were taken. At the time of the National Struggle, the Price Detection Commissions, which were likened to the Tekalif-i Milliye Orders, could confiscate the products on condition that the price was paid by the state in order to prevent speculative gains and to prevent the black market and the costs were paid to the seller in installments. In 1941, the Undersecretariat of Subsidiaries, Distribution Offices, and Petrol Ofisi were established. The Undersecretaries of the Board of Directors were organized with the Board of Directors in the major provinces. Excessive working hours were compulsory, similar to the practice in the UK, without the public or private sector being imposed, and the requirement to transport public goods to private transport vehicles.⁷

State institutions, which were drafted by legal regulations, were not prepared enough to fulfill these issues in practice. Grain and cereal products, which were decided to be distributed by rationing, were not kept in open areas and distributed to the public. The economic and sociological problems, planned to be prevented by the National Protection Law, could not be solved. The black market could not be prevented, gold prices increased, product prices went out of control and speculative riches occurred especially among non-Muslim merchants holding the country’s imports.⁸

When the conditions imposed by the period, the dynamics constituting the society, the conditions imposed by the economic difficulties outside the country rather than the domestic difficulties, it was difficult to expect the National Protection Law, which was applied at 5 different stages until the end of the war, to be more successful. Governments were not very keen to be interventionist, but they had to enforce this law as the circumstances forced them to do so.

Asset Tax

Second World War period has been applied in the most dramatic Wealth Tax measures from one area of the economy Turkey. To check prices with National Protection Law and social ground in moving the Republic of Turkey in order to avoid economic abyss, governments referred to efforts emerged the issues that are shown to avoid purged failure due to various internal and external factors to last. As the prices could not be controlled

⁷ AKIN Rıdvan, *Türk Siyasi Tarihi 1908-2000*, XII Levha Publications, İstanbul, 2005, p.323-325

⁸ ÖKTE Fatih, *Varlık Vergisi Faciası*, İstanbul, Nebiloğlu Publishing House, 1951, -- conductor: ERSOY Lale, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'nin Siyasal Hayatı*, Edit: Adem Çaylak, Seyit Ali Avcu, 13th Chapter *1939-1945 Döneminde Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler*, Savaş Publications. Ankara, 2017, s.331

in the markets, people with low incomes became more impoverished and the owners of large wealth both made the economic structure difficult and sociological differences emerged. The idea arose of taxing the excess of those who made excessive profits in order to cover the budget deficits arising in the state.⁹

The fact that the periodically controlled media organs were constantly criticizing the speculative riches and that the government supervising them allowed these publications was a sign that the state would develop some policies on this issue. Following these criticisms, the President of the time, İsmet İnönü, targeted these new riches in an extremely harsh manner. His speech in history was held on November 1, 1942, in the Assembly as follows:

*“We must remember with pain that the efforts of the Republican Governments to organize the subsistence of the nation have not been assisted by our community for two years. The first issue to be solved today is the return of general trust. The turbulent time, the old swamp farmer who never sees an untold opportunity and the insatiable profiteer merchant who tries to make the commodities we breathe in the air we can breathe, and a few politicians who think all these troubles are great opportunities for their political ambitions they are trying to put arson in an arrogant manner. There is, of course, a way to eliminate the obvious damages of these people who do not exceed three or five hundred people.”*¹⁰

After this speech, which can be seen as a kind of flare, on November 11, 1942, Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu stated in his presentation speech that the wealth gains of the three main sectors during the war years would be taxed. These; merchants, real estate and mite owners and large farms. According to the statements of Prime Minister Saraçoğlu, traders will naturally be taxed the most because they earn the most money and there will be no hesitation in this practice. Secondly, inns, baths, and apartments come. Last but not least, large farmers come, but will not exceed 5% of the tax assets to be collected from them.¹¹

Although wealth tax was criticized as unfair taxation, which was mentioned by many researchers in the following periods, it was considered as a just and fair practice at the time.¹²

The points where the criticisms are concentrated; the tax is not a criterion in the application of the newly introduced wealth tax, including 55% of the total tax revenue obtained from minorities, the tax to be collected by the local authorities to determine the personal opinions, such as the absence of the right to object to the collection authorities.¹³

⁹ Akın , *ibid.*, s.325

¹⁰ İnönü'nün Söylev ve Demeçleri, Turkish Revolution History Institute Publications:2,İstanbul,1946

¹¹ Tekeli,İlkin,*ibid.*,s.41

¹² Tekeli,İlkin,*ibid.*,s.41

¹³ WEISBAND Edward, *2.Dünya Savaşı ve Türkiye*, M.A.Kayabağ,Örgen Uğurlu (translator.), Örgün Publications, İstanbul,2002,s.221—concuctor:. Ersoy Lale, *ibid.*, s.333

When it is determined that the taxation applied in the following periods includes a number of coercion and injustices, it is seen that the conditions of the period are examined and that this small segment has gained the hatred of the large part of the society and this hatred may have greater social consequences. During the implementation, the most external objection came from the Allied front of the war. Britain protested the situation with notes, and the US ambassador of Jewish origin informed Washington that the law was of a racist character.¹⁴

In order to clarify the objections that he thinks will be put forward by Prime Minister Saraçoğlu, in his presentation speech to the parliament, he declared that those who are most profitable from the conditions of war and that they will naturally give the most taxes and those who are poor and weak will be exempted from this tax. In addition to this, the Prime Minister announced the sanction to be applied to those who could not pay the tax as to be employed in physical affairs and said that the supply of workers could be provided in this way.¹⁵

The “Wealth Tax” Law No. 4305 was adopted and enacted in the afternoon session on the same day when 350 of the 429 deputies participated and all voted in favor. Among the 79 deputies who did not participate, among the 350 deputies who participated, there were those of non-Muslim origin. When the tax list announced on December 18, 1942, was examined, it was revealed that 68% of the taxes would be collected from Istanbul, 5.8% from Izmir, 2.2% from Ankara and 1.8% from Adana. Istanbul, which served as the center of the economy, met the highest rate in this tax. When it is examined as ethnicity, this tax shows that it pays 87% of the non-Muslims who make up 22.74% of the population of Istanbul.¹⁶

This is the case of the CHP deputies Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, as in the War of Independence in this war as it is necessary to sacrifice; However, he commented that the provinces of Istanbul and Izmir should contribute more to this war, since they had no economic contribution to the War of Independence.¹⁷

The payment period granted to the taxpayers of the Asset Tax was notified as 15 days. it was announced that those who do not pay at the end of the total one month will be subject to foreclosure. In addition, for those who do not pay the price, they are decided to work in general or municipal works according to their abilities. On January 27, 1943, 2057 people who do not pay their taxes are taken into custody, 657 of them pay their taxes while they are in the collection center and the others are sent to Aşkale and Sivrihisar for labor.¹⁸

¹⁴ AKAR Rıdvan, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, İletişim Publications İstanbul,2000,s.73—conductor: Ersoy Lale ,*ibid.*,s.333

¹⁵ ÖZTÜRK İbrahim Mert, *ibid.*, s.148

¹⁶ Tekeli,İlkin,*ibid.*,s.45

¹⁷ ÖZTÜRK İbrahim Mert, *ibid.*, s.147

¹⁸ Tekeli,İlkin,*ibid.*,s.48

For non-Turkish citizens, the proportion generally applied to Muslims was applied; however, like the Allies who objected before the application of the tax, the Axis states also objected during the application of the tax. The government, which aims to maintain the balance in foreign policy, postponed the remaining portion after it has collected 2/3 of the amount that the Ministry of Finance aims to collect from foreigners.¹⁹

In 1943, some reliefs were observed in practice. It was decided that those who were subjected to forced labor should work in their families' places and even pay their debts by working in their own businesses.²⁰

Since it was seen that the amount that could be collected in mid-1943 was reached. In 1943, the Ministry of Finance was instructed to work on tax debts that could be deleted. Remaining debts on March 15, 1944, have been deleted. The tax that will be collected in this 16-month period is 465.3 million, while the tax that can be collected is 314.9 million.²¹

Conclusion

Turkish Republic, which tried to avoid getting involved and succeeded in the Second World War, tried to take some measures against the economic problems which would inevitably be encountered in, which have not been successful. Although not as much as the countries entering the war, the country has experienced a serious economic strain. The most important measure is the National Protection Law. The implementation of this law has not been successful due to some internal and external factors. It was not possible to prevent the black market that was tried to be prevented, fair distribution of the products could not be realized and the social gaps that should not arise in the society emerged. Not being able to share the gains with the public and the state by people who are rich at the same time with speculative moves fueled both the budgetary problems and social problems. The President of the State, who could not be adequately protected through the National Protection Law, deemed it necessary to take tax on the excessive earnings of the rich in question, and even today, the Asset Tax, which is still being debated, was imposed for 16 months.

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¹⁹ Tekeli, İlkin, *ibid.*, s.49

²⁰ AKAR Rıdvan, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, İletişim Publications İstanbul, 2000, s.73— conductor: Ersoy Lale , *ibid.*, s.333

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CYPRUS ISSUE AND THE APPROACH OF EUROPEAN STATES IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS

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Introduction

For a better understanding of the topic, it is necessary to look at the chronology of the Cyprus Issue. Conquered by the Ottoman State in 1571, Cyprus was under the domination of the Ottomans for 306 years and came under the rule of the English on 4 June 1878 (Vatansever, 2012, p.1490-1491). After World War I broke out on 29 October 1914, the Ottoman State was involved in the war taking sides with Germany and Cyprus was officially annexed by the Greek. Upon entering into the Lausanne Agreement on 24 July 1923, Cyprus was also legally left to the English. After officially falling outside the boundaries of Turkey in 1923, the Turks were forced to live under a heavy pressure. The British rule was decisive to annihilate Turkish Identity in Cyprus and banned all symbols that would evoke Turkey in cultural life, education being in the first place¹.

After World War II was over, studies to end the protective (mandate) administrations were started in conformity with United Nations resolution. Pursuant to this resolution, England had also started works to leave Cyprus. In accordance with the plan announced by the English Prime Minister Macmillan on 19 June 1958, London and Zurich conferences were held. Pursuant to the agreements made in these conferences, the Republic of Cyprus was founded on 16 August 1960 (Özmen, 2007, p.17). After this date United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey became guarantor states of Cyprus and this structure continued until 21 December 1963 when the republic was virtually ended. In the period between 1950 and 1960, EOKA terrorist organization was formed with dream of Enosis and turned the island into a blood bath in a short while (Keser, 2007, p.15-16).

After 1960, anarchy and terrorism were further increased on the island and for security reasons, the English drew the “green line” on 30 December 1963, which divided Nicosia. As from this date, Turkish Cypriots were exposed to suppression and oppression for 11 years. Upon the coup staged by the Greeks on 15 July 1974, Turkey has exercised its right to interfere as a guarantor state in the 1960 Agreement and launched the Cyprus Peace Operation on 20 July 1974. In the negotiations made after the operation, a line was drawn between two communities and Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus was founded on 15 November 1983 (Özmen, 2007, pp.19-20).

The Cyprus Issue, which has pursued with a sometimes accelerating and sometimes

¹ The great leader of the Turkish Cypriots, Rauf Denktas, made a speech at a conference at the Faculty of Education in Selçuk University in May 1995 and said; “*When I was a primary school student, we were forbidden to have the colors red and white together on our course materials such as books, notebooks and schoolbags. They were telling us that these colors were the Turkish Flag*”.

declining speed from that day on, has been the main external relations problem Turkey has been facing in every platform in recent years. Dating back to old times, this issue still plays an effective role in international relations of Turkey. Having a strategically important location, Cyprus Island has always been an agenda item in foreign policies of European states in the international arena. Due to this fact, a mutual understanding that would be regarded as an exact solution could not be reached with respect to the Cyprus Issue until today. The biggest reason for this is that Turkey is not sufficiently determinative militarily, culturally and economically in foreign policy. The history proves that those who are powerful have always come to the fore as determining factors and the winners always had a say on losers following international wars. The reason why Turkey cannot have an active voice in Cyprus Issue is the dominant foreign policies against Turkey pursued by those who steer the world politics.

Historical Background of the Cyprus Issue in Turkish Foreign Policy

It is possible to say that the beginning of Cyprus Issue is the Treaty of Sevres. After being defeated in World War I, the Ottoman State was shared by the victorious states and Cyprus was one of the main items in this sharing. This issue was brought to agenda for the second time with Treaty of Lausanne. The Cyprus Issue was discussed in detail during Lausanne Conference and important resolutions were taken in respect of Cyprus. Pursuant to Article 20 of the Treaty, legal presence of the English rule was officially entered into force on 24 July 1923. In other words, Turkey has recognized with the Treaty of Lausanne that Cyprus is annexed by the English. In the later years, the Cyprus Issue has remained to be a festering sore for Turkey.

Pursuant to Treaty of Lausanne, Cyprus was not a topical issue for Turkey after 1923. However, following 1930s, Turkish administration has begun to view the developments on the island from a distance. After 1936, Turkey has pursued a new balance policy. By force of this policy, Turkey aimed to promote its relations with England (Göktuğ, 1990, pp.49-51).

After World War II, those who were steering Turkish foreign policy tried to pursue a policy parallel to Western states and this approach has borne significant consequences in respect of Cyprus. The Cyprus Issue did not take an important place in Turkish foreign policy in this period. In other words, Turkey has internalized the then-current status of Cyprus and did not remain insensitive to this island and the Turkish population on it to whom it was closely linked with historical, political and geographical bonds.

In response to Turkey's approach, the Greek governments have systematically endeavored to ensure annexation of Cyprus by Greece and continuously announced it. When Greece kept officially enunciating ENOSIS (the ideal of incorporating Cyprus into Greece) at every opportunity, Turkey decided to get into the act with respect to the Cyprus Issue. In

spite of all these negative developments and demands for ENOSIS, Turkish governments have tried to solve the problem amicably and paid strict attention for not taking Greece and England on.

When Turkey enabled those who were not happy with the English rule due to their prejudiced practices after the island was left to England to acquire Turkish citizenship, 7-8 thousand Turkish Cypriots have migrated to Turkey between the years of 1923 and 1925 (Gürel, 1984, pp.168-169). While the Turkish population on the island was 1/4th of the total population in 1881 census, this ratio changed to 1/5 in 1931 census (Çay, 1989, pp.23-24). This strategic mistake was resulted in nothing but greater problems and making the work of Greek Cypriots easier on the island. This ineffective action of Turkey caused the Turkish Cypriots on the island to get into action. Turkish government broke its silence in respect of the Cyprus Issue for the first time in 1949 with the passive political statement of Necmettin Sadak, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time. Sadak stated that there is no indication that England will leave Cyprus and Greece did not officially addressed to this matter (Armaoğlu, 1985, pp.18-19).

In spite of the approach of Turkish foreign affairs in this direction, Turkish press and public were more sensitive to the developments. This negligent behavior of Turkish government in foreign policy had a wide coverage in newspapers. Due to the growing excitement in the press and public, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Necmettin Sadak made the following statement: "There is no such thing as the Cyprus Issue. Because this island is under the sovereignty and rule of Great Britain. We know that Great Britain does not intend to transfer its rights to another power. No provocation in Cyprus will differ the consequence" (Bağcı, 1990, p.101).

The power changed hands in Turkey on 14 May 1950 and Democrat Party came to power. The new government also did not include the Cyprus Issue in its programme. On the contrary, it has pursued a policy of maintaining good neighborly relations with Greece. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new government, Fuat Köprülü, answered the questions of reporters about Cyprus contrary to expectations and said that there is no such thing as the Cyprus Issue between Turkey and Greece (Bağcı, 1990, p.102). On the other hand the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos made a speech in the parliament and stated that annexation of Cyprus to Greece is the most sacred wish of Greek nation. He added that they will allow USA and England to set up military bases on the island and grant them privileges if the English give up the island to them (Torun, 1956, pp.101-102). Thus, their dream of ENOSIS was officially expressed. Consequently attention of Turkish public was re-directed to Cyprus Issue and debates were heated.

Greece did not only utter its claims and demands but also pursued an effective policy after 1951 in respect of Cyprus and tried to persuade England with regard to Cyprus.

In an unofficial statement made by Greece it was alleged that 90% of the population on the island wanted to be incorporated in Greece and 81% of the island's population were Greeks (Cumhuriyet Newspaper-21 December 1951).

In response to Greece's approach, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that Greece's requests and claims will never be accepted by England (Bağcı, 1990, p.101). Internalizing the Cyprus Issue from the very beginning, Greece went a step further and officially requested annexation of Cyprus in Paris Conference of the United Nations in Paris, in 1951 and laid bare that the Cyprus Issue is a state policy for them.

Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuat Köprülü, made a speech on 20 April 1951 and stated that Turkey has strong ties with Cyprus and following the developments closely. During those dates, the issue has become a matter of debates in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Thus, Turkey gradually considered inclusion of the Cyprus Issue in its foreign policy and engaging with it necessary. On the other hand, Turkey did not want to be at odds with Greece as it was trying to join NATO at that time. Turkey's approach to the incidents in Cyprus and pressures of Greek Cypriots was insufficient.

The Greek government continued its diplomatic attempts and tried to find supporters on the international platform. They took another step and announced that they will bring the annexation of Cyprus into question in the general assembly meeting of the UN in September 1954 (Toluner, 1977, pp.25-26). Turkish government expressed that good relations could not be maintained due to this attitude of Greece and requested that Greece should back down to no avail. Upon request of Greece, the Cyprus Issue was put on the agenda of the UN General Assembly on 24 August 1954 and became an international problem (Gürel, 1984, p.95). Since then, the Cyprus issue has become one of the main subjects of Turkish foreign policy. Especially after the indications came into sight that England was about to leave the island, Turkey demanded that the island should be returned to Turkey as Turkey was the former owner of the island (Oran, 2001, p.602). Turkey's request was not accepted and the English Prime Minister Macmillan suggested a new plan on 19 June 1958 which would determine Cyprus' future. Accordingly, it was decided that Cyprus should be governed by Turkish and Greek communities together based on the collaboration of England, Turkey and Greece (Bilge, 1969, p.747). Later on, Turkey also adopted the idea of establishing a direct rule on the island due to its belief in Macmillan's plan on the ground that it would deliver a solution for the island (Güler, 2004, p.106; Akman and Meydan, 2018).

In order to be accepted as a NATO member, Turkey did not want to have any problem with Greece and in addition, the country has been having economic troubles in the recent years and intending to solve this problem with the aid of USA. Due to these circumstances, Turkey was not able to pursue an effective policy and compulsorily

took sides with Western states. Finally, Turkey and Greece have agreed upon in the negotiations made in Zurich through the intervention of USA to found an independent Republic of Cyprus. It was stipulated to found an independent federal republic on the island based on collaboration of both communities and having close cooperation with Turkey and Greece. Although the Republic of Cyprus was officially founded in 1960, it didn't last long. When Makarios declared in 1963 that he has unilaterally terminated all treaties, the direct rule on the island came to an end and the events in Cyprus grew violent again. After the escape of Makarios from the island, the pressure on the Turks increased during the period of his successor, Nikos Sampson (Özmen, 2007, pp.19-20).

Suppression and oppression incessantly continued between 1960 and 1974. Many events can be mentioned within this period. The first incident was the Bloody Christmas Massacre initiated by the EOKA member Greek Cypriots on the night between 24–25 December 1963. Memoirs of Nikos Sampson published in Eleftheria newspaper reveal that Greek soldiers and commanders were responsible for brutal murders of Turkish Cypriots. Sampson regards this massacre as a great success and calls it *“the only victory that Greeks have over the Turks apart from the Balkan Wars”* (Özmen, 2007, p.256).

Turkey could not find a political solution to these developments and tried to stop the incidents by mobilizing the Turkish Regiment deployed on the island to maintain security (Özmen, 2007, s.258).

Another incident has occurred in 1964. Attacks of Greek Cypriots against Turks were increased. Turkey has called for to put an end to this suppression and oppression time after time. Greek Cypriots went so far as to request termination of Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance, withdrawal of Turkish and Greek regiments from Cyprus and removal of the rights granted to Turks in the Constitution. Negotiations were made upon this development to no avail. Later on, Turkey has applied to United Nations Security Council on 13 February 1964. Negotiations continued between 26 February and 4 March 1964 and the proposal to form a two-party government was accepted. The Peace Corps formed on March 17 was of no use and when Makarios declared on 4 April 1964 that he has terminated the Treaty of Alliance signed as part of the Zurich and London Agreements, Turkey started to get ready for a military intervention. According to the plans, soldiers were to be landed on June 7. US President Johnson sent a gross and threatening letter on June 5 to prevent this landing. In response, Turkey sent a letter in which it mentioned the circumstances causing this intervention and telling Johnson that his letter was very disappointing. However, this incident caused the intervention to be postponed. No result was obtained in the negotiations within this period (Özmen, 2007, pp.256-272).

Upon the failed coup attempt of Grivas, the leader of EOKA on 26 July 1973 and the following developments, Makarios made a statement in United Nations Security Council

and charged EOKA and Greece with trying to pick a civil war on the island and destroy Turkish Cypriots. With that, Greece wanted a coup to be staged at the cost of Makarios' death. Turkey condemned this coup on 15 July 1974 strongly and went into action by citing the statement of Makarios as evidence. The coup plotter Nikos Sampson has declared that the Hellenic Republic was founded in Cyprus. After escaping from the island with an English helicopter, Makarios announced that the island was occupied by Greece. Upon these developments, Turkey contacted England, USA and USSR and uttered its reaction. Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit visited England on Jul 17 and made attempts to ensure a joint intervention but failed. USSR made a motion in UN to condemn the events on the island but it was vetoed by USA. In response, Turkey sent an ultimatum to Greece and demanded from Greece to stop its actions on the island and retract its troops. However, the juntaists who relied on USA as they did in 1964 have rejected this ultimatum thinking that military force will not be used. When these attempts came to nothing, Turkey intervened the island on 20 July 1974, pursuant to Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee (Özmen, 2007, pp.286-291; Tosun, 2001, p.104).

Peace Operations

The landing operation commenced with fire opened by Turkish destroyers and two jets at 4:40 AM in the morning of July 20. The airborne operation started at 6:05 AM. The operation named as the 1st Peace Operation was ended on July 22 upon acception of ceasefire proposal made by Security Council (Koç, 2005, p.227).

The First Geneva Conference

The Geneva Conference where United States, Soviet Union and UN were present as observers was lasted for 6 days between 25-30 July 1974. Turks suggested establishment of a permanent autonomous administration to rule both communities and formation of buffer zone by Peace Corps in the conference and both suggestions were accepted. Greek Cypriots did not object to these suggestions and accepted them. In accordance with the treaty, occupied Turkish settlements were required to be evacuated. However, this was not put into practice to the contrary of the treaty and they continued to occupy and vandalize. Thus, it was understood that Greek Cypriots were not sincere (Koç, 2005, pp.227-230).

Bülent Ecevit made a statement before the Second Geneva Conference in this respect and stated that it is not possible for two communities live together due to the actions of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots will not live under the rule of Greek Cypriots. He also added that two separate governance are necessary for Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The conference was conducted again under these conditions on 8 August 1974 (Koç, 2005, p.230).

The Second Geneva Conference

At the beginning of the negotiations, Turkish delegation has requested enforcement of the First Geneva Treaty and determination of an exact calendar. The USA has commissioned the Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger (Harry değil) and reassured that the rightful requests of Turkey will be enforced.

Greek and Greek Cypriot delegations neither accepted nor rejected these requests. Due to the strategy of Greeks and Greek Cypriots based on stalling for time, negotiations were interrupted on August 13 and the encrypted order previously determined by Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and Minister of Foreign Affairs Turan Güneş was issued from Geneva: “Ayşe should go on vacation!” Upon this encrypted order, the Second Peace Operation was commenced at 6:30 AM on 14 August 1974 on the grounds that the principles of the First Geneva Treaty were not complied with (Koç, 2005, pp.230-231).

Results of the Peace Operation

Following the Peace Operation, Turkey has brought 38% of the island under control. Strongest reactions to these developments were given by USSR and USA. The USA laid an embargo on Turkey on 5 February 1975 and it continued until 26 September 1978. The best reaction to US embargo was the foundation of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus on 13 February 1975. Sampson was dismissed in Cyprus and replaced by Glafcos Clerides (Tosun, 2001, p.106).

The federation model advocated by Turkey for the island since 1963 was accepted by the resolutions of the UN. While Turkish Cypriots settled in the northern part of the island, Greek Cypriots were settled in the south. The security zone in between and the Peace Corps have prevented the conflicts. Turkey prevented massacre of the persons of the same race with this operation and also demonstrated to the world that it will protect its right arising from the treaties to the full extent. It proved that the Megali Idea (Great Design) of Greece is a dream ensured acceptance of its ideas. The Federation founded after these developments was officially proclaimed as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 15 November 1983 (Koç, 2005, pp.229-245).

We can say that the Cyprus Issue has been approached with a Crusade mentality from beginning to end. Their primary aim was changing the demographic structure in Cyprus as in the Balkans. The West did not utter a word about the oppression and massacre in Cyprus but when it comes to Greek Cypriots, they held a protective position. Although rights and law are important concepts and obligation for them, they disregarded them for Muslim Turks.

These circumstances still continue today and they try to ignore the legitimate rights of Turkish people and In respect of the recent oil and natural gas explorations around the

island, their mentality has come to the light again. Whereas both communities should have equal rights in territorial waters of the island, only Greek Cypriots are taken as the addressee. Turkey's steps in this context are regarded as alarming by the European states.

Consequently, 1974 Peace Operation of Turkey on an island which is located within the boundaries of the National Pact but politically left to England with the Treaty of Lausanne is the beginning of a significant change in Turkish foreign policy. However, this change is not enough to deliver a solution. Even though Turkey is more sensitive compared to the past, the policy it pursued in respect of Cyprus was in parallel with and under the influence of the policy of European states and this is why the Cyprus Issues was not solved from 1974 to this date.

Conclusion

Conquered by the Ottomans in 1571, Cyprus has remained under Ottoman rule until 1878 and remained to be a legal property of the Ottoman state after that date. Cyprus is only at a distance of 70 km from Turkish coast and at a distance of 800 km from Greek coast and this is the proof that the island is a natural extension of Turkey. Geographically located right in the middle of Asia, Europe and Africa, Cyprus can keep the sea routes in Eastern Mediterranean under control (Gürsoy, 1964, p.7).

Turkey did not pursue a serious policy about Cyprus until the 1950s and even the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time has stated that "We have no such thing as the Cyprus Issue". Consequently, the Cyprus Issue has become an item in the agenda of Turkish foreign policy after 1955. However Turkey did not try to find a permanent solution to this new issue on the agenda of Turkish foreign policy and addressed this issue depending on the agenda of international politics and its relations with Greece. Consequently, Turkey never had unique solution packages for the Cyprus Issue. The solution packages in the past such as Macmillan plan, Zurich and London treaties, foundation of the Republic of Cyprus, temporary government established jointly by Turkish and Greek Cypriots have been shaped and drawn up without participation of Turkey. Following the conflicts in the newly founded Republic of Cyprus, Turkey has launched the Cyprus Peace Operation. After the Geneva Conference held on 30 July 1974, Turkish Cypriots were settled in the north and Greek Cypriots in the south. Thus, 2 different administrations were established in two different geographical regions.

Even though negotiations to find a solution to the issue were made afterwards, no solution was found and the Cyprus Issue remained unsolved. During this period, relying on European states which have always supported them, Greek Cypriots conveyed the issue to United Nations. European states which were the founding members of the United Nations maintained a political attitude and accepted some drafts to the detriment of Turkey. While Greek Cypriots welcomed these developments, it arose reactions in Turkey

and Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. The United Nations went further in supporting Greek Cypriots and officially declared that the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus will not be allowed to give a speech in the General Assembly of the United Nations and only the representative of Greek Cypriots will be allowed to give a speech. Upon suggestion of Greek Cypriots, the Universal Postal Union announced that they don't recognize the stamps of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and they are void on 23 September 1979 (Uçarol, 1995, p.769). Due to these developments, the relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots has become critical.

Negotiations were made in various periods to solve this issue which has become a common problem for Turkey, Greece and European States. The most concrete plan suggested at the end of negotiations was the solution suggestion made by Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. According to this plan, it was decided to hold separate referendums in the two communities on the solution of this issue and ensure the union. Greek Cypriots, who convey the issue to United Nations at every opportunity have revealed in the referendum held on 24 April 2004 that they don't want a state of two communities on the island. While 65% of Turkish Cypriots have voted in favor of the Annan Plan in the referendum, 75% of Greek Cypriots said "no" to the plan. In consideration of the results of this referendum, it is obvious that Greek Cypriots do not want a bi-community Cyprus state. It is necessary to be very careful so that the sad events of 1974 will never occur again.

In order to deliver a fair and permanent solution to the issue, Turkish Cypriots were in favor of an independent bi-community federation involving Turkish and Greek Cypriots from the very beginning and they wanted this federation to be based on the principle of equality and protect the rights and interests of both communities. The Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, consistently avoided the bilateral negotiations and conveyed the issue to international organizations with the intent of finding a solution in line with their demands. Thus, Turkish Cypriots have become isolated in respect of the Cyprus Issue. The distrust, difference of opinion, objective and attitude between the Turkish and Greek communities have led to a political deadlock in respect of the Cyprus Issue. After Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus' accession to the European Union under the name of Cyprus on 1 May 2004, the problem completely remained unsettled.

This atmosphere and environment of distrust caused by the ongoing struggles and problems among the two communities on the island is the main reason for not being able to solve the problem from the very beginning. Unless this distrust is removed, no solution plan will yield a result. For this reason, an environment of trust should be ensured in the first place. Once this trust is established, this issue will be automatically solved.

In today's globalized world, human-centered policies need to be put into practice as

soon as possible. If this can be managed, our world will be a more livable place for all communities.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VILLAGE INSTITUTES AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

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Introduction

This question can only be answered by examining the evolution of Turkish society. The characteristics of our evolution: It is now possible to establish quite definite principles as a result of research published in the liberal environment after 1960 on the characteristics of the historical development of Turkish society, its social and economic structures, and changes and developments in these structures. What is the main direction of this historical development? What are the social and economic structures of Turkish society in Anatolia? From where did the society start? In what direction is the society developing? Which level of development has this process reached? Unless these questions are answered, even if briefly, it is not possible to understand the main reasons that required those who held power from 1923 to 1935 to undertake large-scale educational initiatives. Before the bourgeoisie in Europe developed and established its impact on Ottoman society, the Ottoman Empire had a feudal order in terms of the main features of its social structure. Despite arguments to the contrary, this fact should be accepted as the main elements of a feudal order were present within the Ottoman order: The main asset was the land. The economy was based on agriculture. The main income was rent from the land. The main element as the power of production was the serf, who cultivated the land and was an agricultural laborer with limited freedom. The following characteristics separate the Ottoman social order from the feudal order in Western societies: land ownership was managed differently than in western feudalism, which means a large part of the land was owned by the government; the government earned income from this property by giving the right of actual disposition and usufruct of the land (manor, fief, etc.) to the people in varying ways and making them mediators, some of the rights of the agricultural laborer were secured by the government, by not allowing these mediators to mismanage the laborers, to be unfair to them or to exploit them. These characteristics have misled some researchers over a long period of time, leading them to incorrect conclusions that the direction of the Ottoman order and development did not include the main sociological rules, and that it exhibited a special characteristic that did not comply with those rules. However, the evolution of Turkish society did comply with the main rules; but there are certain characteristics in the details. Considering that this evolution is anomalous, and trying to establish new rules to explain this evolution means pursuing a direction that is very misleading and full of failures in terms of action. The characteristics present in the details of the Ottoman feudal structure provided many advantages to this structure

in an age when the West was in the feudal phase. In short, it can be stated that Ottoman feudalism was the most humane and least oppressive of the feudal orders. Of course, to the extent that a feudal order allows! These characteristics of Ottoman feudalism established the foundation of an empire that was not able to be demolished for centuries, which made it more robust than contemporary societies of the time and which allowed its citizens to live a somewhat less unhappy life, but these were also the characteristics that delayed its evolution and prevented its progression. The fact that this feudal order was more robust, somewhat humane, and less exploitative than western forms caused this order to hold on much longer and led to the failure of Ottoman society to move from the feudal period to the bourgeoisie period. However, this suspensive effect is not because, as supporters of the «Asian Mode of Production» suggest, this order is not fit for evolution at all, even more so than feudalism; but like any feudal order, of course, there are evolutionary elements hidden within this order. But the fact that this order remained feudal for a much longer period than in the West was a demonstration of the robustness of its characteristics, in a sense, rather than of its primitiveness. In the 15th and 16th centuries, a process of professional differentiation in Turkish villages and cities, that could be considered as advanced and well organized relative to that era, was developing rapidly. In addition to uniform feudal farming in villages, small handicrafts were developed. The strengthening of the merchant class in the cities and the organization of small handicraft trades (such as guild organizations) were the first indications that a bourgeoisie could emerge. Why did this order, which still exhibited a complete feudal structure in terms of its general characteristics, fail to make progress towards the bourgeoisie period? Here, it is necessary to mention the external effects and conditions that made this development difficult, stopped it, and caused us to be unhappy today (Tonguç, 1970).

Turkey has 160 years of history in teacher training in the scientific sense. In this process, it has been observed that different mindsets and opinions have been put into practice from time to time in teacher training. The first of these was the “Teacher’s Training School for Junior High School Education” which was opened in 1848 and aimed to train teachers for Ottoman junior high schools. This was followed by the “Teacher’s Training School for Primary Education” (1868) and the “Teachers’ Training School for Girls” (1870) (Şeren, 2008). With the “Provisional Primary Education Law”, which was enacted in 1913, and the “Law on Provincial Public and Private Administration”, which took effect during the Constitutional Monarchy period, teachers’ training schools began to be opened in every province. During the Constitutional Monarchy period, the number increased to 65 (Koçer, 1974). İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu stated that these schools were not adequate in many ways, although more sophisticated approaches for primary schools, village schools and teacher training for village schools emerged during the Second Constitutionalist period and in the years that followed (Akyüz, 1978).

The Turkish National Education system covers core activities in terms of making the Turkish nation stronger, more prosperous, happier, and ensuring an understanding and implementation of Kemalism as a whole, as well as understanding and explaining the national purposes and ideology of the Turkish state and passing them down from generation to generation. Even in the early years of the War of Independence, when the foundations of the new Turkish state began to be laid, Atatürk began searching for National Education systems and institutions that would bring the country to the level of contemporary civilization. The meeting of the Education Congress (National Education Council) in Ankara on July 16, 1921, during the most depressing days of the National War of Independence, proves this fact. In his opening speech at the abovementioned congress, Atatürk, who described education as a tool that elevates nations to civilization and would help to lead the Turkish state to its dynamic goal, continued his speech with the following statements (Aysal, 2005):

“... There is no doubt that we should not spare the greatest effort to heal the wounds caused by centuries of deep governmental neglect within the state in the field of education... I believe that the teaching methods followed so far are an important factor in the decline of our nation. For this reason, when I speak of a National Education Program, I mean a culture that is completely free from the superstitions of olden times and foreign ideas that have nothing to do with our natural characteristics, free from all influences that may come from the east and the west, and a culture compatible with our national character and history. Because the full development of our national genius can only be achieved with such a culture. Any foreign culture may cause destructive consequences again, which have been caused by foreign cultures followed so far. Intellectual culture complies with the environment. That environment is the character of the nation...”

During the revolutions made to elevate the Turkish nation to the level of contemporary civilization, with the adoption of the new Turkish alphabet on November 1, 1928, feverish activity was initiated throughout the country. As everyone wanted to learn to read and write, national schools were opened through the efforts of President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In these schools, which were opened during the period when Mustafa Necati was the minister for National Education, the aim was to teach literate people how to read and write with the new alphabet (Sakaoğlu, 1993). It can also be observed that this war against ignorance gained momentum in 1932 with the establishment of “Community Centers”. The purpose of their establishment was not only to improve the literacy skills and basic knowledge of the people, but also to improve their knowledge in the fields of culture, social and fine arts, to process and enrich national values by contemporary methods, and to spread and encourage Atatürk’s reforms and principles to take root. Atatürk deemed it necessary to establish a cultural and educational center to provide education to the Turkish nation as a whole without differentiating between men

and women, and rich and poor. On February 19, 1932, he established the community centers, which involved the Turkish Hearths and teacher's unions, in 14 city centers (Gediklioğlu, 1991).

At the beginning of the 1940s, 78% of the primary school age population in Anatolia was illiterate, and this percentage reached 90% in villages. There was a great need for people living in the villages to be enlightened about health, agriculture, and handicrafts and to develop socially and culturally. In addition to the education of village children, it was also necessary to focus on the education of the adults and to provide them with the knowledge and skills, which would offer them a better living and working environment. In order to do this, a type of teacher who would meet the educational needs of children living in rural areas at the primary level and contribute to the social and economic development of people was needed. However, this new type of teacher was expected to be able to easily adapt to the conditions of village life and be able to afford to work in the village to which he/she would be appointed for a long period of time and to not become a burden on the government budget. Such a teacher would naturally have to be trained in an educational institution whose purpose, curriculum, working order, and physical features were different from the norm. Thus, it was concluded that it would be appropriate to establish a new institution called the "Village Institute" by also taking advantage of previous experiences in village teacher training. Teachers who would gladly accept working in villages, who were constructive, creative, productive, skilled in handicrafts, prone to agricultural labor, and also determined, devoted, and idealistic were going to be trained in such institutes (Kartal, 2008).

Why Were the Village Institutes Established

The Village Institutes were established in accordance with Law No. 3803, adopted on April 17, 1940. The purpose of the establishment of the Village Institutes was to battle against the widespread ignorance in the villages and to improve the economic and social structure of the villages through education (Akyüz, 1978). Village Institutes were similar to previous attempts made in terms of teacher training for villages, but they differed in terms of location, educational and training activities, and the purpose of the establishments. This situation reveals the unique character of these institutions. In addition to teacher training, the aim was also to train other professional experts who would lead the development of the villages (Kartal, 2008). The objective of the Village Institutes was not only to train teachers for the villages. However, the aspect of teacher training was considered more important. Considering the peasant children who were brought up at the Village Institutes, it has been observed that the desire was to create a type of teacher who could adapt to village conditions. The purpose of the establishment of the Village Institutes depended on the fact that the educational problems and needs of the village could not have been solved until that time. Although some previous practices

had yielded positive results, the desired level had not yet been achieved. For example, Article 1 of Law No. 3238 on Village Instructors, which was adopted on June 1, 1937, stated that village instructors were to be employed to guide the villagers to carry out agricultural labor in a professional way, and to provide education and training for the villages whose populations were too small to warrant the appointment of teachers.

The main objective of the Village Institutes was to develop the rural area, to educate the villagers and to make the villagers and teachers productive as the literacy rate in our country was almost nonexistent in the years during which the Republic was founded. Especially amongst women and in villages, the literacy rate was quite low. At this stage, Atatürk and his friends initiated an educational revolution movement that would convey the spirit and idea of the new regime also to the village. The Village Institute movement, which was truly revolutionary, was aimed not only at the financial development of the village but more importantly, at the raising the awareness of the people in the village and helping them to meet a modern rural lifestyle that no force could exploit (Kartal, 2008).

Reading rooms which were established on the basis of this modern understanding, as teaching only how to read and write was not sufficient and as it was also considered important to preserve the knowledge that had been obtained, were considered as one of the means of leading people to modernity by saving them from the coffeehouses. In 1935, the number of schools in villages where eighty percent of the country's population lived was very limited. In addition, the few teachers who were sent to these schools from the cities were unable to adapt to the village lifestyle and, thus, were not successful. The educational needs of the village people were not limited to literacy; they were also unable to fight infectious diseases, and production was undertaken by primitive methods. The villagers, who suffered the heavy burden of the National War of Independence, had not yet achieved the character of republican citizens who would keep democracy alive. More importantly, it was very difficult to bring services to the villages between the years of 1930-1940. The efforts to bring services to the villages after the establishment of the republic were left half finished either because they did not meet the expectations of the villagers or things could not get done as expected. To succeed, a new type of intellectual who could understand the villagers was required (Kaplukan, 2012).

Where Were the Village Institutes Established

(Gedikoğlu, 1971) Village Institutes were generally established outside of the cities and towns, near the railways or highways; in, next to, or in the middle of the villages. In their establishment, the following principles were generally considered:

1. Having arable lands owned by the government,
2. The land being very fertile, easy to cultivate and enriched with cultivated

vineyards and orchards,

3. The selected location being suitable to become a regional center for 2-3 provinces and appropriate for healthy conditions in terms of air and water.

These demands were quite important and difficult to attain according to the conditions during that period. The main problem in the establishment of the institutes was the land (field) problem. Some problems were experienced in finding land which could allow the proper practice of village life. This problem was not experienced much in places with appropriate public land. However, in places where no such public land was available, the land was taken from the villagers by necessity. In fact, the institutes were never intended to take lands from the villagers. But the geographical characteristics of each institute were not the same. This made it difficult to establish institutes in appropriate places. The expropriation of the villagers' land was also a new burden for the government budget which was not financially stable. However, the government found a solution to this. Most of the land taken from the villagers were kind of infertile lands that were not being cultivated by the villagers much. Therefore, some institutions had to be established on land that seemed infertile. However, in a very short time, great progress was made on these lands, which had not previously attracted anyone's attention. The best example of this situation related to the Kεpirtepe Village Institute. This institute was built on very arid land. However, in a short time, revitalization was achieved on these lands (Toprak, 2008).

What Was the Founding Philosophy of Village Institutes

The main pillar of the Village Institutes was activity. In these institutes, there was no place for bookish methods and abstract concepts. Every thought, every piece of work was ultimately based on the land (Ertuğrul, 2002). The objective of the Village Institutes was not to educate intellectuals. It was to raise the peasant youth as individuals of peasant development. Thus, the underlying idea of the Village Institute model was to create a movement of change throughout the country. In the functioning of the Village Institutes, developing productive and intellectual abilities and establishing the values of the republic and democracy were balanced against each other (Toprak, 2008). The primary aim was to shape the personality of the student with all these factors. Therefore, students were given a chance to improve their personalities. It can be said that this is why the Village Institutes were called "institutes". The then existing teacher training system was accused of training teachers who provided theoretical education, who only taught how to read-write and provided information only from books, who did not want to go and stay in the village, and who did not have proper influence on the villagers (Akyüz, 1999). In line with these developments, teachers who came from the village, who could really be helpful to the village and use tools such as pickaxes, shovels, anchors, hedge

shears, and adzes used in agricultural activities, should have been educated rather than the ones who could only use pencils and books.

The Closure of the Village Institutes

Tevfik İleri was appointed as the minister of National Education, aside from a short-term period of duty of Avni Başman from the Democrat Party. The minister of National Education closed down the Village Institutes for good with a law enacted on January 27, 1954, by combining Village Institutes with Teachers' Training Schools because of the following reasons:

It was claimed that the difference between the villagers and the urbanites had increased very much and that a class distinction had emerged as only the village students were enrolled in the Village Institutes to be trained as village teachers, and that this was also contrary to the constitutional principle of populism.

It was also claimed that the Village Institutes providing not only theoretical but also practical education, and educating students through projects led to an extra financial burden for the state, and that a kind of education that was reminiscent of leftist, communist ideology was being provided at the institutes, and that this was in contradiction to the principle of nationalism, that the administrators of the institutes were left-oriented and Marxist people, that employing students in different jobs under the name of job training resembled Soviet Russia and communism, and even that female students were wearing trousers and jackets in the fashion of communism. It was also argued that co-education provided in the boarding institutes, which meant the education of students of both sexes together, was against the Turkish family and moral values, that too much moral and material support was expected from the villagers for the Village Institutes, and that the villagers were constantly complaining,

that the villagers were asked to help in the construction of institute buildings, and the fact that the villagers had to provide land for the teachers of the Village Institutes caused conflicts between the villagers as they did not want to share their land. In addition, it was claimed that while the Village Institutes were being built with the cooperation of villagers and teachers, it was contrary to the principle of equality in the constitution that the schools in the cities were being built only by the government (Akyüz, 1999).

Conclusion

The modernization of education and training in Turkey mainly started with the Tanzimat reform era; however, the transition to the modern education system in the real sense was manifested in the Republican period. In the light of the revolutions in the field of education, the Republican period displayed a different and more radical character.

According to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, education is the most important institution in trying to help the nation reach a level of contemporary civilization as an important tool of socialization. With the reforms made in the field of education during the Republican period, he aimed to eliminate the disruptions caused by the Ottoman Empire and to catch up with developments in the West (Toprak, 2008).

After the proclamation of the Republic, it is observed that education and training were given great importance. It is understood that the governments of the Republic, who grasped the importance of the issue, made a significant effort to find a solution to the problem. The leaders, who considered education as an important requirement of community development, believed it was necessary to give particular importance to teachers' training. Atatürk was a great statesman who saw this fact. He emphasized the importance of education and teachers in many of his speeches. One of the important problems of the newly founded Turkish Republic was related to teachers. In the first years of the republic, teacher training institutions could not meet the needs either quantitatively or qualitatively. Since the majority of the population lived in villages during those years, it seems inevitable that education during this period was focused on the villages. In addition to numerical insufficiency of teachers during this period, it is also understood that the teachers working in the villages faced adaptation problems because they were not trained to meet village conditions (Çoban, 2011).

The fact that Atatürk considered education to be a great driving-factor for raising the Turkish nation to the level of civilized nations paved the way for the establishment of an entire education mobilization movement, and the Village Institutes became one of the most important cornerstones of this movement as a result of its aim to achieve economic and social development all together and to eliminate the ignorance of Turkish villagers. As with any illiterate society, it was not possible to reach the level of contemporary civilization, which was the objective of the Village Institutes. This was the deficiency which the Village Institutes tried to eliminate. The Village Institutes were first transformed into teachers' training schools where a conventional education system based on rote-learning began to be followed instead of the system at the beginning in which creativity came to the fore, and finally they were closed in 1954.

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THE COUP OF 27 MAY 1960

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Introduction

The proclamation of the Turkish republic on October 29, 1923 granted the right of self-government to the nation which was subsequently represented by the Republican People's Party until 1950. The Republican People's Party (CHP) was established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk shortly before the proclamation of the republic so as to initiate the political party process. The party, which played a key role in shaping the concept of the nation-state and which led the drive for social reforms, governed the country for the next 27 years without interruption. There were two attempts to change to a multi-party system during Atatürk's rule. However, these attempts did not succeed due to a number of factors including the nation having insufficient political experience and threats to the new regime (Emiroğlu, 2011:14; Bakan and Özdemir, 2013:373).

Political life in the Republic of Turkey began in 1923 with a one party system and this continued until the end of World War II under the rule of the Republican People's Party represented by managing elites. The system on a new meaning when the Democrat Party (DP) came to power in the wake of the 1950 elections, as this marked the beginning of a multi-party regime after which the nation witnessed the establishment of different parties. However, this era of a multi-party regime should not be taken as representing political pluralism given the fact that the Democrat Party ruled for ten years from 1950-1960 and afterwards the Justice Party (AP) won the elections in 1965 as the DP's successor and stayed in power on and off until 1980 (Özdemir, 2002:227).

Ending the 27-year one-party regime as the winner of the 1950 elections, the Democrat Party, which introduced the concept of an opposition to Turkish political life, positioned itself as a leading center-right party. When the relations between the CHP and DP between 1946 and 1960 are considered, it can be seen that this era showed the first signs of problems arising between the ruling and opposition parties, as well as a period during which common opposition mistakes were highlighted. Moreover, the flawed policies which were pursued during this era by both the ruling and the opposition parties also paved the way for the 1960 Turkish coup d'état, which turned the political balance on its head, set aside the nation's democratic development and played a role in the establishment of the acceptance of military coups (Bakan and Özdemir, 2013:374).

The 1960 coup d'état not only overthrew a government, established by a vote by the public, by force of arms, but also served as a notorious example for the future as the first military coup in the republican era. It tragically interrupted the establishment and

maintenance of democracy in Turkey, completely changing the fundamentals of the political structure (Dursun, 2001:11).

Some of the right- and left-wing parties other than the CHP and DP (and AP) were defined as radicals due to both their plans and their activities. As these parties were forced to fight for legitimacy during the multi-party period they could not pursue a healthy development, or alternatively they took part in deepening the regime crisis together with other powers. The military, on the other hand, made its appearance with the 1960 coup d'état as the most significant power within this political arena. Soldiers were also intensely involved in the political world in the ensuing period (Özdemir, 2002:227).

The Process Leading to the Military Coup

With the outbreak of World War II, the chaotic atmosphere created by the wartime economy produced a commercial and agricultural bourgeoisie. This group grew rich quickly by taking advantage of the war. The harshness of the wartime economy, on the other hand, was felt by working class people and fixed income social groups. Working class people were forced into living under difficult conditions due to increasing taxes and the struggling economy. In addition, an expanded black market and profiteering activities gave the CHP government a particularly difficult time, leading the government to develop a strong attitude towards such groups (Özçelik, 2010:166).

Between 1940 and 1945, three key laws were enacted that were expected to radically change the nation's economic and social structure or to at least make a significant impact. These laws were the National Security Law, the Wealth Tax Law and the Law on Land Provision for Farmers. These three laws would later shape the attempts to become more democratic. The first of these laws, the National Security Law, was passed in January 18, 1940 but was subsequently abolished in 1960. This law was not able to prevent black market and profiteering activities despite arguments to the contrary, and again working class and village people were overwhelmed by drudgery born by the brunt of its failure. The Wealth Tax Law passed in 1942 was an unfortunate piece of legislation in terms of its outcomes both due to its structure and the arbitrary treatments it imposed. The Law on Land Provision for Farmers, on the other hand, was discussed over a long period of time and was criticized by many parliamentarians, including Adnan Menderes in particular, most of whom were wealthy and land-rich. This and many similar wrong practices hurt the CHP government deeply and gave rise to the emergence of an opposition party (Çavdar, 2013:424-440).

1945 was a year when opposition voices were raised against the CHP. Among the strongest opposition voices were Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan. The Democrat Party was officially established on January 7, 1946 under the leadership of Celal Bayar. The CHP government responded positively to the formation

of this new party. Underlying this positive attitude was the belief that the Democrat Party would not be able to succeed. However, as the DP rapidly increased in popularity across the country and received support from both the public and the opposition, the CHP's friendly attitude changed. So much so that municipal elections previously planned for September 1946 were moved to an earlier time of May and general elections planned for 1947 were re-scheduled to take place in July 1946. This would allow a greater opportunity for the CHP government to stay in power and lower the DP's hopes of coming to power imminently as there would be less time for the DP to organize before elections. The general election on July 21, 1946 resulted in the CHP filling 395 of the 456 seats in the parliament while 64 seats were won by the DP and 6 by independent candidates. As a result the CHP remained in power and the DP had an opportunity to evaluate its influence (Karpat, 2010:232-255).

Electoral corruption, irregularities in vote counts, and the open voting-closed counting procedure by the CHP during the 1946 elections caused raised eyebrows for a long time. Prior to the general election on May 14, 1950, the election law was changed to switch to closed voting and open counting. The election resulted in the DP gaining 53.3% of the vote while the CHP gained only 39.9% of the vote. The DP had 408 parliamentarians and the CHP had 69 (Uyar, 2012:91).

As a result, the 1950 elections marked the moment when the Democrat Party came to power alone with a wide margin. The DP also managed to come to power as the only ruling party in the 1954 and 1957 elections, and remained in power until the 1960 coup d'état. Tensions were raised in the CHP when the DP finished the electoral race far ahead of the CHP, and this tension was reflected in various agencies (Emiroğlu, 2011:14).

Indeed, Adnan Menderes burned all his bridges, so to speak, with the CHP in a speech he gave on June 13, 1950 immediately after the elections and this speech deepened the gap between the two parties in parliament. As Şevket Süreyya Aydemir mentions in his book *Menderes'in Dramı* (Tragedy of Menderes), according to Menderes, the CHP leadership (İnönü) had enticed the military to prepare for a coup, in other words, an insurrection against the government. What led Menderes to make such a speech was that an anonymous colonel had once come to him and told him that some commanders around İsmet İnönü were preparing for a coup against the government. Menderes who believed the colonel made that harsh statement as a result. The new government which immediately took this information seriously were no longer willing to work with the CHP's leader, İnönü, or his close circle. Those who supported Menderes in this speech at the Grand National Assembly made a huge mistake at the beginning of the 1950-1960 period- a mistake for which they would later pay a heavy price (Aydemir, 1993:194).

The DP government made a rapid start in its tenure and, in fact, some called the years

between 1950 and 1954 the golden years of the DP. However, problems appeared in many areas especially at the start of the Democrat Party's second term. Laws were enacted one after another to suppress the press and the opposition. Criticism by the opposition press became harsher and a large number of journalists were given prison sentences (Gülmez and Aşık, 2014:74).

The DP's economic policy worsened the living standards of military officers and fixed income people, and civil servants in particular. On the other hand, the rise of tradespeople earning large incomes obtained in this way resulted in military and civil bureaucratic groups, who had to part company with the government in the wake of the 1950 elections, taking sides against the ruling party. Adding to this atmosphere were the attempts by the DP to silence the opposition and the press by force and all of these eventually led to backlashes between security forces and students during April and May of 1960 which at times resulted in conflicts between them. In the end, on May 27, 1960, a group of young military officers who called themselves the National Unity Committee seized control of the government on behalf of the military (Özdemir, 2002:229).

As economic issues and unrest escalated in the country the DP government adopted an even harsher attitude. In parallel with these political and social crises and polarizations, the university and government conflict had also gradually increased after 1956. The establishment of an Investigation Commission by the DP in the parliament became the final straw. This commission, made up of 15 people vested with broad authority, was assigned to investigate the activities of the press and the CHP. Establishing this commission in the parliament and giving İnönü a suspension for 12 parliamentary sessions during discussions on the approval of the authorization Act made the atmosphere even more tense. During this process which rapidly led to the military coup, universities also made a move against the government. To this end, it is clear that student activities played an important role in the process leading to the 1960 coup d'état (Temizgüney, 2018:186).

Relations between the opposition and the ruling parties took on a different dimension particularly after the 1957 elections. The DP government's downfall began in 1958 when the CHP leader, İnönü, joined forces with other parties by pursuing harsh opposition policies towards the DP. In the meantime, the opposing parties began to look for new allies. The first of these efforts resulted in the formation of the Republican Peasant National Party (CKMP) when the Republican National Party (CMP) and the Turkish Peasant Party (TKP) joined forces. Immediately afterwards, the Liberty Party (HP) banded together with the CHP (Gülmez and Aşık, 2014:74; Temizgüney, 2018:186).

Although there are many other reasons underlying the 1960 coup d'état, a great deal of dissatisfaction also developed over time and eventually erupted at the time of the coup. There were specific issues that had bothered members of the military during the 10-year

rule of the Democrat Party. The first concern was about Atatürk's legacy. The military was of the view that reactionism was favored during the time of the DP government and that this represented a move away from Atatürk's revolutions and reforms. In addition, the harsh criticism of İsmet İnönü, one of the prominent names in the Turkish War of Independence and a founding member behind the proclamation of the republic, also triggered unrest among soldiers. On the other hand, intense waves of migration to the cities due to economic and social changes by the DP government brought with them a new middle class. This caused soldiers who were once members of an elite class in the one-party era to lose their position of leadership and to develop a tenser attitude towards the government (ed. Ekinçi and Bilgi, 2017:145).

The Day of the Coup

On May 27, a group of young military officers who called themselves the National Unity Committee seized control of the government on behalf of the military. This incident, which received the support of a wide, if not very large, circle, came as a reaction to the recent attitudes of the DP and its rulers who had contradicted its own legitimate existence by establishing an investigative commission with judicial power. The group announced their goal to call an election at the earliest opportunity so as to maintain a multi-party regime. The military officers organizing this coup claimed that their actions were not intended for any specific person or group, but it was clear that they were targeting the DP government (Özdemir, 2002:229-230).

Preparations for the coup had begun a long time before; juntas had been established within the military in the 1950s. Some of these juntas, particularly those led by Cemal Madanoğlu and Talât Aydemir, were highly influential for their serious preparations and impacts on other military posts. Certain incidents in April and May of 1960 had the effect of giving the coup supporters the opportunity to take action. In early April, the CHP leader, İnönü, was forced to wait at the Himmetdede station for a long time on his way to Kayseri, he was subsequently prevented from entering the city, and was also attacked in İncesu. In addition, the establishment of an investigative commission, the members of which were all DP parliamentarians vested with judicial power, was considered as a step towards the establishment of an oppressive regime. As the tension built, Cemal Madanoğlu, then-Major General and Land Forces Logistics President, who had previously convinced Cemal Gürsel, then-Force Commander and General, to take over the leadership, gathered his group on the night of May 26, 1960 in the General Command Building for Military History which served as their operations center and military quarters. As their first action, they cut the phone lines to important people and directorates. In the early hours of May 27, 1960, the Turkish Military Academy students and commandos initiated the coup by occupying critical points in Ankara and, towards morning, troops soon pronounced their dominance over the city (Aydın and Taşkın,

2014:61,62).

Groups which were originally in perfect solidarity with the coup against the DP government, fell foul of the military when it came to decide on the method to follow for state governance in the wake of the coup. More precisely, although only for a short time, two different organizations within the military came face to face following the coup when there was a confrontation about who would have a say in the state governance. On the one side, there was the National Unity Committee made up the military officers who had staged the coup but who lacked any homogeneous ideology. The committee discharged some of its members within the first year following the coup due to ideological conflicts. The committee planned revisions to army personnel and universities and began to work towards the establishment of a new constitution and was calling for an election at the earliest opportunity to hand over governance to a civil authority. The second organization was the Armed Forces Association (SKB) which could be called a rival to the National Unity Committee (MBK) and which had formed an extensive structure within the army and had given its first strong message particularly through the Yassıada Trials. Colonels in the Association who argued that politics should be put aside until order could be restored in light of the founding principles of the republic staged two further failed coup attempts under the leadership of Talat Aydemir between 1962 and 1963 (Börklüoğlu, 2017:14; Çakır, 2004:76; Burak, 2011:53).

On the morning of the coup, Cemal Gürsel who came from İzmir was announced as the leader of the MBK. Afterwards, on the orders of Gürsel, a group of professors under the leadership of Istanbul University Rector, Sıddık Sami Onar, was assigned to prepare a new constitution on behalf of the MBK and, at the same time, all political party activities were prohibited. It was also declared that anyone violating the orders would be punished in the most severe way. First of all, 38 people were chosen to be members of the MBK. Then all the DP members of parliament were arrested in line with the report prepared by the Constitutional Commission established under the leadership of Professor Onar. It was on June 12 that the Temporary Constitution defining the powers of the MBK was made public by the Constitutional Commission. Accordingly, a direct legislative authority was proposed and executive power would be exercised through the council of ministers to be assigned by the head of the state and approved by the MBK. The MBK would exercise the sovereign right on behalf of the nation until the Grand National Assembly could assume governance in the general elections. Although the MBK had the power to dismiss ministers, the ministers could only be assigned by the head of the state. While judicial power was to remain independent, the approval or rejection of capital punishment was under the authority of the MBK (Ahmad,2010:208-211).

The Eminsü Incident

At the time of the coup, Cemal Gürsel was of the opinion that he would hand over governance to a civil authority within a year. However there was one group in the committee that did not support the idea of a civil authority taking over governance and who raised this argument with Gürsel at every opportunity. Gürsel wanted to bring into force new regulations for the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) and to discharge some of the soldiers (especially who were part of this group). Accordingly, over 4,000 sergeants and military officers were discharged. In this way Gürsel aimed to put an end to matters that could result in a degradation of the army such as disobedience of an order, bribery, corruption, and embezzlement (İlyas, www.batman.edu.tr).

On August 5, 235 generals and admirals, as well as almost 4,500 young military officers were pensioned off, and many complained that even those older than them were still on duty as they faced a struggle to find jobs. After some time, dismissals also began at universities, and this increased criticism of the MBK. Subsequently military officers who thought they had been given a raw deal began to organize and raised their voices through a union known as EMİNSU (Retired Provost Military Officers). Through this process and as a solution, 2,860 retired military officers were assigned to the Secretariats of Civil Defense established by the MBK, and the generals or military officers who were not, or did not want to be assigned to that post, participated in the political parties established afterwards and took a stand against the MBK and the CHP (Turan, 2002:35-36).

The 147 Dismissals

The greatest number of responses to the DP government's oppressive practices in its final period came from the universities. That is why the 1960 coup d'état was welcomed with joy by universities. The MBK thought it would be better to legitimize the coup and explain it to the public through the universities, and so such activities began in September. Some lecturers did not like this idea. This clash of ideas with the lecturers was disturbing for the MBK. The MBK was worried about the lecturers' power to influence public opinion (Sarı, 2016:62-65; Erbil et al., 1998:114).

In fact, the first thing the MBK did was to ask the universities to prepare a new constitution and new election laws. However, from the very beginning, the MBK's agenda also included new regulations for universities. To this end, through Law No. 114 passed on October 27, 147 lecturers and lecture assistants were dismissed and changes were made to the Universities Law (Turan, 2002:37).

The 1961 Constitution

The constituent assembly passed the new draft constitution with a view to holding a

referendum on it on July 9, 1961. This marked the first referendum of the Republican era. This law ensured that every citizen with voting rights could cast their votes and that all political parties could make propaganda. The main issue that dominated the 1961 Constitution was to put into custody institutions which would block political establishments elected by the public as an obstacle to Turkish democracy. Accordingly, the Grand National Assembly was turned into a two-wing platform by creating a Republican Senate which also included appointed representatives. Moreover, a Constitutional Court made up entirely of appointed people was also established to oversee the laws enacted by the Grand National Assembly to which the 1924 Constitution granted the right to exercise sovereignty on behalf of the nation. In addition an organization to direct and maintain control of the government was created under the title of the National Security Council (Turkish Studies Group, 2010:27).

The new constitution weakened the balancing elements that ensure the principle of the separation of powers. The Constitutional Courts, as well as the Radio and Television Council, - although a state institution, also had an autonomous side - and the press gained the right to stand up to and even annul governmental laws. Universities gained autonomous status and the police were prevented from entering a university without the permission of the rector. The 1961 Constitution also included rights to establish an association, gather for a rally or stage a protest march; rights for employees to establish trade unions, to become members of such unions or leave them without prior permission; and rights to enter into collective bargaining agreements or to go on strike (Emiroğlu, 2016:6).

The Yassıada Trials

The very first of the MBK's actions was to arrest DP parliamentarians starting with the party's overthrown leaders, as well as high-ranking soldiers who had formed a close relationship with the DP, and those civilians engaged in corruption, and they were then judged in a special court they organized in Yassıada under the title, the High Court of Justice. The court commissioned by the military committee comprised a president, eight full and six associate members, an attorney general and five deputy prosecuting attorneys. This special court inflicted deep wounds both in the laws affecting the military regime and in the public conscience due to its rulings of lengthy terms of imprisonment and capital punishment. The Yassıada trials continued for a total of 11 months. The court sentenced the following people to death: Adnan Menderes (former prime minister), Celal Bayar (former president), Refik Koraltan (former president of the assembly), Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (former foreign affairs minister), Hasan Polatkan (former finance minister), Emin Kalafat, Ağah Erozan, Ahmet Hamdi Sancar, Nusret Kirişçiöğlu, Zeki Erataman, Bahadır Dölger, Baha Akşit, İbrahim Kirazoğlu, Osman Kavrakoğlu, Rüştü Erdelhun (former chief of general staff). However, the MBK only approved the death sentences

for Adnan Menderes (1899-1961), Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (1910-1961) and Hasan Polatkan (1915-1961) (Akıncı, 2014:63, Özdemir, 2002:233-234).

The Yassıada trials adjudged a total of 592 defendants in 19 different cases. Among them Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan were executed on September 16, 1961 and Adnan Menderes one day later on September 17, 1961 in İmralı. 281 of the defendants were found to be accessories during the fact (a person who helped with a crime), were accused of treason and were asked to be sentenced in accordance with Paragraph 3, Article 146 of the Turkish Criminal Law. Eight defendants were acquitted in the Constitutional case. Six defendants died in Yassıada while their trial in the Constitutional case was pending. Five other defendants also died during and before the trials by suicide or due to other causes (Naskali, www.adfed.org.tr); Temizgüney, 2018:205).

In the High Court of Justice, the Democrat Party members were tried together for violating the Constitution in a case with a particular focus on the following issues: amending the Assembly bylaws; confiscating CHP's assets; violating the legal guarantee of judges and the independence of the courts; making the city of Kırşehir a district; making anti-democratic changes to the Election Law; preventing the broadcasting of Assembly sessions; and establishing the Investigation Commission. Among other lawsuits where DP defendants were tried were the Dog Case; the September Events Case; the Baby Case; the Vinileks Case; the Embezzlement Case; the Land Case; the Ali İpar Case; the Mill Case; the Barbara Case; the Covert Appropriation Case; the Radio Case; the Topkapı Events Case; the Çanakkale and Geyikli Events Case; the Kayseri Events Case; the *Demokrat İzmir Newspaper* Case; the University Events Case; the Expropriation Case; the National Front Case and the Constitutional Violation Case (Emiroğlu, 2011:22-23).

Shortly after the executions, despite extensive pressure, people showed their reaction to what happened by casting their votes in the election. Running for the elections of October 15, 1961 were four parties, namely, the CHP, the Republican Peasant National Party (CKMP), the Justice Party (AP) which was established as successor to the DP, and the New Turkey Party (YTP). In the elections with a voter turnout rate of 81%, the CHP received 36.7% of the vote and came first with 173 seats in the parliament while the AP received 34.8% of the vote with 158 parliamentarians, the CKMP won 14% of the vote with 54 parliamentarians, and the YTP 13.7% of the vote with 65 parliamentarians. Despite coming first, CHP could not achieve an absolute majority (Dursun, 2014:385).

The army did not want to hand over governance to the civil authority under the existing conditions. Ten generals and 28 colonels, among whom were the 1st Army Commander and the Martial Law Commander, signed the "21 October Protocol". This protocol included various threats ranging from the cancellation of the elections to the prohibition of political parties and the abolition of the MBK. This decision to intervene was

understood to be put into effect before the opening of the assembly (Demir, 2006:158). Following this development, Cemal Gürsel invited the representatives of the parties to Çankaya where he forced them to sign the “Çankaya Protocol”. According to this protocol, the military officers pensioned off by the MBK would not be re-commissioned, those convicted in Yassıada would not be pardoned, Gürsel would be elected as the President of the Republic and İnönü would be the Prime Minister. In this way the MBK was violating the very Constitution it had prepared and was suppressing other political parties (Akıncı, 2014:64-65). In the elections of October 10, 1965, the AP was voted in well beyond expectations (52.87%) and filled 240 seats in the parliament. As for the 1969 elections, the AP received 46.5% of the vote with 256 seats in the parliament while the CHP lost its base and received only 28.75% of the vote with 143 parliamentarians (Yalçın et al., 2006:587).

Conclusion

Democracy, chosen by the New Republican State as the best governance method within this political structure and its efforts to implement it, were interrupted by the army when it seized control of the government on May 27, 1960, March 12, 1971, and September 12, 1980, and this wounded democracy that has proven to be difficult to heal even to this day.

Established on January 7, 1946, the DP became the first strong opposition party that managed to oppose the CHP. The DP maintained its power in the elections of 1950, 1954 and 1957 as the ruling party, however, it was overthrown by a military coup on May 27, 1960. After their downfall, its members were first taken to the Military Academy where they underwent investigation and were then transferred to Yassıada. The defendants were tried over the period of a year before the Military Coup Court in Yassıada, and on September 15, 1961 the court sentenced many either to life imprisonment or death.

Military coups have dragged Turkey from one chaotic situation to another. Although these coups have been shaped around the claim that democracy was being obstructed by political parties, it is not possible to talk about democracy or lawfulness in the paths they pursued. They merely prolonged the distance Turkey has to cover on its path to democracy and modernization.

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BETWEEN THE YEARS 1938-1980 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION GUIDANCE SERVICES IN TURKEY

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Introduction

People have been in contact since they existed on earth, and human relations have long been a source of problems (Özgüven, 2016). However, this problem has never reached its current critical dimensions. The main reason for this is that the rapid progression of physical sciences into technology with the Industrial Revolution has led to radical developments in our traditional society (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016). These developments brought material welfare to daily life. First, the wealth and comfort that came to the countries that had experienced the Industrial Revolution earlier, is spreading rapidly to other countries of the world today (Smith, 2012). The development of public transport makes it possible to make a journey that lasted for months in a few hours today (Özgüven, 2016). The rapid development of telecommunications technology in recent years has been described as a new revolution in itself (Deniz, & Erözkan, 2018). Computers, various electronic communication devices are rapidly growing in industrial centers, banks, various workplaces, schools, even homes (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016). Thus, the transfer of information, news and news from one end of the world to another increases productivity in every area of life and accelerates development in an unprecedented manner (Yıldırım & Bilge, 2016). Thus, physical, economic and technological developments such as industrialization, the increase of the division of labor, and automation are rapidly changing contemporary life (Doğan, 2016a). People's spare time is increasing and democratic ideas are becoming widespread in popular communities. With the effect of such developments, events such as the widespread use of internal and external migrations and very rapid urbanization, especially in developing countries, have reached great dimensions (Doğan, 2016b). In fact, all these advances are positive steps that give people great advantages. However, as every blessing is a burden, there are aspects that affect life in the opposite direction (Baymur, 2016). For example, while the acceleration of communication and transportation means benefit from the intensification of cultural exchanges between countries, different beliefs and ideologies from other countries may contribute to the clash of various systems of views and values; thus, in order to shake the order established in a certain country, a number of interpersonal, intercultural (Doğan, 2016a). It causes unrest among groups (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016). For this reason, it becomes difficult to prevent the harmful actions of the underground organizations that pursue dark ambitions that benefit from the facilitated

propaganda. Likewise, in the event of rapid urbanization, the people who migrate from rural areas to cities by benefiting from developing transportation means can gain more, benefit from educational and cultural opportunities, medical services to a greater extent, and gain advantages such as access to more developed municipal services (Doğan, 2016a). However, the same phenomenon also causes crowded schools, narrow and unhealthy housing and environmental pollution problems in cities (Smith, 2012).

One of the most negative consequences of these developments is that it affects human relationships in the opposite direction (Özgüven, 2016). As a result of the industrialization, the establishment of big cities caused people to live together in a crowded and intense way. Although this physical intimacy between people seems to be a contradiction, it has led them to psychologically move away from each other (Doğan, 2016b). This is also natural. It is possible for people who have to live in tight spaces, restricting each other's freedom and narrowing their living spaces (Doğan, 2016c). The necessity of living together in the crowd necessitates more rules and more social pressures. These rules require one to adopt certain forms of behavior (Deniz, & Erözkan, 2018). Thus, one is inevitably pushed towards the same stereotypical behaviors and foreign external values are imposed on him (Baymur, 2016). People forced to these foreign values and behaviors feel lonely in the society; they are alienated from each other, their culture, and most importantly their own self. For all these reasons, we are witnessing that human relations in our age have deteriorated to some extent and in some parts (Yıldırım & Bilge, 2016; Akman, 2016). The conditions in which people live are of a nature that may harm mental health. Today, the increase in crime rates and the increase in mental illnesses prove this. Today, conflicts and frictions between young adults, women and men, employers, various ideology groups, various ethnic, racial and national groups are increasing rapidly (Doğan, 2016c). These groups claim that they pursue human rights and want to achieve democratic and fair living conditions (Doğan, 2016b). They're right. However, their struggle with non-humanistic primitive methods and their attempted acts of violence cause social crises. In this case, human relations appear as a problem threatening the future of humanity both at the personal and social level (Doğan, 2016a). To this day, the world crisis; hunger, disease outbreaks, wars were more related to physical life problems (Kararımak & Siviş, 2016). Today, they appear in the field of human relations, which is equally important but more complex (Yıldırım & Bilge, 2016; Akman, 2017). The disruption of human relations lies at the root of many of the disruptions seen in social life today. As has been suggested, although people have made great progress in material and economic fields, they are helpless in the face of psychosocial problems such as disturbances in interpersonal relations, races and international disagreements, guilt and mental illnesses, increasing aimlessness and alienation among young people (Smith,

2012).

Behavioral science is a branch of science that is greatly influenced by the development of historical events and current philosophical trends. Philosophical science, which adopted modernist thought in the early twentieth century, was deeply influenced by behavioral science, psychological counseling theories and research methods (Doğan, 2016a). The theories of behavioral sciences and psychological services fed by these theories were shaped according to the modernist approach. Traditional psychology has brought experimentalism and rationalism to the forefront in accordance with the modernist approach (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016).

Postmodernism is a philosophical concept representing a certain period and its features can be observed in social sciences such as philosophy, sociology, education and psychology of the twentieth century (Lowenthal, 1996). Historically, the beginning of the postmodern period was marked by World War I in Europe and II. It corresponds to the time following World War II. A change has been observed from the principle of logical empiricism, where the basic source of postmodern thought and objective knowledge is logic-based thought, to subjective knowledge where the individual's personal life experience comes to the fore (Özgüven, 2016).

As a result of philosophical, cultural and scientific developments in the postmodern period, postmodernist practices such as network therapy, solution-oriented approaches, narrative therapy, feminist therapy and positive psychology have emerged (Baymur, 2016). Since postmodern thought emerges as a reaction to modernism, it is possible to see it as an oppositional thesis of modernism (Doğan, 2016c). For this reason, opposing concepts and ideas are encountered in two approaches (Deniz, & Erözkan, 2018). Contemporary approaches in the field of psychological counseling and psychology focus on the positive and strong aspects of more people, rather than focusing on negative and weak aspects (eg, irrational thoughts or mental distortions) (Doğan, 2016b). This approach is called positive psychology because of its positive approach to human nature (Smith, 2012).

Since the 1970s, pioneers in the field of school guidance and counseling in the United States have proposed a solid and feasible approach called the "Comprehensive, Developmental Guidance and Counseling Program Model" (Vanzandt & Buchan, 1997). In this study, comprehensive and developmental guidance program model and basic elements of this model are given. In recent years, it is known that program-oriented developmental guidance and psychological counseling approach has been revived in the field of school guidance and counseling (Baymur, 2016). The program has been continuing efforts to develop school guidance and counseling programs (Snyder and Daly, 1993). Two important books have been published in the late 1980s in order to meet

the need and assist school psychological counselors. These; The book “Developmental Guidance and Counseling: A Practical A Program” written by Robert D. Myrick in 1987 and the “Guidance Program for Developing and Managing Your School” written by Morinan C \ Gysbers in 1988 (Smith, 2012).

School psychological counselor, usually student personality services; or in the context of a managerial structure called student services. These organizational models are:

1. service model,
2. process model and
3. tasks model. In fact, in an important part of schools, an organizational model consisting of the combination of these three models is applied (Deniz, & Erözkan, 2018).

There are a number of assumptions on which the comprehensive guidance program model is based. These assumptions provide the basis for organizing and conducting guidance and counseling services in schools. It is possible to list these premises as follows:

1. *Guidance and Psychological Counseling is a Program:* Guidance and Counseling Program has the same features as other education programs. These are: a) student competences, b) processes and activities necessary for students to acquire these competencies, e) professional staff, d) materials and resources, and e) evaluation (Yıldırım & Bilge, 2016).
2. *Guidance and Counseling Program is Developmental and Comprehensive:* In crisis situations, intervention of students is a must. However, the main purpose of the comprehensive and developmental program is to help students develop by enabling them to gain some experience (Poyraz, 2006). Guidance and counseling program is a comprehensive program that includes all activities and services such as getting to know the individual, providing information, consultation, counseling, referral, placement and monitoring (Doğan, 2016b).
3. *Guidance and Counseling Program envisages teamwork:* A comprehensive, developmental guidance and counseling program envisages the participation of all staff in the school. The school counselor not only serves the students directly but also provides consultation and collaboration with other psychological counseling and guidance staff, school staff, parents and some public or private keys providing mental health services (Doğan, 2016c).
4. *Historical Development of the Guidance Program Model:* It is seen that the psychological counseling clinical services approach dominated professional

theory, education and practice between 1950-1970. According to Gysbers (1992), during this period, guidance and psychological counseling were considered as administrative aspects: Student personality: in the scope of services: and as a dimension of it: Guidance and psychological: the psychological counselor's position and psychological counseling (process) were more important than counseling program (guidance) (Poyraz, 2006). However, when I examine the history of guidance and psychological counseling, it is seen that guidance and psychological counseling does not begin with this approach but rather as a process of choosing and placing a profession. However, a more clinically oriented approach has emerged since the 1920s, emphasizing psychological counseling. Thus, the period of adaptation guidance and counseling began (Doğan, 2016a).

The end of the 1920s and early 1930s; It is seen that service model has emerged in order to organize guidance and psychological counseling services in schools. Again, in this period, it is observed that guidance and psychological counseling area becomes an aid service that includes vocational, educational and personal-social dimensions. It is known that between 1950 and 1960, the field of guidance and psychological counseling was organized within the scope of student personality services with an understanding centered on psychological counseling and psychological counseling (Kararmak & Siviş, 2016).

The first original comprehensive guidance program model developed in 1974 was based on three interrelated functions (Gysbers, 1992). These functions are:

1. curriculum-based functions,
2. individual help-based functions and
3. intervention functions.

The program was revised in 1978 and turned into a developmental guidance program. The elements of this program are:

1. definition,
2. justification,
3. assumptions,
4. content-model and
5. process model.

Between 1978 and 1981, other arrangements were made in the model. During this

period, it was seen that the model was adopted nationwide in the United States and applied in many schools (Özgüven, 2016). As a result of these applications, the program has been further refined: Thus, by creating the basic structure of the model, the concepts of ‘content model’ and ‘process model’ have been removed from the program (Gysbers and Heulerson, 1997). As it is known, after the Republic Turkish Education System has been influenced by different education systems in terms of objectives and content (Deniz, & Erözkan, 2018). II. In the period that started after World War II, it is observed that the Turkish Education System is under the influence of the United States Education System (Özoğlu, 1982, p. 52). In this period, the aid initiated in the fields of military, economic and education with the United States of America has led to the reflection of the principles and practices in America in these areas (Kuzgun, 1988, p. 17). Turkey - on the one hand, American educators and psychologists in American aid and cooperation of inviting Turkey to make investigations in our education system on the other hand, some Turkish educators were sent to the United States to specialize in the field of guidance. As Baynur (1980) points out, the widespread interest in the concept and understanding of guidance in our education system has played a major role in the education of foreign countries and the experts brought from America. Although the rapid studies and developments in guidance in our country in the 1950s, due to lack of trained personnel, lack of belief and information in the authorities, and lack of financial support, guidance ideas and concepts continue to spread at the country level and show the effect of the newly prepared programs and regulations (Baymur, 2016). It is observed. Parallel to these developments, we see that guidance is first discussed in a National Education Council (T.C. Ministry of National Education, 7th National Education Council Documents, 1961). In the following sections of the study, the purpose and content of the decisions taken in the main Councils of National Education, which deals with the issue of guidance, the extent to which it is reflected in the educational practices and the problems it creates will be briefly discussed within the framework of contemporary guidance understanding (Doğan, 2016b). Psychological Counseling and Guidance services started in our country in the 1950s on a conceptual level (Doğan, 2016c). It has a history of nearly forty years. Although guidance has not been explicitly mentioned in previous years. In the educational programs, individuality is mentioned as a principle and it is emphasized that the students will be guided to the development of their own abilities (Smith, 2012).

U.S. with Turkey In the framework of the cooperation and mutual aid agreement between Turkey and Turkey in 1947, experts from the United States were invited for the efforts to reform the Turkish National Education and students were sent to the United States to train specialist personnel in various branches of education (Yıldırım & Bilge, 2016). At the beginning of the fifties (1951-1953) educational experts and faculty members such as John Rufi, Ellsworth Tompkins, Mills and Lester were invited to our country. These

experts examined the education system of our country and prepared a report (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016).

In their reports, it is pointed out that the educational programs of our country are very heavy in terms of the development level of the individuals and the content is not very important and individual differences are not given importance (Doğan, 2016c). In this context, they suggested the establishment of student guidance services in schools, the evaluation and inspection system and the establishment of a new structure of the school and central organization, and the schools being multi-purpose (Poyraz, 2006).

Among the invited experts, Biliş and Mills conducted studies on understanding and organizing the necessity of guidance activities, and gave lectures and seminars to teachers, school administrators and senior staff in the central organization in order to understand the concept of guidance. As there is no staff trained in guidance, first of all, teachers were tried to be trained in guidance (Özgüven, 2016). Multi-purpose schools were opened in three places, which were put into practice as an innovation in education, 6 provinces were selected as pilot regions and guidance studies were initiated in these 11 male secondary schools, guidance boards were established to guide these activities and personnel were tried to be trained through seminars (Yıldırım & Bilge, 2016). Then, in 1954, the results of these studies were discussed and evaluated at the seminar ‘Factors Affecting Guidance in the Education System’ conducted by another advisor, Otto Mathiasen. In this seminar, the problems raised in the field of personnel training, organization, necessary laws and directives and school-family relations were mentioned. In these efforts for innovation, the individual differences, individual interests and abilities of the students gain importance and new initiatives start and the institutionalization movement comes alive. For the first time, since the 1952-53 school year, the Gazi Education Institute opens a Special Education Department to train staff for children in need of special education. A Test and Research Bureau was established in 1953 under the Ministry of National Education for the purpose of preparing psychological tests and measurement tools for personnel selection and guidance (Smith, 2012).

Turkish students who went to America to study Psychological Counseling and Guidance started to return home in 1953. Between 1953-54, the first field in the first direct lessons in Turkey, Guidance and Counseling Techniques classes, Gazi Education Institute of Pedagogy and Special Education Department is beginning to be taught in the course. As a result of these lessons, they are published in some books and brochures, and these written sources make important contributions to the dissemination and clarification of concepts related to guidance. Until the first independent programs were opened in 1967 in order to train personnel in the fields of Psychological Counseling and Guidance, these provincial courses, which are included in the higher education education programs, carry out an important process in terms of recognition, dissemination and settlement of

concepts in the initial period (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016).

It is seen that the planned development period entered into by our country in the 1960s started to make some new ideas and implementations effective in our education system (Özoğlu, 1982, p. 53). Since development plans see education as institutions producing manpower, they have demonstrated the place and importance of guidance in education in a new way. According to this new situation, guidance has to take part in educational practices in the extent of its contribution to manpower planning (Özoğlu, 1982, p. 53). Collected in 1962 VII. In the report of the Secondary Education Committee prepared for the National Education Council, a separate section was designated as Rehber Guidance in Secondary Education ve and in this section, the need for guidance, group hours in secondary schools, group teachers and the operation of group hours were discussed (Turkish Ministry of National Education, VII. 1962, pp. 89-91). VII. At the National Education Council, some suggestions were made to help students in schools:

The ability of each student to study in accordance with his or her interests, abilities and needs; directing them to an appropriate branch of study and occupation,

1. Addressing the need for specially trained personnel for guidance services and the training of these personnel,
2. Preparing the measurement tools required by the guidance studies as soon as possible,
3. Including guidance lessons in all teacher schools,
4. Systematic recording of the information to be collected about the abilities, interests and development of the students in the guidance work.
5. Training of teachers who are still working in schools with summer courses,
6. Reorganization of the primary school teaching institution in accordance with the guidance approach,
7. Giving a new order and importance to extracurricular activities such as student branches,
8. Establishing a close relationship with other institutions and activities that can help these aims in the environment while the guidance services are carried out in the school (T.C. Ministry of National Education, VII. National Education Council Documents, 1962, pp. 37-38).

Decisions taken in this Council, VIII. Until 1970, when the National Council of Education was convened, it was implemented by being partially reflected in the programs,

regulations and by-laws; however, some of them could not find application because of the necessity of changing the law and limited opportunities (Poyraz, 2006).

Collected in 1970, VIII. The agenda of the National Education Council was the reorganization of the education system in a way that would contribute to the economic and social development. Guidance against VII. National Education Council began with the interest VIII. We observe that it has made even greater progress with the Council. In terms of the initiation of guidance practices in schools in our country, VIII. It is common that the National Council of Education is an important turning point (Ozoglu, 1982).

The problems created by the masses of students brought by secondary education to the gates of higher education in the 1960s became one of the most important problems of the country VIII. The Council of National Education has taken a series of decisions regulating the transition to higher education through the secondary education system. Orientation of students according to their abilities, interests, success, desires and needs; specifying the first year of high school as the orientation class; The use of objective measurement tools in the orientation process and guidance activities and the idea of supporting this orientation can be considered as important developments brought by this Council. As Özoğlu (1982) states, in this Council, it is accepted that the education system and practices should be centered on the individual according to his / her talent, interest, success and desires. VIII. It is observed that the idea of solving the problems encountered in horizontal and vertical transitions in education and especially the problem of students stacked in front of universities and colleges in the direction of guidance within the framework of guidance is dominant (Baymur, 2016). Most of the decisions taken in this Council were adopted by the Ministry of National Education and put into practice in the 1970 -1971 academic year. In this school year, the Ministry of National Education officially launched the guidance program in 24 schools (Karairmak & Siviş, 2016).

Collected in 1974 IX. The agenda of the National Education Council was set up in accordance with the system introduced by the Basic Law of National Education No. 1739. IX. Orientation is the essence of the innovations brought in the National Education Council. These innovations are particularly effective in increasing the efficiency in secondary education through the second level of basic education, which is the main focus of our education system (Özgüven, 2016).

Thus, instead of the secondary education system which consists of closed vertical institutions on the secondary school, piling up students in front of higher education and eliminating the students who are deemed unsuccessful, the programs are directed to various fields of higher education or working life according to their interests, desires and abilities, and community needs and keep the horizontal and vertical transition paths open

between them. an attempt was made to introduce an established system. The guiding system consists of joint courses, private lessons and elective courses, and guidance services that are available to help students in all respects (Poyraz, 2006). IX. The decisions taken at the National Education Council have brought new and important dimensions to the guidance practices in schools. IX. The purpose of guidance in the Secondary School Guidance Studies section of the National Education Council document, the obligation to participate in guidance work, guidance advisory board and duties, advisor guidance and duties, class teacher and tasks, year-end activity report, group guide and tasks, classroom teachers meeting, guidance and educational work combining clocks; The student's personal dossier, referral advice, additional course fees, guidance program, guidance techniques, guidance programs that can be applied are given in a very wide and detailed explanations (Özgüven, 2016). In order to carry out the mentioned tasks and activities, it was decided to allocate two hours of guidance in school programs. This decision can be considered as an important step in solving the problem of time required for guidance studies (Kepoglu, 1985).

IX. The decisions taken at the National Education Council were envisaged to be arranged and carried out in a circular issued in the Journal of Communiqués dated September 16, 1974 and numbered 1805, within the scope of the principles specified in all official and private secondary schools, all high school and equivalent educational dunes since the 1974-1975 academic year (Poyraz, 2006). However, IX. In accordance with the decisions of the Council of National Education, the time allocated for guidance practices in the school program, two hours a week under the name of the Guidance Hour, was left to the responsibility of the classroom teachers (Smith, 2012).

Result

In the light of the information summarized so far, it can be said that the concept of guidance has improved rapidly in the National Education Councils in our country. However, the guidance activities have not reached a consistent and effective level in the contemporary sense in the educational institutions since the guidance applications have been made without sufficient and necessary preparation in line with the decisions taken in the Councils. The concept of guidance VII. Although it has been handled intensively since the National Council of Education, we see that some problems still remain current within the contemporary meaning of the guidance approach. These problems can be listed as follows:

1. It is still common that the Ministry of National Education does not believe in the importance of guidance as much as it believes in the importance of history, physics and mathematics courses.
2. The place of guidance practices in terms of organization, function and staff in schools

has not been determined.

3. Guidance is considered as an orientation process in the education system and is seen as an activity that regulates the manpower planning of the country.
4. Guidance does not seem to be sufficiently adopted as a separate and important aspect of the educational process as well as the management and teaching dimensions.
5. The tools and budget issues that are vital for guidance practices seem to have never been addressed.

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DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE EDUCATION IN TURKEY THAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN 1938-1980

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Introduction

What is Science?

For years, scientists have been grappling with the question; what is science? The most important reason for this is that science has a developing and evolving structure, and there are no limits to scientific topics and the methods employed. The idea embraced over recent years has been that science is an activity that attempts to explain the universe (Soslu, 2014). Science has been described differently by many researchers. According to Ronan (2005), science is an intellectual adventure. Francis Bacon defined the goal of science as improving the fate of man on Earth and argued that the way to achieve this goal was through theories obtained through fact-based observations (Köroğlu & Köroğlu, 2016).

Physical Sciences?

There are three basic disciplines in the creation and development of scientific knowledge. These are “formal sciences,” “social sciences and humanities,” and “physical sciences” (Sakız, 2018). The field of research of formal sciences is mathematics and logic, and its subjects of study are not perceptible and tangible with its study materials not physically found in nature, but only in thoughts on an abstract level. The field of research of social sciences and humanities is the historical, cultural, and social existence of man (Bilen, 2015). The research area of physical sciences is a natural phenomena, and laws that regulate such phenomena (Goblot, 1954).

The purpose of physical sciences, also called natural sciences, is to understand and explain natural phenomena (Karasar, 2015). Physical sciences include physics, chemistry, biology, geosciences, and environmental sciences. The common goal of all these sub-areas is to understand nature and the laws that regulate it (Sakız, 2018).

Physical sciences play a significant role in the social and economic development of a nation. To this end, countries should pay particular attention to science education to keep pace with scientific and technological developments, to make continuous progress and to create a qualified pool of human resources that can generate information and produce technology (Ünal, 2003). Science education has two main objectives: Its first objective is to raise individuals who can adapt to the changing and evolving age of science and use the latest technological innovations in all areas. Its second objective is to teach individuals that science is necessary for technological discovery and development

(Hançer, Şensoy & Yıldırım, 2003). Countries that want to build a strong future for their citizens emphasize that every citizen must have a good education and that special importance must be given to science education in the process (Eş & Sarıkaya, 2010).

Science Education

In many parts of the world, science education is an indispensable part of education. Students gain literacy in science through science courses in the curriculum (Holbrook & Rannikmae, 2007). Scientific literacy requires the ability to approach, explain, evaluate, and interpret a problem scientifically (OECD, 2017).

Inclusion of science courses in primary school curriculum dates back to the 19th century. As in other disciplines, the basic principle of scientific programs in that century was based on memorizing the knowledge. These teacher-centered programs were replaced by objective teaching in the 1850s. The basis of this approach was the observation of the natural environment by the learner. The aim was to improve learners' observation and communication skills. However, this approach could not go beyond learners defining and memorizing the object they observed instead of understanding and interpreting it (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992).

In the 1950s (January 1, 1950 to December 31, 1959) the world had for the most part been liberated from the effects of the Second World War, but the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States that began in the 1940s had escalated into a steep competition. The struggle between Soviet Russia and the USA to achieve superiority over one another continued intensively, and these two states, which were striving for superiority in the air, took their rivalries to space (Gülmez & Tahancı, 2014). Hence the greatest developments in science teaching began after the Second World War. Russia, in particular, launched a man-made satellite (Sputnik 1) into space for the first time in 1957 (Ayas, 1995). That same year, a dog named Laika went on a space trip. In 1961 the Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin remained in the Earth's orbit for 108 minutes with a spaceship called Vostock I marking the beginning of space adventures for mankind. These developments spurred the United States, the United Kingdom and other developed western countries into action (Sakız, 2018).

The cold war between the two nations also influenced science and technology, putting more responsibility on schools. Countries that did not want to lag in the technological race decided to develop, renew or modernize their science curriculum to keep pace. For instance, there were scientific programs at all school levels designed to help with efforts to make discoveries and land on the Moon (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992). This would raise an army of qualified scientists and accelerate the development of countries. This idea came to be embraced by all countries (Ingle & Ranaweera, 1984). Efforts to renew the science curriculum began in the United States spreading from there to Europe. Redesign

of the physical sciences curriculum began with the renewal of the content of physical sciences and math courses. For this purpose, Modern Physics (PSSC-Physical Science Study Committee), Modern Chemistry (CHEM-Chemical Education Material Study and CBA Chemical Bond Approach), Modern Mathematics (SMMSG-School Mathematics Study Groups) and Modern Biology (BSCS-Biological Science Curriculum Study) curriculum were prepared. Laboratory booklets, teaching aids, and guiding materials for teachers were also included in these new programs (Ünal, Coştu & Karataş, 2004). So, how did all these developments in physical sciences affect our country? The innovation trend, which began in the field of physical sciences, undoubtedly influenced the Turkish national education system in the early 1960s. Some of the efforts to improve science education in our country were as follows: Founding of the Production and Repair Center for Teaching Materials in 1961, efforts to establish the Ankara Science High School in 1962, transformation of the Center for Instructive Movies into a Film, Radio, and Graphics Center in 1963 (Çilenti, 1985).

It turned out that the science programs developed between 1950 and 1970 appealed more to talented students. With the implementation of these programs, which did not appeal to all students, interest in elective science courses (especially physics and chemistry) gradually declined in developed western countries. New curricula have been developed to prevent students from falling out of love with science and renew their interest in science courses. Consequently, many new approaches emerged for designing science curriculum. The Learning Cycle and Generative or Constructivist Learning Model were the most important of these models (15). The Learning Cycle model is explained in detail under the heading “Science Curriculum Improvement Study (SCIS).” The Generative Learning Model, on the other hand, was developed by Wittrock (1974). The basis of this model was founded on the idea posited by Ausubel that students’ foreknowledge is the crucial important factor in learning. According to Driver (1988), this learning model consists of four stages: In the first stage, students’ foreknowledge is unveiled, whether correct or not. In the second or focusing stage, the students gain practical experiences with the desired concept. The teacher assumes the role of a guide in the process. In the third or challenge stage, students question their thoughts, compare them with others, and change them. The most important feature of the last stage, the implementation stage, is the reinforcement of the newly learned concepts. This is the phase where the learned knowledge is adapted to other situations, like writing an essay on a topic.

A look at the 1980s shows a world that has changed dramatically. As a consequence of that change, there was a need for individuals who could not only understand scientific principles but could also relate these principles to social changes, produce technology and apply it (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992). By the end of the 20th century, science was considered both a product and a process (Harlen, 1991).

According to Yager and Penick (1988), science and technology are needed to adapt to rapidly changing and evolving technologies, to solve social problems related to science, to raise awareness of the importance of developing expertise, and to prepare individuals for academic life. In addition, science programs that can foster student interest in science are needed to keep pace with a continually changing world and to raise inquisitive individuals with a curious mind who can question, discuss, and think critically. Developing countries translated and adapted science education programs developed in the West. Because the program development process is expensive, time-consuming, demanding, and requires trained personnel (Ayas, Çepni & Akdeniz, 1993; Akman, 2016). However, it was realized that the adaptations of programs from other countries through translation were not as useful as expected. The main reason for this was that these programs had been designed in accordance with the cultural and socio-economic realities of the countries in which they were developed making them unsuitable for use in other countries (Özinönü, 1976).

Changes in Approaches to Science Education and Approach towards the Application of Science Programs

Since the mid-1950s, many scientists have done so much to improve the quality of the American education system. Studies to design innovative science programs conducted with funding from the National Science Foundation were as follows:

- **Physics Curriculum*, Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC),
- **Chemistry Curriculum*, Chemical Education Material Study (CHEM-Study),
- **Biology Curriculum*, Biological Science Curriculum Study (BSCS),

For primary education:

- *Science A Process Approach (SAPA)
- *Elementary Science Study (ESS)
- *Science Curriculum Improvement Study (SCIS)
- *Conceptually Oriented Program in Elementary Science (COPES)

(Demirbaş & Yağbasan, 2005)

Physics Curriculum

In the United States, physics was one of the most challenging courses for students to learn. For this purpose, the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) was founded in 1956. The committee rearranged subject matters such as quantum and wave theories which were still used but had lost their currency (Demirbaş, 2001). Critical and scientific thinking was the focus of the physics curriculum (Schaefer, 1988). In addition, laboratory

activities were prepared for students to acquire investigative skills. The main features that distinguished the modern physics curriculum from a traditional one were that it contained fewer subjects with more in-depth learning, barely included applications of physics in technology, and emphasized thorough learning of general principles (Haber-Schaim, 1971).

Biology Curriculum

In 1954, some committees (National Academy of Science, National Research Council) began their work by identifying problems in biology teaching before drawing up the curriculum. The Biological Sciences Curriculum Study Group (BSCS), founded in 1959 at the University of Colorado, contributed to the development of the biology curriculum. Biologists, teachers, writers, and administrators were also included in the study group. When selecting topics for the curriculum, special attention was paid to the selection of topics related to real-life. This increased the interest and motivation of the students in the courses. In the selection of topics, the systematics of living beings were relegated to a secondary position while evolution and the relationships between living beings were brought to the fore. In short, instead of describing living beings individually, the focus was placed on the relationship between nature and living beings, as well as the relationship of living beings to other living beings (Okay & Karamanoğlu, 1974).

Chemistry Curriculum

In 1957, the American Chemical Society initiated studies to give a new shape to chemistry courses, primarily at high schools and universities. They found that chemistry teachers were not satisfied with the subjects they were teaching and out-dated subjects were included in the curriculum (Turgut, 1970). The Chemical Bond Approach Group (CBA) was founded in 1959. This group aimed to make students gain scientific skills and review important theories and experiments. The name of the study group was later changed to Chemical Education Material Study (CHEM-Study) (Demirbaş & Yağbasan, 2005). The topics included in the chemistry curriculum were selected to deliver comprehensive teaching of the structure of matter, chemical energy and dynamic equilibrium. Very little weight was given to the industrial applications of chemistry. The experimental method was preferred as the dominant teaching method (Chemical Education Material Study, 1963).

According to Gücüm & Kaptan (1992), the following are some of the approaches towards the implementation of science programs for primary schools:

Science A Process Approach (SAPA)

The main purpose of this approach was to provide students with scientific skills through

experiments during the eight-year basic schooling period (5-12 years). Course books had no place in these programs. Children learnt by actively participating in activities. Teachers used a handbook that contains information on how to determine the teaching outcomes, how and in what order scientific skills are to be taught, what materials are used for the experiments, and how student success should be measured. The teacher was not at the center in this program, but rather fulfilled the role of an intellectual guide.

Elementary Science Study (ESS)

The main purpose of this approach is to help establish the concepts and relationships that form the basis of a child's education. In this approach, students take the center stage while teachers merely provide guidance. Students learn at their own pace, find answers to their questions through interaction with one another and diligent research, and so the learning takes place. The system does not allow the teacher to make an overall assessment.

Science Curriculum Improvement Study (SCIS)

The Learning Cycle model was developed after the mid-1970s with input from Piagetin, and Karplus was the main contributor in the development of this model. Using this model, Karplus and his colleagues developed a science curriculum known as the "Science Curriculum Improvement Study" (SCIS). The program is for 5-12-year-olds. This laboratory-based program which owes its existence to Piaget consists of three levels. Matter, living beings, change and concepts of conservation were taught at level I; the relativity theory was taught at level II; while level III covered subject matters such as energy, equilibrium, position, and reproduction. Karplus et al. proposed a cycle model consisting of three steps to seamlessly implement this program in a classroom environment. These are: "review or data collection," "introduction to the concepts," and "implementation of the concepts." Karplus (1960) briefly describes this model as follows:

During the review or data collection phase, students examine new equipment and other materials in the learning environment on their own without help. These experiences create confusion in the student's mind not being reconcilable with previously learnt concepts. By the end of this process, the student is ready to learn. In the introduction to the concepts stage, the student gets a new concept or a new book, a new film, etc. from the teacher. Then the student gets the definition of this new concept. In this way, the student can interpret his new experiences by utilizing the concept. This stage should be linked up with the review or data collection phase. Otherwise, students may have difficulties in learning. In the implementation of the concepts stage, students reinforce learning by adapting the concepts to different situations.

Conceptually Oriented Program in Elementary Science (COPES)

Science and technology have an increasing influence on people in modern societies. However, our society has little knowledge of science. The main reason for this is the wrong education system. So, what is the best way to help young children understand and like science in a way it can guide them in their future lives? For this purpose, the Conceptually Oriented Program in Elementary Science (COPES) was developed. This program aimed to help children focus on big ideas in science with comprehensive, integrative and conceptual schemes rather than fill their minds with unrelated facts and details. This program was a science curriculum that focused on some of the conceptual schemes in science. This basic idea was emphasized throughout the program: everything in the program refers to these conceptual schemes where possible (COPES, 1973).

Approaches to the Application of Science Programs in Turkey

Science programs developed in the USA were also applied in many European countries as well as Turkey. After the 1960s, science teaching projects were developed and put into practice in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education, the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey and the universities and by also taking abroad cases into account. So, what was the state of program development studies in Turkey before the 1960s? Traditional program development studies in our country consisted of the following steps:

1. The Board of Education at the Ministry of National Education reviews the school curricula and defines the purpose of each course in general.
2. They make a list of the contents of the courses through an illustration of the topic titles.
3. The document gains official status when it is published as the resolution of the Board of Education.
4. Books written according to the established curriculum are accepted as textbooks.

After all these processes, the program development process comes to an end (Turgut, 1970). In these teaching programs inspired by a traditional understanding of education, the teachers had an active role and the students had a passive one. Since the students could not relate the science subjects in the curriculum to real-life situations, student success was rare (Çağlayan, 1961). Science books written according to a traditional understanding of education did not go beyond paltry definitions. Teaching aids and materials did not exist at all or were insufficient. During those years there was a shortage of teaching staff in almost all subjects. In addition, as in other subjects, graduates from departments other than science were appointed as science teachers. As a result, students' interest in science decreased (Alpaut, 1984). The decline of student interest in science courses led to a decline in qualified workforce employable in the fields of science and

technology. The shortage of skilled workers in the field of science and technology led to the revision of the science programs in Turkish schools. Starting from the mid-1950s, new projects have been introduced to improve science teaching. Some of these activities were: training of teachers in summer schools, domestic production of course materials, the establishment of mobile laboratories, preparation of educational films. In addition to these studies, the project period during which time modern scientific and mathematical programs were applied, played a key role in the improvement of science teaching (Turgut, 1970). The projects for science education developed in Turkey are as follows:

* Project for Science Education Units

*Science High School Project (1960-1967)

*BAYG-E-7 Project (1967-1968)

* BAYG-E-14 Project (1968-1970)

* BAYG-E-23 Project (1971-1976)

* BAYG-E-33 Project (1976-1980)

Project for Science Education Units

OECD experts held meetings with representatives of ministries and universities in Turkey and proposed the launching of the “Science Education Unit” projects under the supervision of Istanbul University’s Faculty of Natural Sciences. Although within the project the most innovative ideas on mathematics and science courses were offered, the project was scuppered due to lack of funding (Acar, 1968).

Science High School Project

The most comprehensive modernization of scientific education in Turkey is embodied in science high schools. In 1963, an agreement was made between the Ministry of National Education and the Ford Foundation, and as a result, the Science High School project was initiated. This project was carried out jointly by the Ministry of National Education, Turkish universities and the University of Florida in the USA. With this project, a special high school called “Science High School” was founded and so modern education, which would be epitomized here, would spread around the entire country. This is how the modernization of secondary education in Turkey began. To participate in the project, a commission consisting of a total of 11 people, including 10 lecturers who were experts in the field of science and a teacher from the Ministry of National Education, was sent to the University of Florida in 1963 to carry out studies in book writing and translation. In the aftermath of the process, the Ankara Science High School began its educational activities in 1964 with about 300 students (Ayas, Özmen, Demircioğlu & Sağlam, 1999). With its first graduates in the year of 1967, the science high school achieved significant successes

in the university entrance examination (Şenvar, 1968). Modern programs developed in the USA (CHEM Study, PSSC, BSCS, etc.) were offered at this high school as a pilot project. These programs were more than a textbook. The program included a wide range of materials such as teacher's guide, resources for teachers and students, educational films, and laboratory equipment. In short, the program included not only the subjects to be taught but all teaching materials. These modern programs were then implemented in other high schools. However, since modern programs could not be applied to all high schools, the dichotomy of modern-traditional schools emerged. Moreover, since the desired levels of success could not be achieved, these modern programs were completely abolished in 1984 (Durusoy, 1984). But, what was meant by a modern program?

According to Turgut (1990), the most notable features of a modern program are:

1. The topics are mostly clustered around a central theme. The different branches of science in the program are associated with basic concepts.
2. For each branch, basic information is provided as well as the methods for accessing information.
3. Technological applications in each scientific branch are brought down to a level that gives the students an overview.
4. Each branch of science is introduced as a human endeavor, with references to the working methods of scientists.
5. The student stands at the center of all learning activities. The student doesn't just listen passively. He is also expected to have skills such as making hypotheses, drawing conclusions, and making generalizations. What is expected of the teacher is not only to impart knowledge to the student but also to guide him by directing him to learning activities.

The so-called modern programs were rather new in terms of both content and methodology. Teachers undoubtedly played an important role in ensuring the success of these programs. For this reason, teachers started to attend summer courses in small groups of science and mathematics teachers starting from the summer of 1965. The summer courses continued until the end of the science projects (Turgut, 1977).

BAYG-E-7 Project (1967-1968)

In the early months of 1967, the Scientific Commission for the Improvement of Science Education was set up to update and modernize science programs. This Commission, attached to the Board of Education, was a decision-making and executive body. Most of the members of the Commission were faculty members working in science and

mathematics departments at the universities in Ankara. Between 1967 and 1980, the Commission carried out activities such as the adoption and arrangement of science and math programs, the production and distribution of program materials, the training of teachers, etc. The Commission received financial support for the project from the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey. When the institution could no longer provide funding for science education projects, the Commission was automatically dissolved (Turgut, 1990).

The BAYG-E-7 project was part of the effort to improve science education in line with the recommendations of the Scientific Commission for the Improvement of Science Education in collaboration with the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey and with funding from the Ford Foundation. To this end, new programs were developed in parallel to modern programs and implemented in two classes of the science high school. Then these new programs were introduced to 9 schools in the academic year 1966-1967 (Ünal, Coştu & Karataş, 2004).

BAYG-E-14 Project (1968-1970)

The BAYG-E-14 project, carried out between 1968 and 1970, was developed by the Science High School. With this project, an overview of the basic principles and concepts of science and math were provided while the subject matters were covered using research methods to enable students to think scientifically. In this project, laboratory tools and equipment were developed by giving weight to lab studies. With the BAYG-E-14 project, nine high schools from different regions began a three-year trial education. This was followed by a comprehensive evaluation project. According to Turgut (1968), the main objectives of the assessment are:

1. Do modern programs fit into the lesson hours prescribed by the high school curriculum?
2. How successful are students?
3. What are the variables of learning in modern programs?
4. What are the views and attitudes of the teachers about the program?
5. What revisions are required for the programs?

Based on the monthly reports prepared for the evaluation of this project, teacher surveys and evaluations by inspectors, some amendments were made to the project. The amendments were made in accordance with the decisions of the 8th National Education Council. Based on the new arrangements, any incongruities between the curriculum of normal, technical and vocational high schools were minimized. The 1st grade in high school was considered a preparatory stage which students had to go through before choosing their specialties or vocations in the second grade. In addition, a general

science course program (Introduction to Physical Sciences) was introduced for first-grade students of high schools where modern science programs were to be implemented. Furthermore, intensified courses in physics, chemistry and biology were offered to certain classes spaced throughout a year (Ministry of National Education, 1995). The students' performance was measured through specially prepared tests. The results of the detailed evaluation were reported to the Commission for the Improvement of Science Education. Some important findings from the report:

1. None of the modern programs could be fitted into the lesson hours, so no teacher could cover the entire program in any of the classes.
2. The two main factors affecting student performance are the teacher's command of modern subjects and the extent to which teaching methods recommended in the teacher's guide are implemented.
3. It was understood that simplifications and scope restrictions were required to introduce modern programs to normal schools.

(ARYM Assessment Group, 1971)

Combined Science Programs

In the ninth grade, science lessons were delivered four hours per week as part of the "Introduction to Physical Sciences" program while tenth-grade Literature students received science courses within the scope of "Physical Sciences II". Both programs were imported from the USA and adapted to schools in Turkey (Haber-Schaim, 1971). According to Turgut (1975), a combined program means bringing together subjects from a variety of disciplines best suited to nourish behaviors desirable in students rather than delivering subject-based courses. With the adoption of the Physical Sciences programs, printed materials and teaching materials were produced and teachers began to be sent to summer courses for training. It was determined that Physical Sciences programs spread faster compared to earlier versions of modern programs. Two applications of Combined Science programs are "Science" and "Collective Science" programs. The Science program was formed by the combination of courses such as natural history, physics, and chemistry. Until 1969-1970, it was taught in secondary schools. The Collective Science program was the second tried modern science program developed for secondary schools. There are no textbooks in this program, but some books are still recommended. Moreover, in this program, students do not learn by reading or memorizing scientific concepts; and less weight is given to mathematical formulas (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992).

BAYG-E-23 Project (1971-1976)

(Dissemination of Modern Programs)

The BAYG-E-23 project was prepared to implement the decisions of the 8th National Education Council and to greatly disseminate the program developed with the BAYG-E-14 project based on the feedback from pilot high schools. This project was implemented starting from the school year 1971-1972 at 100 high schools and 89 teacher's training schools (Demirbaş & Soylu, 2000). Furthermore, the "trial-correction-dissemination" strategy was embraced for this project. During the three-year teaching process, evaluation studies were carried out each year and a final evaluation report was produced at the end of the third year. Some of the most notable findings from the final evaluation report are:

1. Although it had been recommended to shorten the programs on the basis of the feedback from pilot high schools, the project was started with only a few amendments here and there, if at all. Consequently, most subject matters could not be covered at all, predominantly from the fields of Physics and Chemistry, and with less severity concerning Math and Biology.
2. Student performance was measured using assessment tests, but student performance varied greatly from school to school and from teacher to teacher.
3. High schools using modern programs were compared to those using traditional programs in terms of student success. High schools using modern programs proved to be more successful in university entrance examinations, graduation rates and in terms of the scientific reasoning skills of their students compared to high schools using traditional programs.
4. It was revealed that some changes should be made to the program materials, textbooks, and teacher's guides.(Turgut & Pekgöz, 1976).

BAYG-E-33 Project (1976-1980)

In September 1976, the BAYG-E-33 project was developed to introduce modern science and mathematics curricula to educational institutions training secondary and high school teachers. The project lasted three academic years (Ünal & Ünal, 2010). The objectives of this project were:

1. Trial and development of Collective Science and Modern Mathematics programs at certain schools.
2. Evaluation of the application of the prepared curriculum for Collective Science and Modern Mathematics.

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3. Development of textbooks and supplementary books, teaching materials and assessment and evaluation tools for testing in pilot schools.
 4. Training of teachers at pilot schools through in-service training courses.
 5. Introduction of the program to other schools according to feedback from trial applications.
 6. Revision of programs used by academies training teachers of natural sciences according to feedback from the application results.(Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992).

There was no significant difference between the performance scores of students in the experimental group studying collective sciences and those in the control group studying physical sciences concerning the Science High School First Stage Examination that took place in the academic year of 1979-80.

Introduction of Modern Programs to Secondary Schools and Academies Training Science Teachers

For secondary schools, a process-centered collective science program giving special weight to experiments was developed (Soylu, 1977). Laboratory equipment was prepared for this program and teachers were trained in summer schools. Starting from 1976-1977, the program was implemented as a pilot program for three years in around 30 schools. The program was then evaluated in terms of its various aspects. The evaluation foresaw the comparison of the achievements of schools teaching the Science program to schools teaching the Collective Science program taking into account the attitudes and opinions of teachers regarding the program. The most remarkable findings were as follows:

1. The objectives of the collective science program can be achieved using the means at hand.
2. The course hours in secondary schools are enough to cover the entire program.
3. Teaching is successful in schools with teachers having a good command of the teaching methods and where no more than 30-40 pupils occupy the classrooms.
4. Teachers' attitudes and opinions about the program are positive. (Akhun & Açıkalın, 1980).

It was concluded that the collective science programs would be beneficial for secondary schools if the teachers could be trained well and the necessary conditions were met. Despite these positive results, the project for the introduction of collective science programs to secondary schools was discontinued.

When efforts for the introduction of modern programs to academies training science teachers are examined, it becomes apparent that these programs were included in the

“Science Teaching and Application” courses at these schools. It was planned to carry out a two-year trial study at these academies training science teachers. However, due to the escalating wave of anarchy in these schools, especially between 1977 and 1980, this project could not be carried out (Turgut, 1990).

ABOLISHMENT OF MODERN PROGRAMS

A Commission set up by the Ministry of National Education in 1983 for the evaluation of science programs prepared a report called the Assessment of Science Programs. The main findings of this report can be summarized as follows:

- Students adapt better to new programs than older ones.
- Students find lab activities and personal studies more interesting.
- Parents are also more positive about lab practices in schools. That’s why they want to send their children to these schools. But, due to high demand, the classroom population is usually higher than 40 and therefore laboratory activities cannot be carried out sufficiently.
- Due to the high number of subjects in mathematics and natural sciences programs, many subjects cannot be covered.
- As the tools and materials cannot be sufficiently reproduced or sent at all to some schools, these materials are either missing in some schools or not effectively used in others.
- Since project assessment takes place after the project has been completed, the results cannot be sufficiently incorporated into the program.
- Teachers and administrators working at schools covered by the project do not have sufficient knowledge of the implementation of modern scientific programs.
- The Mobile Guide teams, which were set up to continuously monitor the work done and solve problems on-site, lost their effectiveness after a while. (Demirbaş & Soylu, 2000)

The results of the Science Programs Assessment Report showed that the infrastructure necessary for the implementation of the program was lacking in many aspects. Besides, the Scientific Commission for the Improvement of Science and Mathematics Education was terminated because the protocols on science projects concluded between the Ministry of National Education and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey on May 31, 1980 were not renewed and the Ford Foundation had withdrawn its financial support. Consequently, modernization efforts for the teaching of natural

sciences at secondary schools that had been ongoing since 1960, was discontinued and completely abolished in 1984 (Çilenti, 1985).

Studies on Science Programs in Turkey

Since all processes related to the survival and development of society take place within the social structure, social structure studies are important. The period 1938-1980 is an important era for Turkish society when important social events took place. Some remarkable events after 1938 were Atatürk's death, attempts to switch to a multi-party system, and the social and economic impact of World War II even though the country was not involved in the war. The era after 1950 witnessed changes in the material culture which reflected upon the spiritual values of the society. The years 1960-1980 are known as the years characterized by big social ruptures and terror incidents, during which time two coups (the 1960 and the 1980 coups) took place and the 1971 memorandum emerged creating an impact on the Turkish society which continues to this day (Erkal, 2016). In those years, when the Cold War was escalating into a vigorous competition between nations, countries were putting a lot of effort into becoming a leading force in the fields of science and technology.

As in our country, countries that did not want to be left behind in this race started attaching more importance to education, especially science education. The science education in our country has principally been influenced by developments in the West, and the greatest influence has been over three different periods since the beginning of the republican era (Özinönü, 1976). Science programs in our country can be categorized under two titles: "Primary School Science Programs" and "Secondary School Science Programs". While it is possible to come across many programs that have been carried out at primary school level since the Republic, this section will be focusing on scientific programs for primary and secondary schools implemented between 1938 and 1980 (1948, 1968, 1974, 1977).

Developments In Primary School Science Programs

1948 Primary School Science Program

With the transition to a democratic multi-party system in 1946, the need for democratic education in schools increased. To meet this need, a new program was put to use in 1948 (Binbaşıoğlu, 1995). Concerning the natural science curriculum for primary schools developed in 1948, natural science subjects were subsumed under the "Life Sciences" course in the first term (1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade) while they were contained within the "Natural History," "Family Science" and "Agriculture-Work" courses in the second term (4th and 5th grade) (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992). The Life Sciences course was an observation and experimentation course according to this program. For this purpose, suitable learning environments were created where students could come across objects

and phenomena which they could analyze and examine according to the grade they are in. The Life Sciences course is the basis of courses such as Natural History, History, Geography and Civic Education, but it differs from these in terms of its particular importance (Şahin, 2009). The objective of the Life Sciences course in this program was to help children from grades 1 to 3 to observe and study everyday events such as family and social life that are easy to comprehend, irrespective of their locale (home, school, village, town, city, etc.) while providing them with the tools to understand nature better, cultivate a love for nature, and helping them acquire good habits aimed at protecting nature. In addition, other objectives of the program included cultivating sentiments of love and respect among students in their interactions with others, laying the foundation for their loyalty to the nation and awakening in them an awareness of their national history (Ministry of National Education, 1948).

Some new topics were added to the Life Sciences curriculum of 1948. These were: The animals in our houses; games played in the garden, in the neighborhood and in the countryside; the marketplace and scenes from the marketplace; Atatürk and İnönü's life stories; preparation of winter food for the household; repairing old clothes; the ovens, barbecues or heaters at our homes; household laundry day; sewing old clothes; agricultural lessons on the schoolyard; the history of our family and our house; regulations for vehicles; the history of our town and our village; the meaning of the 19th of May; domestic goods week; laundry day; radio etc. (Magazine of the Ministry of Culture, 1937).

The 1948 curriculum was criticized in many ways, for example in terms of the excessive number of courses, subjects and chapters, misalignment of the subjects with the academic level of the students, lack of connection between courses, its inflexibility and disregard for personal differences. Due to such criticisms, the American professor Kate Wofford was invited to Turkey in 1952. After examining the system, Wofford prepared a report. In her report, Wofford stated that more efforts should be made to prepare more democratic programs (Kalaycı, 2004). The 1948 program, which had been in force for 20 years, was replaced by a new program in 1968. Besides, social benefits (for human beings and the environment) were placed at the forefront of this program where science played a subordinate role. A closer look at the sections of this program reveals too many aspects which do not sit well with a modern program (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992). These were:

1. inability to express learning goals in terms of student behavior;
2. the principle of social benefit and not activities that require scientific processes were placed at the forefront;
3. the lack of a specific system for arranging the units and the themes of the units;

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4. many course chapters on agriculture were integrated into the natural history course although there was a separate lesson on agriculture.

1968 Primary School Science Program

The primary school curriculum of 1968 is a long-term curriculum that has been implemented for about 30 years. One of the most important innovations brought by this curriculum was the application of the concept of consolidation for 4th and 5th-grade primary school students, previously introduced for life sciences courses. All the objectives set out in the curriculum were aligned with student requirements. Furthermore, with the introduction of this curriculum, social sciences and physical sciences were acknowledged as central courses alongside the Life Sciences course (Bektaş, 2001; Binbaşıoğlu, 2003).

In the explanations section of the Life Sciences program, it was stated that the Life Sciences course was a lesson based on observation, active work and experiment assigning to it the character of a true science course (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992). The program was flexible and there was no obligation to follow a certain order when the teacher works through the chapters. While the subjects that could not be covered at school could be excluded from the units to be studied, the subjects that were not included in the program but needed to be covered could be added to the program. In the 1968 curriculum, the principle of proximodistal learning was adopted when the subjects were being taught. Life Sciences is one of the most important courses of the first three years of primary school. The Life Sciences course should be studied in relation to other courses (Turkish, Mathematics, Painting, etc.), and the topics of the Life Sciences course should be made more concrete for students through various methods. This curriculum also emphasized that excursion and observation activities should be given sufficient weight for the Life Sciences course. While the goals of the Life Sciences course were laid out under different main headings, the same goals were set for all three grades. This caused some difficulties in setting out learning objectives at a class level (Ministry of National Education, 1968).

A comparison of the 1948 Life Sciences curriculum with its 1968 version reveals some differences. For instance, the number of chapters in the Life Sciences curriculum of 1968 is fewer than that in the Life Sciences curriculum of 1948. In the 1968 curriculum for life sciences, however, sub-topics of the units were enunciated in detail. Topics added to the Life Sciences curriculum of 1968 were: Vehicles and Protective Measures against Accidents, New Year's Celebrations, How Did You Spend New Year's Day, Differentiation of Holiday Habits, the Sea, the Beach, Swimming, Mail, Letters, Postman, How Can We Protect Our Health, Military Service, etc. The "Physical Sciences and Natural History" course in the primary school curriculum of 1968 is a combination of natural history, agriculture-work, and family science courses included in the 1948 program. In addition,

the 1968 program recommended the kind of education that would ensure the active participation of students (Ministry of National Education, 1948; Ministry of National Education, 1968).

The “Physical Sciences and Natural History” curriculum of 1968 was amended in 1974 and 1977 (Gücüm & Kaptan, 1992).

The Science Curriculum of 1974

In the 1974 program, the name of the course was changed to Physical Sciences and a number of changes were also made to the content of the units. The most striking aspect of this program was that it adopted the concept of social benefit and attached more importance to technology. The program introduced no independent natural science course for the first three grades of primary school with some topics of the natural science course interspersed with the subjects of the Life Sciences course. It would be impossible to prepare students for science courses based on scientific processes in the 4th- and 5th-grades due to a primary focus on social benefit rather than on scientific methods.

The Science Curriculum of 1977

The 1977 program is almost identical to that of 1974 in terms of their content. However, some units were re-arranged.

Developments In Secondary School Science Programs (1938-1980)

The sixth, seventh and eighth grade in primary education was referred to in some earlier programs as the first level of secondary education. This stage, commonly referred to as the secondary school, forms the basis of the second stage of primary education. In view of developments in science programs for secondary schools between 1938 and 1980, the program implemented between 1937 and 1938 remained in practice for only one year. The total number of lessons per week was reduced to 31 hours and the names and the length of science courses were changed. Offered as a three-hour course, the physical sciences course was combined with the chemistry course and the biology course was combined with the hygiene course. The program remained in effect for one year, and afterwards, in 1938, a new program was drawn up which was to remain in force for eleven years. In addition, biology, hygiene, and natural sciences courses were removed from the new program to be replaced by a single course called Natural History (Karataş, 2002). An examination of the content of the natural history course reveals that it is divided into two sections, namely “Botanic” and “Zoology”. In short, the program, which was put to use in 1937, had a content progressing from easy toward difficult topics with two main sections, “Botanic” and “Zoology.”

With the introduction of the program that was designed in 1948 and remained in force

between 1949 and 1970, the number of weekly course hours was increased again to 32. The content and features of the 1948 Science Program were not changed until 1970. The content of this program is similar to the content of the previous one but contains detailed information about the human body. The topics of photosynthesis and respiration included in the 1938 program were excluded from the 1948 program, while health-related topics were added to the 1948 program. Starting from 1969, science courses were grouped together under the “Physical Sciences” course. While there were no program changes from 1948 to 1969, a general program change in 1969 brought fundamental changes to the entire curriculum. According to the science program, which was put into practice after 1974, the Physical Sciences course was offered as a three-hour course. In addition, some topics were removed to make the program less cumbersome. Very few changes were introduced with the 1977 program. One of these changes was to increase the length of the Physical Sciences course to four hours for all three grades. Moreover, new titles were added to some units (Yurdatapan, 2011).

Conclusion

In the first years of the Republic, the need for qualified human resources had become more pronounced. Because during the wars, there had been an immense loss of lives, including scientists. These losses stalled the onset of social, economic, cultural, and educational reforms. The period from 1938 to 1980, on the other hand, saw important social events and incidents (the death of Atatürk, attempts for the transition to a multi-party system, the lingering effects of the Second World War, coups d'état of 1960 and 1980, memorandum of 1971, etc.). This period was also marked by nations squaring off against each other in a bid to get the upper hand in science and technology. Turkey did not remain indifferent to the wave of scientific and technological innovations sweeping the globe and so started to attach more importance to science education at its schools. To this end, the existing science curriculum was improved, renewed and made more modern. In addition, during these years (1938-1980) many projects were set into motion to reshape science education. In particular, science programs developed in the western world were translated and adapted. However, these programs fell short of meeting the expectations, especially since they had been drawn up without taking into account the socio-economic and cultural peculiarities of Turkey. The Science Programs Assessment Report prepared after the program development efforts showed that the country lacked the necessary infrastructure for the implementation of such programs. Furthermore, the efforts for modernizing the science curriculum in secondary education was halted due to the non-renewal of the protocols for science projects made between the Ministry of National Education and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey on May 31, 1980 and the withdrawal of financial support from the Ford Foundation, and came to a definitive end in 1984.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN TURKEY FROM 1938 TO 1980

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Introduction

Although the concept of social studies first appeared in the United States in 1916 (Moffatt, 1957), it is not known for sure where and when social studies education originated. It is however known that education about the social science disciplines that constitute the content of the social studies course was given in Egyptian, Persian, and Roman civilizations. As for the Turks, this situation is not different. Considering that social studies provides information about life, neither Turks who lived a semi-nomadic life nor Turks who adopted a settled life after the Uighurs can be expected to be far from social studies education. However, given that in Turkish history, a sophisticated understanding of school and education was systematised in the Ottoman Empire, social studies education began to be given in the Ottoman period.

Apropos of republican Turkey, social studies was also incorporated into the education system of the young republic. In the curricula designed in early republican Turkey, education was treated as a means of preparing people to become citizens that keep up with the Republic (Gelen & Beyazıt, 2007, 461). The 1924 curriculum was the first curriculum of the Republic of Turkey and significantly differed from the curricula used prior to the Law on Unification of Education in terms of the objectives, course contents, and teaching methods (Aslan, 2011, p. 723). After the introduction of the 1924 curriculum, history, geography or civics courses, which comprise the main content of social studies, were incorporated into the Turkish education system, although not directly referred to as social studies. With the 1924 curriculum, primary and middle schools were separated (Keskin, 2002, pp. 15-16) and history, geography, moral conversations, and civics¹ courses, which constitute the content of social studies, were integrated into the primary and middle school curricula. Additionally, history, geography, moral conversations, and civics courses, which relate to social studies, were included in the 1338 (1922) Primary and Middle School Curricula which was used for a time and issued by the Ministry of the National Education of the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1922. This was also the case in 1926 curriculum (Akyüz, 2008). The 1926 primary school curriculum defined the objective of the primary school as “*the primary purpose of the primary school is to raise good citizens by actively adapting the young generation to their environment*” (İlk Mekteplerin Müfredat Programı, 1926, p. 71) and put stress on “raising good citizens”, which is one of the main objectives of the social studies course. The 1926 curriculum remained in practice for ten years and was replaced by the

¹ The Moral Conversations and Civics course (Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye ve Malumat-ı Vatanîye in Ottoman Turkish) was renamed Civics in the 1926 curriculum (Akyüz, 2008).

1936 curriculum. The 1936 primary school curriculum was designed in line with the needs of the Turkish revolution (Binbaşıoğlu, 1995). This is because the revolutionary movements of the young republic had largely been completed by 1936 and the new curriculum was reflecting the views of the new regime (Akbaba, 2004). Additionally, the principles of the Republican People's Party were listed under the objectives of the primary school in the 1936 curriculum (Alp, 2016, p. 87). Apropos of the content of the 1936 primary school curriculum, the life science course was included in the programs of first, second, and third grades viewed as the first cycle of primary school, while the history, geography and civics courses were included in the programs of fourth and fifth grades viewed as the second cycle of primary school (İlkokul Programı, 1936). Similarly, the 1938 middle school curriculum incorporated the history, geography, and civics courses. The first-, second-, and third-grade programs included a total of six-hour history and geography classes, each being taught for two hours a week, while the second- and third-grade programs included a total of four-hour civics class taught for two hours a week (Ortaokul Programı, 1938).

Social Studies in the Primary School Curricula from 1938 to 1980

Social Studies in the 1948 Primary School Curriculum

Due to the difference² in the curricula used in the cities and villages in the early periods of the Republic in Turkey, the “Rural Schools Curriculum” was introduced in 1930 and 1938 and the “Rural Primary Schools Curriculum Project” was launched in 1939 (Keskin, 2002, p. 42). The main factor underlying this situation is that 80% of the total population was living in villages during this period. Therefore, the then republican governments considered the issue of primary education as an issue of rural education (Kaplukan, 2012, p. 165; Akman, 2016). Because the implementation of separate programs in cities in villages was against equality of opportunity in education, all teachers were asked for their views on rural and urban school curricula in 1944; consequently, it was decided to unify rural and urban primary school curricula and a new primary school curriculum was introduced in 1948 (Güngördü & Güngördü, 1966). However, the course distributions of rural and urban schools were organized independently, thereby resulting in differences in course contents (İlkokul Programı, 1948).

The 1948 primary school curriculum was more advanced and had clearly defined objectives compared to the 1926 and 1936 curricula (Arslan, 2000). In view of the social studies-relevant courses in the curriculum, for urban primary schools, two-hour history and geography classes per week were integrated into the programs of fourth and fifth

² The separation of rural and urban schools was first stated in detail in Article 5 of “Law No. 789 on Educational Organization” published in the Official Gazette dated April 4, 1926 and No. 338. Accordingly, primary schools were listed as follows: 1. rural and urban day schools, 2. rural and urban boarding schools, 3. rural day schools, and 4. rural boarding schools. Pursuant to Article 7 thereof, middle schools were as follows: 1. high schools, 2. middle schools, 3. teaching schools, and 4. rural teaching schools (Yücel, 1994, pp. 270-271).

grades viewed as the second cycle of primary school, while a two-hour civics class per week was integrated into the fourth-grade program and a one-hour civics class per week was integrated into the fifth-grade program. For rural primary schools, two-hour history and geography classes and a one-hour civics class per week were also integrated into the fourth- and fifth-grade programs (İlkokul Programı, 1948). The contents of the history, geography, and civics courses which are relevant to the social studies course are as follows:

Table 1. History Course Topics in the 1948 Primary School Curriculum

	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
1	The Lives of the First Humans	Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate
2	Homeland of Turks	Ottoman Empire
3	Sumerians	The Conquest of Istanbul by the Turks
4	The Hittites	The Rise of the Ottoman Empire
5	Greeks	Slowdown Period of the Ottoman Empire
6	The Roman Civilization	Decline Period
7	Turks Who Stayed in the Homeland	Ottoman Turkish Civilization
8	The Birth of Islam	Major Changes in Europe
9	Spread of Islam among Central Asian Turks and the Muslim Turkic States	The Reformation Period in the Ottoman Empire
10	Great Seljuq Empire	The Tanzimat (Reform) Period and Constitutional Era
11	-	The Turkish War of Independence
12	-	Turkish Revolution
13	-	World War II

(İlkokul Programı, 1948, pp. 135-138)

Looking at the topics covered in the fourth- and fifth-grade history course plan of the 1948 primary school curriculum, it stands out that the course has a heavy content load. Furthermore, Turkish culture and history occupy a significant place in both grades.

Table 2. Geography Course Topics in the 1948 Primary School Curriculum

	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
1	Deepening the Geography Observations in First-Cycle Grades and Expanding the Understanding of Plans and Maps	Earth
2	Geography of Nearby Villages, Towns, Districts and Cities	Volcanoes
3	Geographical Regions of Turkey	Europe
4	Overview of the Geography of Turkey	Asia
5	Neighbours of Turkey	Africa
6	Overview of the World	Americas
7	-	Oceania and Australia
8	-	Overview of the World
9	-	Outline of the Geography of Turkey
10	-	Turks on Earth

(İlkokul Programı, 1948, pp. 144-146)

Looking at the geography topics covered in the 1948 primary school curriculum, it is apparent that a from-near-to-far principle was applied. Accordingly, the fourth-grade topics were mainly centred around the geography of Turkey, while the fifth-grade topics were mainly centred around the geography of the continents.

Table 3. Civics Course Topics in the 1948 Primary School Curriculum

	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
1	Social Life	What Does the Government Do?
2	Life in Family and School	Government Expenditures
3	My Great Nation	Relationship between State and Citizens
4	Life in Villages	Levels of Administration in Turkey
5	Life in Cities and Towns	Social Affairs and Governmental Agencies in Our Country
6	The Administration of Our Country and the Turkish State	Institutions and Instruments That Serve Public Enlightenment
7	-	National Economy
8	-	Youth and Sports
9	-	Democracy
10	-	Everyone Has to Have a Means of Livelihood According to Their Abilities

(İlkokul Programı, 1948, pp. 152-157)

Given the civics topics covered in the 1948 primary school curriculum, the fourth-grade topics were mainly centred around the theme of adjustment to the local and national environment, while the fifth-grade topics were mainly centred around the functioning of the state mechanism.

Social Studies in the Draft Primary School Curriculum of 1962

After the 1948 primary school curriculum was implemented for more than ten years, a clear need was felt in the 1960s to address shortcomings in the current curriculum and make revisions in line with the developments of the time. To this end, a joint commission set up by the Board of Education and Discipline and the General Directorate of Primary Education drew up a report and sent it to all cities and districts to ask views. A new commission set up by the General Directorate of Primary Education designed a new primary school curriculum as a draft in line with the feedback received and the draft curriculum was implemented in 1962 (Güngördü & Güngördü, 1966; Tekişık, 1992). However, this draft curriculum was implemented in pilot schools, not across the country. In relation to the social studies-relevant courses, a major change stands out in the draft primary school curriculum draft of 1962. The history, geography and civics courses used to be taught separately according to the previous curricula but were merged with an interdisciplinary approach into a single course called “*Society and Country Studies*” in the draft curriculum of 1962 (Öztürk & Dilek, 2005; Akman, 2017). In view of the hours allocated for the society and country studies course in the curriculum, the programs of the first, second, third grades viewed as the first cycle of primary education did not include

the society and country studies course but the life science course, while in the second cycle of primary education, the fourth-grade program included a six-hour society and country studies class per week and the fifth-grade program included a five-hour society and country studies class per week (İlkokul Program Taslağı, 1962). The contents of the society and country studies course for the fourth and fifth grades are as follows:

Table 4. Society and Country Studies Course Topics in the Draft Primary School Curriculum of 1962

	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
1	Our City and Region	Turkey and Its Neighbours
2	Life in Our Family, School and Immediate Environment	Foundation of the Ottoman Empire
3	Governing Organizations	Inventions in Europe, Major Geographical Discoveries, and Renaissance
4	Traffic Rules	Reasons for the Slowdown in the Ottomans
5	Let us Know the Early Civilizations in Established Our City and Region	Reformation Movements
6	Our Turkey	Constitutional Era
7	Where Did We Come from in Turkey?	The Turkish War of Independence
8	Islam - Acceptance of Islam by the Turks	World War II and the United Nations
9	Great Seljuq Empire	The Development of Our Democracy and the Transition to Multi-Party System. May 27 and Our New Constitution
10	The Administration of Our Country and the Turkish State	Social Affairs and Governmental Agencies in Our Country
11		Overview of Our World
12	-	Tourism
13	-	Career Choice
14	-	Becoming a Constructive, Creative and Distinguished Partner of Western Civilization

(İlkokul Program Taslağı, 1962, pp. 43-45).

The interdisciplinary approach is particularly noticeable in the content of the society and country studies course included in the draft primary school curriculum of 1962. The fourth-grade course plan contains 11 topics which relate to the knowledge of geography, history and civics. The fifth-grade course plan contains 14 topics which focus on history issues that took place from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire until that time.

Social Studies in the 1968 Primary School Curriculum

The draft primary school curriculum introduced in 1962 was implemented at the pilot level, in a sense, formed the basis for the 1968 primary school curriculum. The 1968 primary school curriculum was introduced as a result of the efforts and new regulations made by a commission set up by the Ministry of National Education in light of the pilot implementations in the 1967-1968 academic year (Cicioğlu, 1985). The 1968 curriculum is the longest-lasting primary school curriculum among those introduced in the republican period. The 1968 primary school curriculum was the first curriculum that included the social studies course under the title of social studies. In other words, the topics and

courses which overlap with the scope of social studies and were treated separately in the previous curricula were merged into a single course called “Social Studies” for the first time in the 1968 primary school curriculum (Dilek, 2001; İnan, 2014; Kan, 2010; Keskin & Keskin, 2013; Öztürk & Otluoğlu, 2003; Safran, 2011; Sağlamer, 1997; Sönmez, 1998; Sözer, 1998). Accordingly, the 1968 primary school curriculum reads as follows: *“The history, geography, and civics courses, which were independent courses in the previous fourth- and fifth-grade programs were joined together as a single integrated social studies course in view of their interconnected nature and suitability for children. The topics of the social studies course should be treated as a multifaceted whole based on the knowledge of history, geography, and civics.”* Similarly, the 1970-1971 middle school curriculum published in 1973 described the motivation behind the coalescence of history, geography, and civics courses into the social studies course as a necessity to make the curriculum content more appropriate to students and develop positive behaviours and traits in students (MEB, 1973). The approach of coalescence, previously adopted for the life science course, was also used for the social studies course in the 1968 primary school curriculum. With the 1968 primary school curriculum, social studies was recognized as a pivotal course just like as the science course (Baysal, 2006; Akman and Meydan, 2018). In this connection, the social studies course was allocated six hours a week in the fourth-grade program and five hours a week in the fifth-grade program. Another point that stands out in the 1968 curriculum in relation to social studies is that the concept of “unit” was introduced. At each grade level, the course content was designed by subsuming topics under the main units. Accordingly, the 1968 primary school curriculum reads as follows: *“The topics of the social studies course were merged into units. There is no obligation to follow the same order in the curriculum while teaching the units. Teachers can make any change where they deem appropriate”* (MEB, 1968). The social studies units in the fourth- and fifth-grade programs of the 1968 curriculum are as follows:

Table 5. Social Studies Course Units in the 1968 Primary School Curriculum

	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
1	Our City and Region	Our Country and Neighbours
2	Our Turkey	Ottoman Empire (Foundation and Rise)
3	Present Life in Our Country	Overview of the World
4	Islam - Acceptance of Islam by the Turks	Ottoman Empire (Slowdown and Decline)
5	Settlement of Turks in Anatolia	Major Countries of the World
6		Our Republic

(İlkokul Programı, 1968, pp. 75-79)

Looking at the social studies units in the 1968 primary school curriculum, it is apparent that the fourth-grade units were designed based on an interdisciplinary approach. Thus, the first and second units were composed of geography topics, the third unit was composed of civics topics, and the fourth and fifth units were composed of history topics.

Among the fifth-grade units, the first, third, and fifth units were composed of geography topics, the second and fourth units were composed of history topics, and the sixth unit was composed of civics topics.

After remaining in use for nearly ten years, the 1968 primary school curriculum was revised in the Journal of Communiques dated April 25, 1977, and No. 1931. The reason for the revision of the 1968 primary school curriculum was cited as follows: *“Curricula are not subject to a fixed form but in a state of continuous progress in parallel with the political, social, and economic situation of each country, especially with the recent rapid advancement in science and technology. From time to time since the foundation of the republic in our country, revisions have been made in the primary and middle school curricula in close touch with needs and opportunities. Great care has been taken to reflect the intended democracy and lifestyle on the school curricula and raise citizens who believe in the power of our nation and democracy and successfully adapt to democratic life. The primary aim of our national education is thus to educate students to become citizens who know and fulfil their duties and responsibilities towards the Republic of Turkey”* (MEB, 1977). In line with this revision, both the objectives and content of the social studies course were also updated.

Table 6. Social Studies Course Units After the Revision of the 1968 Primary School Curriculum

	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
1	Where and How Do Our Days Pass?	Our Country and Neighbours
2	Do We Know the Area We Live in?	Overview of the World and Countries with Which We Have Relations
3	Overview of Our Country	Foundation and Rise of the Ottoman Empire
4	When and How Did We Settle in Our Country?	Slowdown and Decline Period of the Ottoman Empire and Dissolution of the Empire
5		How We Built Our Republic

(MEB, Tebliğler Dergisi, 1977, pp. 11-13)

Given the revision made in 1977, the social studies units in the 1968 primary school curriculum underwent slight changes. The particularly noticeable change is that the “Islam - Acceptance of Islam by the Turks” unit included in the fourth-grade program in the 1968 curriculum was excluded by the 1977 revision.

Social Studies in the Middle School Curricula from 1938 to 1980

Social Studies in the 1938 Middle School Curriculum

The content of the social studies course, which incorporates history, geography and civics topics, was included in the middle school curricula of 1924, 1927, and 1932, which were implemented before 1938 in Republican Turkey. However, the content of social studies was included more extensively as a single discipline in the 1938 middle

school curriculum. In view of the 1938 middle school curriculum, the first-, second-, and third-grade programs included a total of six-hour history and geography classes, each being taught for two hours a week, while the second- and third-grade programs included a total of four-hour civics class taught for two hours a week (Ortaokul Programı, 1938). The history, geography, and civics topics constituting the content of social studies for middle school first, second, and third grades are given in the tables below.

Table 6. History Course Topics in the 1938 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1st Grade	Middle School 2nd Grade	Middle School 3rd Grade³
1	Introduction to Human History	Entering the Middle Ages	Ottoman Empire
2	A General Overview of the Great Turkish History and Civilization	The Alans and Their Invasions of Europe	Europe from the Middle of the Fifteenth Century to the End of the Sixteenth Century
3	China	Turkish Hun Empire in Europe	The Decline of the Empire
4	Ancient States in the Homeland	Europe in the Fifth Century	The Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire
5	Scythian Turkish Empire	Avar Empire	The Far East in the Nineteenth Century: China and Japan
6	Indian	Byzantine	The Turkish Nation Establishing a New State
7	Chaldea, Elam and Assyria	The Göktürk Khanate in Asia	The War of Independence
8	Egypt	Türgesh State	From the Treaty of Lausanne to the Proclamation of the Republic
9	Anatolia	Karluk State	Proclamation of the Republic
10	Phoenicians	Uighur State	Abolition of the Caliphate
11	Hebrews	Western Asian Eastern European Turkish States	Political Movements in the Republican Era
12	Iran	Invaders from the Orient to Europe After the Fifth Century	Revolutions and Reforms in Religion and Law
13	Aegean Basin	History of Islam	Revolution and Reform Movements in Education and Discipline
14	-	First Muslim Turkic States	Economic and Financial Revolution and Reform Movements
15	-	The Carolingian Empire	-
16	-	The Normans	-
17	-	German Duchies and the Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation	-
18	--	The Struggle of Popes and Emperors	-
19	-	Feudalism	-
20	-	Great Seljuq Empire	-
21	-	The Crusades	-
22	-	The Khwarazmian State	-
23	-	Turkic Mongol Empire	-
24	-	Turkish States of Egypt and Syria	-
25	-	Anatolian Turkish States in the Middle Ages	-
26	-	Anatolian Principalities	-
27	-	Civilization in Anatolian Turkish States	-

³ History topics in the middle school third grade are composed of two parts: the first five topics make up the “New and Recent Times” heading, while the next nine topics cover the history of the Republic of Turkey.

28	-	Indian under the Rule of Muslim Turks	-
29	-	Ottomans	-
30	-	Timur	-
31	-	Ottomans After Bayezid I	-
32	-	Mughal Empire in India	-

(Ortaokul Programı, 1938)

Looking at the content of the history course in the 1938 middle school curriculum, the first-grade program had 13 main subjects, the second-grade program had 32 main subjects, and the third- grade program had 14 main subjects. Considering that each of the main subjects had subtopics, it is apparent that a really broad curriculum was designed. In particular, it is almost impossible to teach 32 main subjects covered in the middle second-grade program within two class hours per week, which were allocated for the history course in the 1938 curriculum. The history topics covered in the third-grade program were mainly centred around reform movements and the new regime.

Table 7. Geography Course Topics in the 1938 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1 st Grade	Middle School 2 nd Grade	Middle School 3 rd Grade
1	Research and Investigations into Landforms	Continental Europe	Physical Geography of Turkey
2	Showing Landforms on Paper	Americas	Human and Administrative Geography
3	Definition, Branches, Importance, and Benefits of Geography	Oceania and Australia	Economic Geography
4	Asia	Antarctica	Position and Importance of Turkey among Nations
5	Africa	-	Turkey's relations with the Neighbouring States and the Great World States
6	-	-	Proper Evaluation of the Most Important and Characteristic Phases of the Human and Economic Geography of the Place of Residence

(Ortaokul Programı, 1938)

In view of the subjects that constitute the content of the geography course of the 1938 middle school curriculum, the first-grade program focused on the general knowledge of geography and the geography of continents. The second-grade program entirely dealt with the geography of continents, while the third-grade program dwelt on the geography of Turkey.

Table 8. Civics Course Topics in the 1938 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1 st Grade	Middle School 2 nd Grade	Middle School 3 rd Grade
1	-	The Constitution of 1921	Nation
2	-	Executive Power	State
3	-	Grand National Assembly of Turkey	Democracy

4	-	Organization of Government	Republic
5	-	Duties and Organization of Ministries	First Right and First Duty
6	-	-	Liberty
7	-	-	Equality
8	-	-	General Information on Election
9	-	-	General Information on Tax
10	-	-	Military Duty

(Ortaokul Programı, 1938)

In the 1938 middle school curriculum, the topics of the civics course were included in the second- and third-grade programs. The middle school first-year program did not include the civics course. The main topics and subtopics of the civics course were largely centred around the structure of the State of the Republic of Turkey and citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Social Studies in the 1949 Middle School Curriculum

The 1938 middle school curriculum remained in practice for nearly ten years. A new junior middle school curriculum was designed and put into practice in 1949. The 1949 middle school curriculum included the same courses that constitute the content of social studies, i.e. history, geography, and civics. In the 1949 middle school curriculum, two hours per week were allocated for the history course in the middle school first-, second-, and third-grade programs. The geography course was allocated two hours per week in the first- and second-grade programs and one hour per week in the third-grade program. The civics course was allocated one hour per week in the first-, second-, and third-grade programs (Ortaokul Programı, 1949). The history, geography, and civics course topics constituting the content of social studies, which were covered in the first-, second-, and third-grade programs of the 1949 middle school curriculum, are given in the tables below.

Table 9. History Course Topics in the 1949 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1 st Grade	Middle School 2 nd Grade	Middle School 3 rd Grade
1	Introduction to Human History	Entering the Middle Ages	Europe in the Early Modern Ages
2	The Homeland of Turks and Migrations	History of Islam	Rising Period of the Ottoman Empire
3	Turks Who Stayed in the Homeland After Migrations	The Seljuks	Slowdown Period of the Ottoman Empire
4	History of Asia Minor	Turkish States of Egypt and Syria	Decline Period of the Ottoman Empire
5	Anatolia in Antiquity	Ottoman Empire	Ottoman Turkish Civilization
6	Overview of the Mediterranean Civilization in Antiquity	Conquest of Istanbul	Europe and America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

7	Aegean Basin		The Extended Reformation Period in the Ottoman Empire
8	Overview of Roman History		The Tanzimat (Reform) Period and Constitutional Era
9			War of Independence
10			Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Revolution
11			World War II and Turkey

(Ortaokul Programı, 1949)

What stands out in the content of the history courses in the 1949 middle school curriculum is a more organized and chronological order at each grade level. The content of the history course in the second-grade program was simplified.

Table 10. Geography Course Topics in the 1949 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1 st Grade	Middle School 2 nd Grade	Middle School 3 rd Grade
1	The Idea of Plan and Map	Africa	Overview of Turkey
2	Turkey's Location on Earth	Continental Europe	Geographical Regions of Turkey
3	Area of Turkey, Area of the Continents, Area and Size of the Earth, and Area of the Seas	Americas	Population of Turkey
4	Landforms in Turkey	Oceania	Economic Life in Turkey
5	Coasts of Turkey	Poles	-
6	Local Time, Time of Turkey, Time Zones, Meridian Circles, and Longitude Movements of the Earth	-	-
7	Climate of Turkey	-	-
8	Distribution of Plants and Animals across Turkey and Earth and Close Connection between Climate and Living Things	-	-
9	Stream Systems in Turkey and Earth	-	-
10	Important Lakes of Turkey and Earth	-	-
11	Distribution of Population in Turkey and in the World	-	-
12	Overview of the Asia Continent	-	-
13	Asia Minor Countries	-	-
14	South Asian Countries	-	-
15	East Asian Countries	-	-
16	Overview of Central Asia	-	-
17	North Asia	-	-

(Ortaokul Programı, 1949)

Considering the 1949 middle school curriculum the content of the geography course was heavier in the first-grade program. The second-grade program completely focused on the geography of continents, while the third-grade program dwelt on the geography of Turkey.

Table 11. Civics Course Topics in the 1949 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1 st Grade	Middle School 2 nd Grade	Middle School 3 rd Grade
1	Our School	Institutions That Keep the Society Alive	Democracy
2	Our Family	National Society	Rights and Assignments
3	Our Environment	Legislative Duty of the State	Our Citizenship Assignments
4	Our Municipality	Executive Duty of the State	Career Choice
5	Our Citizenship Assignments	Judicial Power of the State	United Nations and UNESCO

(Ortaokul Programı, 1949)

It is apparent from the table above that the all-grade civics course in the 1949 middle school curriculum aimed to help students learn citizenship rights and responsibilities based on a from-near-to-far principle. Additionally, the middle school second-grade program addressed each of the legislative, executive and judicial powers separately.

Social Studies in the Middle School Curriculum from 1970 to 1971

For the first time in Turkey, the 1968 primary school curriculum merged social studies-relevant courses and topics into one course called “Social Studies” (Dilek, 2001; Sağlamer, 1997; Sönmez, 1998; Sözer, 1998). In 1970, in accordance with the decision of the Board of Education, the middle school curriculum was revised and the 1970-1971 middle school curriculum was put into practice (Çatak, 2015, p. 81). This curriculum was published in 1973 (Keskin, 2002, p. 266). In the 1970-1971 middle school curriculum, the social studies course was planned with an interdisciplinary approach and allocated five hours per week in the first- and second-grade programs and four hours per week in the third-grade program (MEB, 1973). The table below shows the social studies units covered in the first-, second-, and third-grade programs of the 1970-1971 middle school curriculum.

Table 12. Social Studies Units in the 1970-1971 Middle School Curriculum

	Middle School 1 st Grade	Middle School 2 nd Grade	Middle School 3 rd Grade
1	Where and How Our Days Pass	Major Turkish States and Civilizations before Islam in the Middle Ages	What is Democracy? Democracy in Turkey
2	What are our Village, City, and Town like?	Where and How Islam Was Born and Where and How Islam Spread	Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth and Twelfth Centuries - the Fall of the Empire and Major World Events
3	Where Are We in Turkey?	Muslim Turkic States	Foundation of the New Turkish State
4	Who Lived Before Us in Our Country and How They Lived	Anatolia After the Tenth Century	United Nations and UNESCO
5	Apennine Peninsula and the Roman Empire	A New Era Begins	Our Population
6	Medieval Europe and the Roman Empire	Rising Period of the Ottomans	How We Meet Our Needs
7		Major and Important Regions of Europe	Some Important Problems of Our Economic Life

8		Slowdown and Decline Period of the Ottoman Empire	Energy Resources in Turkey
9		The Neighbouring States and Our Relations with Them	Industrialization in Turkey
10		There are More Countries and Nations in the World	Transportation and Communication in Turkey
			Domestic and Foreign Trade in Turkey

(MEB, 1973, pp. 51-59)

With the 1970-1971 middle school curriculum, the social studies course began to be taught for the first time under the title of social studies. However, this practice was not implemented throughout the country but in pilot schools. Another important improvement that stands out in this curriculum is the increasing importance of history issues within the units.

Conclusion

The social studies course that first appeared in the USA is a course that prepares individuals for life in terms of both its content and subdisciplines. Due to its multidisciplinary structure, the social studies course provides individuals with almost any information that they need not only during but also after their education life, thereby making their lives easier. Although not directly referred to as social studies, the social studies course was incorporated into the Turkish education system with the 1924 primary school curriculum, the first curriculum of the Republic, due to the similar content of history, geography and civics courses. The revised and newly designed curricula also incorporated the social studies course. This study examined the development of the social studies course in Turkey from 1938 to 1980. It demonstrated the content and development of the social studies course in the primary school and middle school curricula discussing the content of social studies-relevant courses (until 1968) and the content of the social studies course itself, which was introduced as a separate course in 1968. The social studies course has remained important since it was first included in the Turkish National Education System. Accordingly, the 1973 middle school curriculum highlights the importance of the social studies course as follows: “... to become good citizens, students need solid basic knowledge and general culture that help them to know their environment and nation and the world well and solve problems satisfactorily. Therefore, social studies topics have a key place in primary and middle school curricula” (MEB, 1973). The social studies course was long recognized as the fundamental discipline to prepare students to be “good citizens” and is still treated as a pivotal course that helps create “effective citizenship” desired in every society.

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Turkey considered the near term, but over the history books but scattered and owned by the 1938-1980 period, based on anecdotal information with the second part begins. In this section, both the ideological orientation of the events and the “ideological” institutions it has created are analyzed in detail. The period of national chief, II. World War and Turkey's position, democrat party period, after 1950, the national education guidance and counseling education, public rooms of the establishment and Turkish literacy activities, 1950-1980 spatial distribution and development of Turkey's industrial investments, 1950-1980 between Turkey's population policies and structural changes, Turkey's 1950-1980 period of urbanization to examine the geography of the context of population dynamics, developments that have occurred in the geographical areas, the developments occurring in the field of sports, May 27, 1960 coup, the newly formed political parties and actors after the 1960 terrorist organizations, Sep. 12, 1980 coup in Turkey between 1938-1980 teacher training policies, the establishment of village institutes and educational activities, advancements made in the field of science education in Turkey have been described in detail by experts in the field will give writers.