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Political Economy of the Democrat Party: A Dual Employment of Theory and Practice

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Abstract

A common idea related to Turkish center right parties' perception of economy presumes that these parties are to a large extent liberal in their policy making processes and discourses – an argument which deserves a little critical thinking on. Despite the considerably liberalized trend especially from the period of the Motherland Party onwards, the naïve agent of the center right, namely the Democrat Party, indicated a duality related to the discourse and employment of political economy. Analyzing the economic policy of DP through their party programme, government programmes and the implemented policies of the DP governments between 1950-1960, this paper argues that the DP in fact lagged behind a full-fledged liberal framework. Nevertheless, the party considerably changed the Kemalist worldview on the non-existence of a variety of interests in the society and began to build partnerships through prioritizing economics as significant ex mero motu.

Keywords

Democrat Party, political economy, liberalization, economic development, clientelism, Turkish center-right

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Introduction

Democrat Party's economic appeal might be summarized in semi-liberal and pro-developmentalist terms which targeted the pragmatic outcomes intensively instead of principal merits[1]. Despite usually stressing a liberal economy as though it were the main objective of the party; in fact the state investments in this era were expanded. Nevertheless, this attempt cannot be considered to be an ideologically statist maneuver since it was a pragmatic appeal to create the necessary infrastructure in a climate deprived of private accumulation. So, the issue was not as simple as labeling the DP economic policy as purely liberal or vice versa in international terms. Before dwelling on the duality of the DP political economy, it is first necessary to consider the conjunctures in which the DP carried out its policies.

The origins of the Kemalist political economy was based on the definition of the social structure that seemed to deny the existence of socioeconomic classes in Turkish society with its populist appeal. As the owners of the state who supposed to protect it (Toprak at al. 2009:200), with a claim to thinking of the interests of the state per se, elites formulated the economic programme for the benefit of the state instead of any particular group. However, this might also be interpreted as an implicit attempt to create the state as a new interest group demanding to ascend its own interests. Given that the center-periphery cleavage explains social fragmentation in Turkish society[2], this "autonomous" state attitude of the center makes it possible to hold the economy as a center-periphery issue both in the Kemalist and post-Kemalist framework.

Given that the main objective of the Kemalist regime was state-oriented, the state party CHP did not pursue a strictly unique economic policy. Given the two wars' disastrous influence, as well as the limitations imposed by the treaty of Lausanne, Turkey perpetuated a free-enterprise economic model throughout the 1920's (Ahmad 1981:157). Until 1929, the state played a complementary role through allowing an open economy in the course of active state support for private entrepreneurship. Some particular state subventions and incentives were also implemented while the state continued to hold its monopoly on some specific products such as sugar, oil, iron, and electricity. Due to lack of private capital and experienced private entrepreneurs, this system did not work well.

In 1929, together with the corrosive influence of the Great Depression, the obligatory application of Ottoman tariffs also expired and the government was now capable of implementing more protective import duties (Boratav 1981: 170). Following these events, the Kemalist government tried various models until 1933. After 1933, the Kemalist style of statism, which was defined as a "synthesis of etatism and protectionism", was implemented (Boratav 1981:167). Given that statism was placed in the CHP party programme in 1931, the issue gained Constitutional status in 1937. Thus, serious protections to limit foreign trade and capital as well as the nationalization of some particular foreign investments were implemented in a context in which the state was perceived as the omnipotent agent. With the collaboration of the First Five Year Plan of 1934-38, the state's role was reasserted as the manufacturer of vital goods.

By 1938 more than half of the manufacturing sector was in the hands of the state (Mardin 1980:39). The second plan covering 1939-1943 also intended to develop state-led heavy industries, but could not be implemented as efficaciously as the former one as a result of World War 2 (Hale 1980:101, Keyder 1979:15). After 1939, the Five Year Development Plan began to lose its tightening force, and as a result of a degree of foreign integration, statist policies were abandoned little by little. Along with transition to multiparty politics, the CHP paved the way to limited liberalization of economy, which was pronounced in the 1946 Five Year Development Plan. At that time, Turkey joined the IMF, and the World Bank in 1947, which should be counted as a considerable motive for the liberalization of the economy. US administration along with the World Bank recommended that Turkey reduce the role of the state on economy, as well as take some precautions to attract foreign investments (Aydın 2005:29). Therefore, small steps toward the liberalization of Turkish economy as well as foreign integration began before the DP came to power.

ECONOMICS AS A CENTER-PERIPHERY ISSUE AS WELL

The escalation of the policy from 1920 to 1950 suggests that the CHP could not pursue a coherent policy in the realm of economics. The prevailing intra-party debates of the CHP on economics resulted in the split of more liberal figures after the transition to the multiparty era. Especially during the Land Distribution Bill (the Land Reform) [3] meetings, voices of the intra-party

opposition in the CHP increased. This Bill revealed the CHP's notion of a classless society along with the fear of industrialization, urbanization and social change (Yılmaz 2005:205). However, some deputies, especially the ones coming from non-bureaucratic origin, were thinking in a different way from their party's official ideology. During these debates, Adnan Menderes rose as a protagonist protestor advocating property rights of the big landowners against the CHP elite's insistence on keeping state domination on private property. Underlining the necessity to embrace Western liberal and democratic values, Menderes pointed out that the main problem of Turkish economy was lack of capital, modern equipment, and know-how rather than the prevailing land system (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 17.05.1945, 118). Without refraining from a direct confrontation with his party CHP, Menderes stressed that property right is as sacred as the other fundamental rights which ought to be protected by the state. Thus, the Land Reform might be evaluated as a vital ideological shift on the rise of the DP[4].

Although it is hard to categorize either the DP as a totally liberal or the CHP as a totally leftist party regarding their economic policies, in a country where the majority of the population was peasants without professional occupations except farming, the nature of the fragmentation lay behind the center-periphery cleavage. Özbudun succinctly summarizes the differentiation of the economic appeals of the CHP and the DP below:

Both the quite lively intraparty debate within the RPP in the single-party era and the RPP-DP conflict in the 1946-1960 period centered around the proper role of the state in social and economic matters. This was a typical center-periphery issue in the sense we defined the term. The forces of the center (governmental bureaucracy and the bureaucratic faction of the RPP) called for greater state intervention in the economy and a broader scope for public economic enterprises, which meant greater power for the center. The forces of the periphery (commercial and industrial middle classes and more commercialized farmers), on the other hand, advocated less strict governmental controls and greater reliance on market and/or local forces –in other words, more power for the periphery. (1980:58)

This distinction became a source of self-identification for the DP claiming the representation of peripheral interests. Blaming the center for economic unrest, Menderes purported that "a kind of interventionist and bureaucratic

state structure occurred which gradually increased the costs of the state while hindering the economic development through emasculating the production and working life" (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 29.05.1950, 25). To this mentality, state costs should be minimized and the government should provide suitable conditions for the economic development of the periphery. It is also necessary to note that, the periphery was far from being homogenous so that the DP successfully amalgamated different groups' interests in a popular agreement against the bureaucratic center (Sunar 1990). People buttressed the DP as it was composed of a wide variety of interests regarding their socioeconomic backgrounds.

This center-periphery cleavage distinguished the DP economic policy from the CHP on the basis of style of policy making as well. The DP's relinquishing of the CHP's "state's lofty interests" discourse led the DP to try to please the masses via economic developments. Thus, perceiving liberalization as an instrument, the DP aimed to provide

2. Rapid economic development with special emphasis on agriculture

3. Particular benefits for its adherents via clientelist networks.

The concentration of the party on rapid development as well as particularistic interests, along with a tendency to apparently differentiate itself from the Socialist states led to an antipathy with planned economy. "First of all we do, then the plan will come later" mentality was dominant in the DP policies (Aydemir 1976:253-2)[5]. To the DP the planning became inefficient because of the unpredictability of developing economies (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 20.02.1958, 217-2). The DP was proud of itself since the DP governments obtained great successes more than a standard plan could envisage (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 20.02.1958)[6]. So, the DP dealt with rapid development and particularistic interests without depending on a binding plan. Furthermore, to the DP, liberalization was noteworthy until it served the daily needs of the party politics.

The map of the DP economic policy was shaped with the party programme of 1946 and the general economic principles were preserved in the 1951 Party Programme as well. One can observe the party's dual stance towards the economy in the party and government programmes that on the one hand, the party aimed to liberalize the economy while providing a certain

foreign integration. On the other hand, the rapid economic development incentive of the party made the DP act pragmatically regarding contextual concerns. As Demirel remarks, the DP's liberalism was far from being internalized (2011:55).

In Article 7, it was underlined that economic organizations are as necessary as political ones to obtain a harmonious development (*DP Programı 1946*, *DP Tüzüğü ve Parti Programı* 1951)[7]. This was an important shift of Kemalism that highly focused on the abstract and cultural aspects of Westernization[8]. Having identified economy as a priority, the DP altered the dominant mentality of the previous governments whose focal point was "cosmetic Westernization"[9].

The DP developed a liberal insight in the party programme. In that vein, defending a free market economy, Article 53 defined the role of the state as protecting competition in the market (*DP Parti Programı* 1946; *DP Tüzüğü ve Parti Programı* 1951). Correspondingly, in Article 43, the basis of economic life was defined as private enterprise, and the party saw private capital as a crucial requirement for reciprocal harmony of the state and private sector (*DP Parti Programı 1946; DP Tüzüğü ve Parti Programı 1951*). The party employed an alternative statism in Article 17 through ascribing a regulatory and if necessary performatory role to the state to fill the gaps per se (*DP Parti Programı 1946, DP Tüzüğü ve Parti Programı 1951*). So, the party dreamed of establishing a liberal economic framework but the contextual deficiencies were related to institutional weakness as well as the lack of private entrepreneurship, and the party saw no evil in attributing particular roles to the state, which was clearly oversize for a liberal system.

This duality can be observed in the DP's appeal to state productions as well. In the very beginning of its term, the DP raised its voice against the state's role on production. In that regard, while reading the first government programme, Menderes blamed the CHP economic policy for creating inefficient state economic enterprises (SEEs) that could only produce highly expensive goods and sold their products more expensively which resulted in the gradual escalation of state expenses (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 29.05.1950 p.25). This critical position towards the SEEs also took place in the DP programme one year later. In 1951, a new article was appended to the DP programme that planned to transfer state monopolies to private

investments. Accordingly, Menderes postulated that "We are quite decided to diminish the state monopoly to a minimum level (…) We can now announce that an era of state supremacy over the private entrepreneurship was ended" (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 9.05.1950, 28). The DP was also aware of the absurdity of the state's extensive role on production. To the DP, the state's bureaucratic way of thinking also complicated the task more and more. In that vein, Article 52 of the party programme underlined the necessity to manage the state enterprises with a commercial mentality, or even better, to privatize them.

Having ascertained the crucial function of privatization in theory, this theoretical stance of the DP could not be reflected in practice, and thus the DP governments could not fulfill the liberal expectations. On the contrary, both the number and the variety of SEEs rapidly escalated throughout the DP era. For example, Maritime Bank (*Denizcilik Bankası*), Tourism Bank (*T.C. Turizm Bankası*), the SEKA (Türkiye Selüloz ve Kağıt Fabrikaları A.Ş.), Nitrogen Industry Company (*Azot Sanayi A.Ş*), Meat and Fish Institution (*Et ve Balık Kurumu*), and Machine and Chemistry Industry Institution (*Makine ve Kimya Endüstrisi Kurumu*) were all established during the DP tenure (Albayrak 2004:308-6).

Regarding the foreign economy, the DP pursued a more liberal stance in theory and in practice particularly in its first five years. The DP government was open to utilizing the Cold War conditions as a source of economic gain. Taking stance next to the U.S. in opposition to the Soviet system, the DP government enjoyed economic aid coming from the Marshall Plan, and military aid coming from the Truman Doctrine especially at the beginning of the 1950's. As an economist, Celal Bayar, who also previously represented the liberal wing of the CHP governments, dealt with the economic problems and emphasized the necessity of foreign integration from the very beginning of the foundation of the DP (Bayar 1969:48). Besides, the DP elite usually visited and welcomed foreign statesmen and endeavored to conduct efficient commercial partnerships. In that sense, in 1954 the Foreign Capital Incentives Law (Law No: 6224) was implemented, which was functioning with some particular amendments up until 2003[10]. This law elicited freedom to foreign investors on entrance to the Turkish real estate market on an almost equal basis with Turkish investors. Nonetheless, this law should not

be understood as an entire shift to a free market economy since in Article 1, it was stated that: "Foreign capital to be imported to Turkey cannot acquire majority share of institutions performing activities consisting of monopoly within the Country". The Committee for the Encouragement of Foreign Capital was also founded by this law in order to diminish the bureaucratic process for foreign investments as well as to provide advice and information about the investment procedure. The Turkish Industrial Development Bank was another innovation of the DP government related to the foreign trade that provided cheap foreign currency credits to private investors. Foreign companies were also permitted to search for oil and refine it under the Petroleum Law[11]. Besides, the DP government tried to integrate the foreign economy which featured Turkey in a food and raw material supplier role in the international market (Aydın 2005:29).

The DP government, who was appreciated by the international actors for making Turkey a more reliable place for investments, was usually blamed by the CHP. For instance, the opposition harshly evaluated the Law Concerning the Encouragement of Foreign Capital and Petroleum Law as selling the country to foreigners and attempting treason (*Milliyet*, 26.04.1954). Nevertheless, the outcomes of these amendments were not as big as the clamors of the opposition, and such initiatives led to just a little expansion of foreign investments. As it was observed, less than 30 firms invested in Turkey during this period and their share was not more than 1 per cent of total private investment (Zürcher 2004:225).

On the other hand, due to particular economic unrest and loss of foreign support, the DP government in the second half of its governmental tenure engaged in protectionism to some extent. For instance, on 13 July 1954, a decree restricting the profit rates as well as prohibiting the import of some particular goods was instigated (*Milliyet*, 14 July 1954). By the same token, on 6 June 1956, the National Protection Law (*Milli Koruma Kanunu*) was reintroduced with particular changes[12]. To cope with the monopoly of particular goods and black-marketing, new laws also continued to elicit extensive rights to the government for controlling private companies, cooperations and factories, banning or limiting 'unnecessary' imports, and also defining what goods were considered unnecessary. That was an indicator of the diminishing of liberal rhetoric in the DP economic policy[13].

During the TBMM meetings of this law, independent deputy Hüseyin Balık accused the government since this law would make it impossible for capital to flow to Turkey. Thus, the DP coming to government with liberal incentives was now criticized for its repressive policies. This law was also abandoned in 26 December 1958 with some discounts on particular goods (*Milliyet,* 27.12.1958) and in 13 July 1959, import with waiver (imports without value allocation of foreign currency) was begun (*Milliyet,* 14.07.1959). Therefore, having identified the escalation from liberalism to protectionism, the DP pursued an ambivalent stance on the economy, which was determined by daily pragmatic needs.

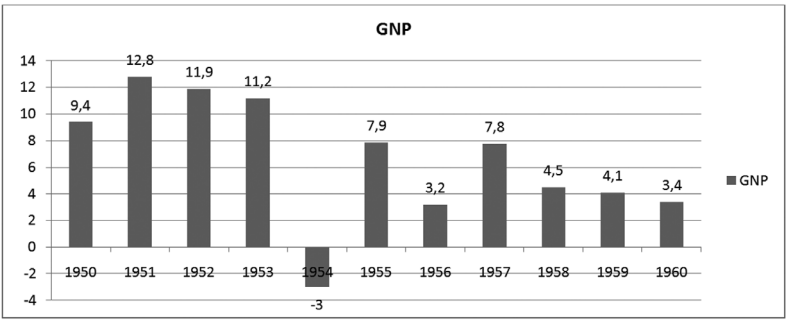
RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS AN ULTIMATE GOAL

Due to the DP's appearance claiming to represent the peripheral interests, the DP dealt to a large extent with economic development. As a party coming to power without obtaining the state elite's support, the popular gratification was the key point under the perpetuation of its support. This gratification could be attained by two approaches to the DP which were successfully applied. First of all, the economic status of the people should be improved. Secondly, the center's strict cultural oppression over the periphery should be lifted. Thus, the living standards of the people consisting of urban and rural producers, petit bourgeoisie, landowners and farmers in general improved, while the irritation of those people caused by the Kemalist cultural transformation project was lessened.

In the first and second government programmes of the DP, the necessity of making public investments in mechanization, road building, transportation and public works were underlined (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 29.05.1950, 29). Without any doubt, one of the focal points of the DP's election success in 1954 was the economic performance of the first and second DP governments. During the election campaign, Menderes was proud of the economic developments that they provided to the country, describing the economic development as unbelievable, since the state investments, state incomes, state budget, national income and capital investments increased, and roads, ports, irrigation lines, dams and power plants were constructed. The rapid development incentive of the DP was described by Bayar as follows: "In a country like Turkey that expects construction and action, we cannot mention the production of anything. We do not need excuses, we

do need projects" (Bayar 1969:140). In almost every speech, the DP leaders emphasized the importance of economic development while providing examples of economic scarcity from the CHP term as well as explicating their successful works in numbers. Yet, the rhetoric of development was not separate from their actual works.

Especially during the 1950-1953, the DP brought a considerable increase of Gross National Product as the graph below suggests:



Graph 1. Gross National Product 1950-1960. Data derived from Kalkınma Bankası Publications (*The Development Bank*) and the graph generated accordingly. For details, see Eşiyok (2006).

On the sectoral basis, in 1953 industrial growth reached 19,2 percent, which was a very considerable success for the DP government (Eşiyok 2006:13). Sugar, cement, textile and energy production were major industrial sectors to which the DP government paid enormous attention. In that vein, the Turkish Cement Industry Company was established and the production of cement increased more than 400 per cent during the DP term (Aydemir 1976:256). In 1950, only four sugar factories existed in Turkey, and in the first four years of the DP government, eleven new sugar factories were founded, which brought the increase of sugar production more than %150 per cent within four years (Albayrak 2004:313). The capacity of the textile factories tripled between 1949 and 1960 and from 1950 to 1960, energy production was almost quadrupled via new dams and thermal power plants (Aydemir 1976: 314, 256).

Road building was one of the most astonishing services of the DP government. In 1950, the length of the roads in Turkey was not more than 266 km, but

increased to 1216 km in 1958 (Aydemir 1976:236). This was not only a construction attempt, but also a sociological tie that connected villages to the cities, enabling peasants to share the daily news and to engage in daily politics. Moreover, with the increase of transportation opportunities, road building expedited rural areas in reaching the market (Keyder 1979:20).

As an outcome of industrialization and the increase of transportation opportunities, migration to metropolitan areas accelerated. The urban share of the population rose from 18, 5 per cent to 41,5 percent between 1950 and 1975 (Danielson and Keleş 1980:269). In 1950, 100 000 people were living in squatter dwellings, which corresponded to 12,8 per cent of the population. During the DP tenure, as a result of rapid migration, this number increased to 250 000, corresponding to 17, 9 percent of the population (Danielson and Keleş 1980:273).

Especially after 1954, inflation rates and exchange rates rose. The foreign trade deficit escalated from US$22.3 million to US$256 million between 1950 and 1960 (Kazgan 1999:101). The devaluation of the Turkish Lira in 1958 could not enhance the export rates (Aydın 2005:33-2). The CHP criticized the populist and unstable economic policies of the DP government, using the motto of "election factories", for being inefficient, populist and wasteful (Özbudun 1980:60). Thus, the astonishing domestic economic development of the first DP term was not adequately sustained. However, without any doubt, the DP government brought a rapid economic resurgence through formulating pragmatic economic policies. Here, the minimization of the state role on economics was not attained, and the party preferred to implement conjunctural policies where the state had a more significant role than simply regulation.

SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURE

In 1950, Turkey was an overwhelmingly rural and agricultural economy where 50 per cent of GDP originated in agriculture, while almost 80 per cent of the working population was hired in agriculture (Derviş and Sherman 1980:87). At that conjuncture, one of the most distinguishing aspects that made the DP economic policies so popular was the party's emphasis on the agriculture sector. In 1925, the Kemalist government provided subsidies to protect peasants, through abolishing the tithe, as well as a price support

system, but after 1935 the CHP policies changed so that small and medium farmers were in trouble due to newly imposed taxes, especially during the Wartime (Keyder 1979:15-3). In that sense, the DP as the representative of the peripheral interests and relatively close to the problems of the rural areas, arose as a new hope for the peasants. Aydemir also notes that Menderes developed a romantic relationship with soil, which made him a person who not only knew but also loved agriculture (1976:240).

This personal interest was exposed in the party programme as well. Approximately a quarter of the articles of the DP programme cover specific issues directly related to peasants and agriculture. According to Article 56 of the DP programme, the fundamental source for the country's development depended on agricultural development. In accordance with the DP programme, commercialization of agricultural products (Article 47), increase of productivity and of profit of the farmers (Article 57), state-led importation of agricultural technology and mechanization (Article 65), introduction of specific credits and of cooperation opportunities for the agriculture sector (Articles 59, 60, 63), and definition of the state function as a complementary and supportive agent rather than the rival of the farmers (Articles 64, 65) were by and large fulfilled by the DP governments.

Especially in the first government programme, the agriculture sector took an eminent place through focusing on the increase of production, and this tradition was continued in the subsequent programmes as well. While reading the first government programme, Menderes posited the state apparatus to be a conflictual element of agriculture with these words: "(…) it is impossible to build a pretentious and expensive state institution on an agricultural organism which depends on plough (*karasaban)* and ox-car (*kağnı*) as the previous government tried to do it" (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi* 29.05.1950, 28). This critical position of the traditional style of production, while defending the peripheral interests against the bureaucratic center, shaped the agricultural policy of the DP.

The DP pursued an agricultural modernization attempt along with some particular state subsidies. Moreover, as stated above, the construction of new roads and the increase of transportation enabled the peasants to reach new markets. Farmers also appreciated the abandonment of the road tax and the animal tax during the DP government. The area sown expanded to

almost %70 per cent from 1947 to 1955 (Mann 1980:198). The capacity of silos in order to preserve the products increased from zero to 2 million tons (Aydemir 1976:248). The production of wheat, rice, milk and meat was more than doubled in the DP era (Albayrak 2004:338). Regarding the agricultural mechanization, Aydemir notes that the number of tractors increased from 4 000 to 44 000 in between 1950 and 1960 (Aydemir 1976: 248). To Zürcher, this number was about 1 750 in 1950 and reached approximately 30 000 in 1952 (2004:325). It is clear that the agriculture sector gained an enormous impetus thanks to the government policies as well as the foreign aid during the DP period. As an additional factor, especially in the beginning of the DP term, good climate conditions also helped the increase of harvest[14]. As a result of these efforts, right after the DP came to office in 1951, agricultural growth reached a peak point, which was 19,8 per cent (Eşiyok 2006:13). Furthermore, the expansion of the agriculture sector brought the increase of popular buttress on behalf of the DP.

RESPONDING TO PARTICULARISTIC INTERESTS

Another distinguishing aspect of the DP policies was its ability to respond to particularistic interests via clientelist networks. Clientelism refers to reciprocal win-win relations of unequal partners where the patron or political party gets the support of its adherents; in return for this backing, the adherents enjoy some particular benefits. To Sayari, clientelism operates "as a mechanism which regulates social relationships between individuals and groups with differential access to economic and political resources" where horizontal attachments are weak (1977: 103). To Eisenstadt and Roniger, the basis of clientelism in Turkish society dates back to the Ottoman times where aghas flourished in the clientelist networks (1984:84-3)[15]. In the following years, local notables continued to be located between the state and the periphery, but to what extent they satisfied the local expectations was extremely suspicious (Güneş-Ayata 1994b). Given the Kemalist elites' antipathy to any kind of particularistic interests except from the state (Heper and Keyman 1998:260, Güneş-Ayata 1994b:50), the dissatisfaction of the specific local expectations was not seen as a problem in the eyes of the Kemalist center. In that vein, Güneş Ayata posits that: "Being cut-off from the periphery was such a positive value that until 1946 elites did not go to their constituencies even for votes, arguing that to do so would

legitimize primordial and local interests, which were a threat to national unity" (1994b:50). Thus, the so-called 'high politics' (Heper and Keyman 1998:260) of the CHP found it pejorative to meet particular interests in exchange for political support. Concerning this, the demands of the people by the DP might be evaluated as an increase in the political rationality as well (Demirel 2011:131).

After the transition to multiparty politics, the DP's emergence as the representative of peripheral interests opened the doors of clientelism in Turkish politics. In that sense, Sunar configures the CHP strategy as exclusionary in that they legitimized their representation of the common good, whereas the DP would challenge this strategy with its inclusionary, mobilizing and populist style (Sunar 1990: 749). Given that clientelism may grant more participation of the people in political processes, and create a sense of togetherness that "desire[s] to establish the notion of 'us' ", Güneş-Ayata notes that "the most important factor in the recurrence of clientelism is the generation of expectations and hope, the individual's feeling of being protected, or being able to depend on some "patron," be it an individual or an organization" (Güneş-Ayata 1994a:22, 24). Thus, the masses who were tired of the state's imposition of unification of the people in secularist and nationalist terms, as well as of the blindness to the variety of interests, began to perceive that their interests were protected by the DP against the bureaucratic center.

The clientelism of the DP might be categorized into two sub-groups, which are the constitution of win-win relations with business circles, and secondly, the provision of pork-barrel grants especially in the rural areas. The DP was able to attract different interest groups' votes with its relatively close cadre to the masses, including private entrepreneurs, businessmen and big farmers (Zürcher 2004:321, Mardin 1973). The founding members of the DP in the provinces and towns to a large extent consisted of merchants who had some particularistic expectations from the government[16]. Thus, the DP government became a hope for private entrepreneurs in the first stance. The party then built strong relations with the business community and granted some prerogatives in bureaucratic engagements, license, contracts, import quotes, cheap credits and loans, and in return, the DP attained not only the support of those business circles but also considerable donations

to the party (Sayarı 1975:129-2). Besides, the number and influence of the Chambers of Commerce expanded during the DP era, and they worked to a large extent in cohesion with the government.

On the other hand, the DP government allocated pork-barrel grants such as roads, waterways, schools, factories, dams, agricultural equipment, public services, and mosques. Being a supporter of the DP meant being close to those services as well. Toleration of illegal squatter housing as a result of urbanization could be counted as one of the efficient aspects of the clientelism of the DP as well (Özbudun 1981:261). Kırşehir, a province since 1924 was made a district of Nevşehir by the DP government due to the city's abandonment of the DP in the 1954 elections. As seen in the Kırşehir example, withdrawing support from the DP brought some precise punishments, at least caused deprivation of vigorous public services.

Sunar briefly purports that "The clientelist incorporation of the rural population, the patronage-induced private initiative, and the great but haphazard social dynamism fueled by populism - all of these have not only outlived the DP, but have become permanent features of center-right politics, dominant in Turkey since 1950" (Sunar 1990:752). After the DP period, parties, especially the center-right ones, tried to obtain and stay in power with clientelist relations, and when they were in government, their priority was to meet the demands of their clients in order to survive. Thus, this kind of populist policy-making trend began with the DP governments.

CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, despite liberal economic rhetoric, the DP's non-ideological employment of economy was far from being coherent. Instead, the party preferred to formulate daily policies to attain rapid development with special emphasis on the agricultural sector. In so doing, the party saw no harm on the establishment of patron-client relationships. Thus, the DP economic policies brought two new dynamics to Turkish politics. First of all, the party began to consider the existence of a variety of particularistic interests in Turkish society without ignoring the occupational fragmentations. Secondly, in relation to this awareness as well, the party disseminated clientelism in Turkish politics through personal relations as well as pork-barrel grants. Having identified the nature of the bureaucratic Kemalist

tradition which dominated Turkish politics previously and which was not eager to work for the support of the masses, this time the DP as a pragmatic actor openly worked for the electoral buttress considering the particularistic interests as well. This led to a focus on economic development to improve the living standards of the people as a charming alternative to the Kemalist cosmetic modernization mission. In spite of these two acquisitions, the DP's economic policy did not depend on a liberal worldview adequately. Without representing a linear fashion in the economy, the party preferred to take a stance in accordance with daily needs.

Notes

1 For an analytical summary of the scope of the Democrat Party's liberalism, see Tanel Demirel. (2005). Demokrat Parti. In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt:7: Liberalizm*. pp.480-529.

2 Shils' conception of center-periphery firstly employed by Şerif Mardin for the explanation of Ottoman and Turkish society that the centrist, secular and culturally homogenous center vis-à-vis heterogenous periphery distinguished from each other on the basis of their value systems. For details see: Mardin, Şerif. (1973). "Center Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics"*Deadalus,* 102: 169-190. See also: *Özbudun, Ergun. 1976. Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey. Princeton:Princeton University Press; Heper, Metin. (1980). Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Empire with Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century, International Political Science Review* 1 :81-105. (without using the center-periphery terminology) Frey, Frederick W. (1965). The Turkish Political Elite (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1965).

3 For details of this bill, see *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 14.05.1945. For Menderes' objection speech to this law, see *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 16.05.1945; 17.05.1945; 01.06:1945; 04.06.1945. One of the most conflictual issues of this bill was the expropriation of extensive lands without giving the right to farmers to choose the pieces among their expropriated lands. In these debates, Şükrü Saraçoğlu accused Menderes of trying to hinder the distribution of land to the land workers (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi,* 04.06.1945 p.106). Thus Menderes was portrayed

as a capitalist who took sides with the big landowners rather than the workers.

4 Yılmaz notes that Celal Bayar took a position next to Atatürk and İnönü in his speeches promising the land distribution to the peasants (2005:205). Despite this stance before the Land Distribution Bill meetings, Bayar was known for his relatively liberal tendencies regarding his previous governmental positions.

5 This might be perceived as a classical right wing attitude. While describing the free market transition, Polanyi states that "Laissez-faire was planned; planning was not" Karl Polanyi. (2002). *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press. (4th ed.) p.141.

6 On the plan debates, Tanel Demirel posits that the critiques of the DP were meaningless due to the scarcity of reliable statistical information, as well as scarcity of capable cadres who could make and implement qualified plans in those days (Demirel 2011:143).

7 In 1951, this Article was protected but the requirement for the trade unions to stay out of politics was added. See: Demokrat Parti Tüzüğü ve Programı 1951.

8 For a clear evaluation of this paradigm shift, see Nilüfer Göle. (1986). *Mühendisler ve İdeoloji*. İstanbul:Metis.

9 Cosmetic Westernization concept was firstly utilized by Ayşe Kadıoğlu in order to indicate the imitative character of the Ottoman and Turkish modernization. See: Ayşe Kadioglu (1996). The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(2), pp. 177-194.

10 Previously, in 1951 a new law was implemented to relieve the strict limitations for foreign investments, but the government could not get successful results from this law. See Law No: 5821.

11 For details of the debate about this law, see *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi,* 07.03.1954. Law No:6326.

12 Law No:3780 was first implemented in 1940 and the scope of the law was expanded in 1944 to give the right to government to ban the importation of 'unnecessary' goods (*Resmi Gazete* 4417). Ironically, this law was usually criticized by the DP elite when they were in opposition.

13 For details of this law and related debates, see *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi* 04.06.1956 and 06.06.1956.

14 Nevertheless, after 1954, high growth rates in agriculture could not be sustained, and as the exchange rates increased, imported products of agricultural machines would be less attainable for the farmers (Albayrak 2004:338). Throughout the DP era, growth rates in agriculture in 1954 only indicated a negative value, which was -13,9 (Eşiyok 2006:13). Moreover, the growth rates declined to single-digit numbers in the last years of the DP government.

15 In fact, this did not end with the Ottoman State. For the political influence of aghas and land ownership in the Republican era, see Özbudun in Akarlı and Ben-Dor 1975. pp.44-4; Ayşe Kudat "Patron-Client Relations: The State of the Art and Research in Eastern Turkey" in Akarlı and Ben-Dor 1975. pp.61-87.

16 Albayrak states that within the three month period after the establishment of the DP, 40 out of 111 founders of province or town DP organizations consisted of merchants, and the closest number to this occupation group was 16 out of 111 that consist of lawyers (Albayrak 2004:76).

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Demokrat Partinin Ekonomi Politikası: Kuram ve Uygulamanın İkircikli Yapısı

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Öz

Türk merkez sağının ekonomi algısı ile ilgili genel kanı, bu partilerin politika ve söylemlerinde büyük ölçüde liberal bir eğilim içinde olduklarını varsayar ki bu varsayım bir nebze eleştirel bakmayı hak etmektedir. Özellikle Anavatan Partisi dönemiyle birlikte liberalleşen trende rağmen, merkez sağın toy temsilcisi olan Demokrat Parti söylem ve politik ekonomiyi ele alış bakımından ikircikli bir yapı göstermektedir. Demokrat Parti'nin 1950-1960 yılları arasındaki ekonomi politikasını parti programı, hükümet programları ve uygulanan politikalar açısından analiz ederek; bu çalışma, DP'nin aslında mükellef bir liberal anlayışın oldukça gerisinde kaldığına işaret etmektedir. Bununla birlikte, parti, Kemalist dünya görüşünün yok saydığı çıkarların çeşitliliğine dair görüşü değiştirmiş, aynı zamanda ekonomiye kendiliğinden kıymetli bir mesele olarak öncelik vererek, çeşitli ortaklıklar kurmaya başlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Demokrat Parti, politik ekonomi, liberalizasyon, ekonomik kalkınma, klientalizm, Türk merkez sağı

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Политическая экономия демократической партии: двойственность теории и практики

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Аннотация

Общая идея восприятия экономики правоцентристскими турецкими кругами предполагает в значительной степени либеральные тенденции, которые звучат в дискурсах этих партий, однако это предположение заслуживает критического анализа. Особенно несмотря на либерализировавшийся тренд с периода партии Анаватан, при рассмотрении дискурса и политической экономии Демократической партии как представителя правоцентристов выявляется двойственная структура. Данная работа, анализируя экономическую политику Демократической партии 1950-1960 годов с точки зрения программы партии, государственных принятых и реализованных программ, показывает, что на самом деле Демократическая партия осталась достаточно позади истинного либерального подхода. Наряду с этим, партия изменила свой взгляд о многообразии интересов, отрицаемых кемалистами, а также рассматривая экономику в качестве самостоятельной важной составляющей, начала строить различные партнерские отношения.

Ключевые слова

Демократическая партия, политическая экономия, либерализация, экономическое развитие, клиентелизм, турецкий правоцентризм

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