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(Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article)

A HISTORICAL EVALUATION ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE IN TURKEY (1983-1989)

TÜRKİYE'DE TOPLUMSAL KALKINMA PRATİĞİ ÜZERİNE TARİHSEL BİR DEĞERLENDİRME (1983-1989)

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ABSTRACT

Main aim of this study is to reveal the development policies implemented in Turkey between 1983- 1989, the reforms made for the economy to be outward oriented in globalization process. the problems experienced in the transition from liberalism to neoliberal economy policies. Turgut Özal was selected as prime minister in the general elections of 1983 and 1987 and ultimately became one of the important names related to the economy. As soon as Özal became the head of economy, he made financial adjustments to ensure Turkey's integration with the European Economic Community in line with globalization. He then implemented the framework of the economic and development plan in line with the January 24 decisions and the principles set out in the party programme. During his premiership, he wanted to complete infrastructure works as soon as possible for the development of the industrial and service sectors. He also wanted to eliminate regional differences and carry out Southeastern Anatolia Project to develop Southeastern Anatolia Region. During his period, political bans were lifted, and Turkish society gaining the right to make individual applications to the European Court of Human Rights, experienced important developments in terms of democratization. In this research, an attempt was made to penetrate the period by making use of official publications, archival documents, Cumhuriyet and Milliyet newspapers with an interdisciplinary approach. In addition, the process of the plan's assessment in Parliament from the Budget Commission and discussions in Parliament were examined. With this study, it is aimed to contribute to the literature by revealing the effects of neo-liberal policies in education and other fields, which were followed as an economic model together with globalization during Özal's premiership, the extent to which the new system benefits economic and community development, with its historical and sociological dimensions.

Keywords: Community Development, Economy, Fifth Five Year Development, Neo-liberalism, Turgut Özal.

ÖZ.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı 1983-1989 yılları arasında Türkiye'de uygulanan kalkınma politikalarını, küreselleşme sürecinde ekonomiyi dışa açmak için yapılan reformları, liberalizmden neoliberal ekonomi politikalarına geçişte yaşanan sıkıntıları ortaya koymaktır. Turgut Özal, 1983 ve 1987'de yapılan genel seçimle başbakan ve nihayetinde ekonomiye yön veren önemli isimlerden biri olmustur. Özal, ekonominin basına geçer geçmez Türkiye'nin küreselleşme doğrultusunda Avrupa Ekonomi Topluluğu ile bütünleşmesini sağlayacak düzenlemeler yapmıştır. Daha sonra 24 Ocak Kararları ve parti programında belirtilen ilkeler doğrultusunda ekonomik ve kalkınma planının çerçevesini uygulamaya koymuştur. Başbakanlığı süresince, sanayi ve hizmet sektörünün gelişmesi için alt yapı çalışmalarını bir an önce tamamlamak istemekteydi. Diğer bir isteği ise bölgesel farklılıkları ortadan kaldırmak, Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesini kalkındırmak için Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesini nihayete erdirmekti. Onun döneminde siyasi yasaklar kaldırılmış, Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesine bireysel başvuru yapma hakkı kazanan Türk toplumunda demokratikleşme açısından önemli gelişmeler yaşanmıştır. Araştırmada disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımla resmi yayımlardan, arşiv belgelerinden, Cumhuriyet ve Milliyet gazetelerinden faydalanılarak döneme nüfuz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca, planın Bütçe Komisyonu'ndan meclise geliş süreci ve meclisteki tartışmalar incelenmiştir. Çalışma ile Özal'ın başbakanlık döneminde küreselleşme ile ekonomik model olarak izlenen neo-liberal politikaların, eğitim ve diğer alanlardaki etkileri, yeni sistemin ekonomik ve toplumsal kalkınmaya ne derece fayda sağladığı, tarihsel ve sosyolojik boyutlarıyla ortaya konularak literatüre katkı yapmak istenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Beşinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma, Ekonomi, Neoliberalizm, Toplumsal Kalkınma.

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Introduction

The concept of community development in general evokes the idea of taking the society from its current point to a higher level in all respects. In this respect, while the concept of community development is constantly up to date, it also includes many different phenomena. Many definitions have been made about this concept. Each definition emphasizes different concepts and aspects according to the needs of the period and society. Considering the historical process, while the concept of development in the period up to World War II was associated with economic growth, after the war with the end of colonialism and rising of the nation-state concept, the human dimension was added to the concept of development, and social welfare gained importance. In the First Five- Year Development Plan community¹ development is stated as "community development is a work that understands the conduct of various services and studies, the establishment of organizations such as associations, cooperatives, and the cooperation of the administration and communities".¹ The Third Five-Year Development Plan describes it as:²" Development is a multidimensional grace that includes structural and organizational changes in production and distribution activities, productivity increases and skill accumulation that follows these changes, and improvements in economic and social institutions and rules."

According to Midgley, development refers to a process of social change that results in urbanization, the adoption of a modern lifestyle and new attitudes, as well as the process of economic development. He states that development has a connotation of well-being, which suggests that people increase their incomes and improve their level of education, housing, and health.³ In accordance with the definitions, the concept of community development was mostly associated with economic development until the 1970s. Many people regarded development as an economic progress. The years 1945-1970 are defined as the golden years of economic development approaches. It is envisaged that democracy will prevail in societies and a modern society structure based on human rights will be achieved thanks to the social welfare provided by growth.⁴

Theorists worked on development were also interested in the economic dimension of development at first, but the lack of a relationship between economic development and social progress has demonstrated the need to associate economics with other disciplines.⁵ The economic development plans adopted in the 20th century have yielded positive results for both Western and developing countries. With the Reference of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) to the social and economic aspect of development in 1962, the social dimension of the concept gained importance. Sociologists, especially Comte -considering history as a progress process-Durkheim, Spencer and Weber trying to explain the causes of community change by adopting evolutionist thinking have also influenced the concept of community development. By the 20th century, movements such as modernization, addiction and neo-liberalism developed with the recommendations of economists formed the basis of the concept of community development.8 These movements associated social development more with economic progress. By the second half of the 20th century, issues such as social welfare, human and environment gained importance and it became apparent that they could not be improved only through economic progress. Therefore, after the 1970s, new development approaches such as neo-liberal development approach, Washington Consensus, Post Washington Consensus and sustainable development were adopted. When it comes to development policies, it is noticed that states have adopted different policies such as inward - outward looking policies, and the transition from national development to local development policies. After the theoretical framework, the process of Turgut Özal's coming to power and the neo-liberal

¹ Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, Birinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, 1963-1967, Ankara, 1963,101.

² Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, Üçüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, 1973-1977, Ankara, 1973, 154.

James Mıdgley, Social Development: The Developmental Perspective in Social Welfare, London: Sage Publications, 1999, 2; See also: Ali Arslan ve Mustafa Çağlayandereli, Sosyoloji Günlük Yaşamı Anlamak (Sociology Understanding Daily Life), İstanbul: Paradigma Akademi Publishing, 2006, 377.

⁴ Halil Buyruk, "Ekonomik Kalkınma Hedefinden Bin Yıl Kalkınma Hedeflerine: Eğitim Kalkınma İlişkisine Dair Bir Çözümleme, *Journal of Mülkiye* 40/1, 2016, 111-142.

⁵ Figen Ereş, Toplumsal Kalkınma, Ankara: Pegem Akademi Publishing, 2020, 35.

⁶ Yunus Turhan, "Kalkınma Kavramının Tarihsel Süreci ve Etimolojik Analizi", *International Journal of Economics and Administrative Studies*, 29, (2020), 135.

⁷ Ereş, Toplumsal Kalkınma, 36

⁸ Ereş, Toplumsal Kalkınma, 41.

⁹ Sena Palabıyık, Geleneksel ve Yeni Kalkınma Kuramlarının Analizi: Türkiye Örneği, (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2009, 75-89.

policies followed and the social projections of these policies will be evaluated in the context of development chronologically.

1-The Political Atmosphere in Turkey and Outward-Orientation Initiative: 70's and 80's

For Turkey, 1970s were the years when people lived in poverty due to economic crisis, student and terrorist incidents increased due to the failure of democratic processes and social unrest arose. Turkey's attempt to resolve the Cyprus issue with military intervention in 1974 without the consent of the USA brought about first economic and then political instability. Likewise, arms and economic embargoes imposed by European countries and especially the USA, worsen the economy. Although the governments of the period took austerity measures and promised to invest in employment and public interest, they couldn't prevent social unrest. Investments stalled, factories were closed, unemployment took its toll, and the long queues became a part of daily life. President of the Justice Party (AP), Suleyman Demirel, who won the by-elections in 1979, stated that he would not establish the Nationalist Front and formed a minority government with the support of right-wing parties. In order to stop the rot, Demirel appointed Turgut Ozal¹⁰ who was a member of Electrical Power Resources Survey and Development Administration and also his adviser to the Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry in 1967 and imposed "January 24 Decisions¹¹ that included economic arrangements that would enter Turkish political and economic history.¹² Terrorist incidents and social unrest that increased despite all the measures taken in 1980s concerned the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). Besides, this concern increased due to the uncompromising attitudes of political parties in the parliament and TAF sent a letter to the President Fahri Koruturk stating that the necessary measures should be taken about anarchy and disuniting and social peace should be ensured.13

During this period, social polarization and conflict were at an extreme level. This conflict also spread to the base of society as well as institutions. First of all, the social events that took place in Maras, then Corum and Fatsa, as well as the murders of former Prime Minister Nihat Erim and President of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions Kemal Türkler, are important in terms of demonstrating the internal unrest in Turkey and the dangers in terms of life safety. 14 In this environment, Turkish Armed Forces under the chairmanship of the Chief of General Staff Army Commander Kenan Evren, seized power in the morning of September 12, 1980. The parliament and government were dissolved, then immunity of deputies was lifted. Kenan Evren, the Chairmanship of the five-member National Security Council (NSC, assigned the former Commander of the Naval Forces Bulent Ulusu to form a government in September 20, 1980. Bulent Ulusu's appointment of Turgut Ozal as Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Economy pointed to liberal policies to be followed in the economy.¹⁵ Consisting of the NSC and the Constituent Assembly, the Consultative Assembly started the preparations for the new constitution, and the election process started after the 82nd Constitution was completed and entered into force. As well as vetoing the party founders, NSC kept the list of candidates for parliament under strict control. Former politicians debarred from politics were prohibited from joining political parties in addition to making political statements. In this environment, on the verge of poverty and economic and political instability, addressing to both urban and rural areas and representing both right and left on the social base, three political parties, namely the Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP), the Populist Party and the Motherland Party, joined the

For Özal's detailed CV See: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (*BCA*), 030.11.1/324.5.1 (Attachments.-1); Also see: İslam Ansiklopedisi, C 34 (stanbul, TDV Yayınları, 2007, 105-106; *TBMM Albümü* (1983-2010), C. 3, Ankara: TBMM Publishing, 2010, 1145; Hikmet Özdemir, *Turgut Özal*, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap Publishing, 2014.

January 24 Decisions see: Adil Temel vd, "Türkiye Ekonomisinde Yapısal Değişim (1946-1999), journal of Planning, DPT'nin Kuruluşunun 42. Yılı Özal Sayı, (2002), 58; See also: Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi (1923-2000), C 3, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publishing, 2005, 502-503; Salih Köse, 24 Ocak 1980 ve 5 Nisan 1994 İstikrar Programları Çerçevesinde Yapılan Hukuki ve Kurumsal Düzenlemelerin Mukayeseli Analizi, Ankara: DPT Publishing, 2000, 28-36.

BCA, 324.5.1/30.11.1.0; BCA, 512.80.16/30.11.1.0; Emre Kongar, 21. Yüzyılda Türkiye, İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi Publishing, 2006,187; Tevfik Çavdar, Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi: 1950'den Günümüze, 3rd., Ankara: İmge Kitapevi Publishing, 2004, 258; Behçet Kemal Yeşil Bursa, Miraçhan Yılmaz, "İngiliz Yıllık Raporlarına Göre Türkiye'deki Ekonomik Gelişmeler (1970-1980)", Journal of Turkology, Milli Mücadele Özel Sayısı, 2019, 193-194; Baskın Oran, Kenan Evren'in Yazılmamış Anıları, İstanbul: İletişim Publishing, 2006, 176.

¹³ Milliyet, 3 January 1980; Bülent Tanör, İki Anayasa 1961-1982, İstanbul: Beta Publishing, 1986, 93.

¹⁴ Cumhuriyet, 20 July 1980.

¹⁵ *Cumhuriyet*, 21-22 September1980.

general elections of November 6, 1983.¹⁶ Among these parties, Motherland Party came to power in December 1983 and its Chairman, Turgut Özal became the Prime Minister and held this position between 1983 and 1989.

As stated in the previous section, the liberalization program was announced with the 24 January Decisions due to the problems experienced in production and import, famine, and high inflation. Since the country administration would demilitarize after the general elections, presenting the Fifth Five Year Development Program to the legislative assembly with one year delay, preparation of the plan by the new assembly and putting it into operation on 1 January, 1985 were approved. For this purpose, "A Transition Program for 1984" was prepared. ¹⁷ Ozal, the Undersecretariat of State Planning Organisation (SPO) that was founded for the realisation of social and economic development with the 1960 Constitution, was the architect of the statism for private enterprise. During these years, Ozal carried out statism and interventionism together. However, it is thought that Ozal elected Prime Minister on December 24, 1983 when the Fourth Five Year Development Plan came to an end, switched to privatization programs on the grounds of "the bourgeoisie had become stronger" and a certain stage had been reached in the development of private sector. For this reason, Ozal's period was regarded as the end of the "Planned Period". Ozal, who had been the only administrator of the economy since 1980, tried to apply his liberal economic view to Turkey's economic and social structure on an ideological basis. Thereafter, IMF prescriptions would be applied harshly and wholesale under the new conditions. Ozal aimed for full membership to the European Community by removing all the barriers to trade through reforms and economic liberalization program. ¹⁸ In this context, the social structure was driven by the policy of no longer giving importance to social welfare policies, to protect the weak against the strong. In the 1980s, while the liberal capitalist class was trying to dominate the society, they took it as a duty to adopt many elements of the new economic model to the lower income groups. It was obvious that the content of slogans such as "free enterprise, middle class, strike it rich" is ideological. The expressions such as " free import would prevent profiteers selling cigarettes and consumer products, black-marketeering would be eliminated, high interest rates would increase savings, the privatization of government business enterprises would spread property to the public" were carried into daily life by pens and media organizations close to the government. In this environment, revenues from various places were funded and laws were enacted in this direction, the first of which is Mass Housing and Public Partnership.¹⁹

During the Motherland Party government, more than necessary regulations were made to attract foreign capital the country attractive for foreign capital and to facilitate investment affairs. With the "Build-Operate-Transfer" model, it was aimed both to attract foreign capital and to solve the infrastructure problems of the country. Thus, services such as highways, bridges, dams, etc. were provided with those implementations. After the World War II, with the pressure of international (IMF and World Bank) institutions, import substitutions and government interventionism policies in developing countries were replaced by market economy due to the Washington Consensus. Even though developing countries such as Turkey were reluctant in this regard, they had to adopt neo-liberal policy to get loan. Özal's outward oriented policies and his closeness to the international institutions, the abolition of price control in domestic markets, the inability to control international capital movements, the reduction of restrictions, the privatization of government business enterprises, the encouragement of foreign capital and the transition to free regime had partially revived the economy. This situation suited the high-income group in society. However, re-establishing financial balances,

For detailed information about the election process of the parties, see: Mete Kaan Kaynar, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Siyasi Partiler 1923-2006*), Ankara, İmge Yayınevi, 2007), 174-190; *Cumhuriyet*, 21 May 1983; *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi (1923-2000)*, C. 4, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005, 67-69; *Cumhuriyet*, 25 December 1983; *Milliyet*, 25 December 1983; The MDP of retired General Turgut Sunalp, supported by Evren, became the third party with 24% of the vote (71 deputies). Necdet Calp's HP came in second with 30% of the votes (117 deputies), and Özal's ANAP took 45% of the votes (211 deputies) and took part in the parliament as the first party.see: https://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/1983-2007-yillari-arasi-milletvekili-genel-secimleri/3008 (17.05.2021); *Cumhuriyet*, 7 November 1983; *Milliyet*, 8 November 1983; Sina Akşin, *Kısa 20. Yüzyıl Tarihi, İstanbul:* Türkiye İş Bankası Publishing, 2014, 433; Oran, *Kenan Evren'in*, 185-186.

MGK Tutanak Dergisi, Section 165, 23 October 1983; T.C Resmi Gazete, Issue 18174, law no: 2897, 27 October 1983, 18-19; Milliyet, 28 September 1983

Kongar, 21. Yüzyılda, 413-414; TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Vol 1, Period 18, 25 December 1987, 41-71; William Hale, Türk Dış Politikası (1774-2000), İstanbul: Mozaik Publishing, 2003, 171-186;

¹⁹ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, Ankara: İmge Publishing, 2008, 156; Mehmet Barlas, *Turgut Özal'ın Anıları*, İstanbul: Birey Publishing, 2001, 69.

Ozlem Eştürk, Türkiye'de Liberalizm: 1983 - 1989 Turgut Özal Dönemi örneği (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı, 2006, 79.

reducing labour wages and agricultural incomes to increase competitiveness in international markets, the declines in civil servant salaries and bonuses led to increased disturbances in low-income group and eventually to strikes and work stoppage.²¹

The ANAP government tried to ignore these institutions as in the military period by using the contradictions and weaknesses in the structure of the union movement. The main goal for the urban poor, was to create large masses devoid of class consciousness. In the following years the urban municipalities coming under the control of ANAP played a key role in achieving this goal. The deed transfer for slums, zoning amnesties, zoning permits devoid of urban planning, and the transfer of urban rents created by rapid urbanization to the poor led to high expectations in low-income groups. Boratav described ANAP period social and economic development policy as a strategy that tries to satisfy the masses "has dominated the distribution policies of ANAP."²²

With the outward-oriented policy, marketing the international capital through the World Bank was aimed while with the inward-oriented policy it was aimed to strengthen the domestic capital against labour in accordance with domestic and foreign free market policy. Decisions against labour in accordance with the request of the capitalist circles close to the government reveal the social welfare and the distortion in income distribution. These policies, which protect the capitalist class and suppress the labour led to the emergence of the new rich. Neo-liberal policies did not reduce the rent and advantage mechanism created by the state, and corruption increased even more compared to the old period. In the future, Turkey's economy and the future of society would be handed over to market actors, who will be named with a new term such as siphoning.²³ It is seen how the new practice, inequality in income distribution in community development affects the class structure. IMF's stabilization and World Bank's structural adjustment policies adversely affected development in Turkey.

Although some import products were banned in the changes made with the import regime during the ANAP period, the list of prohibited import goods was constantly updated for those who had ideological affiliation with the party. The arbitrariness and privileges to people and groups close to the government aroused doubts about economic stability and permanence.²⁴ In this period, favour, nepotism and bribery became a part of the economic process. Mafia and politics were intertwined and even dominated the business world and illegal relations, black money captured society and the market. Between 1980 and 1990, an unprecedented outward expansion took place in the history of the republic. The decrease in exchange rates and the support of exports by the state had a great impact on this. "The fictitious export method" used to benefit from government incentive spread practices that were against both social and market morality; while the state was defrauded trillions of liras under export incentive, much larger amount of money was laundered. The state withdrew from the economy, but it was handed over to international organizations. In this period, arbitrary practices were seen rather than planned economy. For example, with a government communiqué published in the morning, the existing customs duties were changed; after the desired result was obtained, the communiqué on the same subject was changed and reinstated in the afternoon. Sociologist Kongar interpreted this situation as: fictitious export, corruption, moral and non-competitive practices were placed in a certain ideological and philosophical framework, and the process of outward expansion and privatization in economic policy was initiated under the name of shrinking the state. He explained that due to the principle of creating and supporting new investors, the rules on competition were overturned, the Law on the Protection of the Turkish Currency was repealed, and the Turkish Lira was made freely exchangeable for foreign currency according to the prices formed against foreign currencies in the world stock markets. Expressing that artificial money distribution, support to the public sector and imaginary growth and economic development were shown high, Kongar argued that this phenomenon, called convertibility, is the basis of the transition from a protectionist system based on import substitution to an open and competitive economy.²⁵

How did this economic model effect Turkey? This kind of growth brought with it debt and foreign dependency. Although providing foreign investment was enabled, the sectors succumbed to international competition as the production capacity was not strengthened. It was desired to solve the problems of urbanization and education by increasing the national income. The ANAP government saw raising the welfare of the nation in increasing

²¹ Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisat Tarihi*, İstanbul: İş Bankası Publishing, 2014, 266-267.

²² Boratav, Türkiye İktisat, 152-153; Soner Yalçın ve M. Ali Birand, The Özal, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap Publishing, 2012, 341-343.

²³ Boratav, Türkiye İktisat, 169.

²⁴ Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık*, 266-267.

²⁵ Kongar, *21. Yüzyılda,* 414-419.

new job opportunities and employment. For this, the secondary and higher education program should be aimed at the manpower required by the social and economic goals. Welfare policy, employment and unemployment issues were included in the ANAP government program aiming to transition to a planned economy. In the program, it was stated that a rapid development should be realized to reduce unemployment by creating employment opportunities for the increasing population, the employment in the agricultural sector had decreased due to technological and economic reasons, and it was only possible to close that gap with the service and industry sectors. It was emphasized that to use the resources effectively and efficiently it was essential to make fund raising efficient investments, and manpower planning in secondary and higher education should be made in accordance with the needs of social and economic life.²⁶

Liberalization in the financial system started with the liberalization of time deposits and loan interests, the gap in the Banking Law and the public's ignorance caused the emergence of new bankers and the interest competition of small banks at the same time. Since the legislation binding the banks and the law prohibiting usury were not applied to the bankers, the public was encouraged to save with daily and monthly high interest rates. The impoverished people found the 12% monthly interest rate of the bankers who advertised in the newspapers, radio, and television attractive and gave everything they had to the bankers. Due to the financial turmoil and vicious circle in the economy in 1982, the bankers either went bankrupt or fled abroad, causing many people to suffer.²⁷ In this period, appointments were made to senior management institutions, focusing on engineers invited from outside the public sector and even from abroad. Individuals without an economics degree were appointed to the economic institutions other than the Central Bank. The laws, directions and even traditions facilitating public services were rendered inoperable under the name of "reform" and "modernization."²⁸

2-First Five Year Development Plan (1985-1989) Dissenting Voices and Evaluations

Özal, becoming the Prime Minister after the government he established received the vote of confidence, put the Fifth Development Plan, which was supposed to come into effect in January 1984, on hold to place it in a framework suitable for his own party and government program. Later, a development plan was started to be prepared to cover the years 1985-1989. With the January 24 Decisions, the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan based on import substitution and state intervention, was put aside. Along with the preparations for the civil period, preparations for the first part of the new development plan were started and the preparation of the detailed part was left to the government that would rule the country for five years.²⁹ Then, primitive capital accumulation in the economy was replaced by capitalism, the economy became centralized, individualized, and politicized.³⁰ In his statements, the Prime Minister Özal expressed that if January 24 Decisions hadn't been taken, Turkey would have faced a great trouble, cost of living would have increased and that would cause social unrest and rebellions.³¹ In March 1983, the outline of the plan was revealed, and in this context, it was revealed by the authorities that measures such as solving the problem of unemployment and educated intermediate staff and reviving the construction sector were taken. However, lack of employment, and unemployment reaching millions prevented unemployment insurance.³² During the presentation process of the plan prepared in June 1984, different voices were raised both in the parliament and in the public about the development plan.

Milliyet newspaper gave brief information on the subject with the headline "The Fifth Five-Year Plan is being Prepared" in its issue dating May 20, 1984. In the news, it was stated that the DPT had completed its work, the development rate was targeted at 6.5 %, the plan should be discussed in the Council of Ministers in May and sent to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for approval by the parliament at the end of June. The news followed as while a growth rate of between 4% and 5% was targeted for 1985, it was predicted that this rate would reach between 6 % and 6.5 % within five years. Chairman of the Union of Chambers Mehmet Yazar stated that the preparations of development plan were going on and they would be completed in June, and said

²⁶ H. Sami Uyar, *Özal Döneminde Sosyal Politika (1983-1989)*, (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Kocaeli Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Çalışma Ekonomisi ABD, 2008, 42.

²⁷ Emin Çölaşan, *Turgut Nereden Koşuyor?* İstanbul: Tekin Publishing, 1989, 169-170.

²⁸ Erdinç Tokgöz, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi Gelişim Tarihi*, Ankara: İmaj Publishing, 213-214.

²⁹ *Cumhuriyet*, 25 July 1983.

For detailed information see: *Cumhuriyet*, 16 November 1982; Alev Özkazanç, *Türkiye'nin Neo-Liberal Dönüşümü ve Liberal Düşünce*, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce-Liberalizm Vol. 7, İstanbul: İletişim Publishing, 2005, 639.

³¹ Hüseyin Yayman, *Türkiye'ye Yön Veren Konusmalar-Turqut Özal'ın Mirası*, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap Publishing, 2018, 103

³² Cumhuriyet, 28 March 1983; Cumhuriyet, 21 August 1983.

"we are going to present our views and suggestions to the government in June. We have some shortcomings due to our general assembly. We will present it as soon as it is complete." Three days later, Milliyet newspaper shared important information with the public with the headline "The Fifth Five-Year Plan Rejects IMF Targets". It was stated that the plan rejected IMF's growth scenarios and was prepared by one of the former heads of DPT Economic Planning Department Prof. Merih Celasun and Ozal's brother working at the World Bank. In the news, it was reported that in the growth model rejecting IMF's growth scenarios in the scope of "stand-by", concentrated on the industry sector, the growth rate in industry was determined as 8% and that rate was shown to the IMF as being between 4.1% and 5.2%. And in the rest of the article, it was stated that the reason for keeping the growth rate high in the plan was the fight against unemployment, and the target of reducing the inflation rate below 10% would be realized in recent years, and the transition to convertibility would be in the last period of the ANAP government. The news was concluded with the statements that the studies on the balance of payments alternative suitable for high growth rates were going on, and an increase of 12% in exports and 9% in imports was targeted.³³ On June 19, Prime Minister Ozal clarified the development plan in his fifth press conference. Stating that they had completed the biggest reform in administration, he summarized the economic situation as: "We will become a full member of the EEC (European Economic Community); its administrative package will ensure the regular, rapid and economic execution of public services, the administrative jurisdiction will be dynamic and waste will be prevented, the state organization will be provided with a simple but rational structure." In his speech he also explained with examples how they made changes in the socio-economic structure in Turkey with the reforms they had made during their time in office, namely in six months. According to him, the new plan was different from the others. He saw the main function of the state as investing in infrastructure and transitioning to a competitive free market economy. He listed the biggest issues in Turkey as inflation, foreign exchange income and unemployment. He also put forward various arguments to resolve economic issues. The focus on exports to increase foreign exchange revenues, and to abolish all kinds of monopolies, including tobacco and tea, as a requirement of the free market economy. Between the lines of his speech, he expressed his projects for development. In this context, the annual electricity production was supposed to increase, and industry and villages would be supplied with electricity. Özal also clarified the projects he deems important. Economic, social and administrative measures would be implemented in order to minimize the development and development disparities between regions. In this direction, Atatürk Dam and Southeastern Anatolia Irrigation Project, the second Bosphorus Bridge, Ankara-Istanbul expressway, nuclear power plant, Karakaya, Altınkaya and other important projects would be continued rapidly. He stated that while the per capita income was 1080 dollars in 1983, it would be 1353 dollars at the end of the plan period. After giving information about the plan, Özal concluded his speech by saying, "I can say that we will reach an important stage on the path of development at the end of 5 years, with the help of Allah Almighty, if we walk decisively towards the goals that have been determined correctly."34

Özal always supported the idea of easing the burden of the state and using the savings of the people. With this aspect, many projects would be put into practice and the unemployment problem would be solved. In his speeches, he expressed on all occasions that the core meaning of the humour of "let's sell the bridge" was the income of the bridge. He explained that some mindsets told they would not sell the bridge, and that he replied to it by saying, "This bridge is the bridge of the nation, not the state." According to him, transportation services would be completed quickly with the income guarantee system. The Public Partnership Fund would also serve this purpose. If this path was not followed, Istanbul would be in trouble in the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge, as in the first bridge. At the same time, Özal said that the road between Istanbul and İzmit could not be completed for 15 years and continued his speech on the subject as follows:

"How are we going to handle it? Government facilities are clear. Urfa Tunnel also stopped. I also know its fate. Let us present the Keban Project. He will take the Gene Keban Project in his pocket, and he will produce electricity there again, but if I can collect 200-300 billion from the Keban Project, from the savings of my worker and citizen, we will transfer the money to the Karakaya Project first, at the expense of my worker and citizen. We have been dealing with the project for eight years, it will take another five years at today's pace, but a one-year electricity loss is twice that of Karakaya. It's twice the price today, that is, what we've paid so far. Atatürk

³³ Milliyet, 23 May 1984.

³⁴ Milliyet, 20 June 1984; Cumhuriyet, 20 June1984; For detailed information see; Engin Güner, Özal'lı Yıllarım, İstanbul: Doğan Publishing, 2014, 48-60.

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Dam was tendered for 105 billion liras. With today's prices, 105 billion liras come out in a year with electricity production. So, if the project is delayed by a year, your 105 billion liras are gone. I assure you this. If we go with this mindset, that is, if you say "the state should do everything, let the citizen do nothing", then the Atatürk Dam will last for 15 years, and you will lose 105 billion liras, maybe more, every year." 35

The "Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (1985-1989), which was prepared by the SPO Undersecretariat, reviewed and approved by the High Planning Council, was decided by the Council of Ministers on 15 June 1984.36 Five days later, on 20 June, the development plan started to be discussed in the Parliamentary Budget Committee. Prime Minister Özal and his brother, SPO Undersecretary Yusuf Özal, explained the plan to the commission. Özal said, "The Five-Year Development Plan is the direction of the MP government". Reminding that he did some of his military service in the SPO, and that he took part in the preparation of the first, second and third five-year plans, Özal explained that those in the SPO staff came to important positions in the country's administration. He said that in the stability program implemented since 1980, the main target was to correct the deteriorated balances and to turn it into an open system, and that economic problems would be eliminated by taking great distance in this regard in the new plan. He stated that Turkey would have the chance to reach the same level with the industrialized countries of the West. In the continuation of the speech, he explained that without solving the balance of payments, Turkey could not develop and the biggest structural change in the world would take place within the 4 years with the measures taken, and that economic development would not be trouble-free.³⁷ However, some comments were in the form of a document that, for the first time, a plan has ceased to be industrialized.³⁸ Another criticism of the plan was made secretly behind closed doors without seeking the opinion of different segments and the parliament. Bilsay Kuruc, a former SPO Undersecretary and a current professor of economics, also agreed with this view.³⁹

Populist Party Secretary General Aydin Guven Gürkan stressed the importance of the agreement by saying that "Forcing a plan that will determine Turkey's destiny for 5 years to be discussed without allowing a serious parliamentary resistance and social evaluation is beyond our limits."40 On the other hand, in his column titled as " Dazzling Eyes" in the Republic, İlhan Selçuk criticised that as of January 24 decisions the IMF prescription would last 9 years, from 1980 to 1989, and at the same time Ozal was the only authorized person.⁴¹ From the opposition parties HP's Tülay Önay and MDP's Fenni İslimyeli claimed that the plan was evaluated according to a repealed law, submitting a proposal requesting the issue to be examined in the Constitutional Commission, and that proposal was rejected. On the other hand, HP's Aydın Güven Gürkan stated that "The government is acting in a self-opinionated manner and in this case, we will have to apply to the Constitutional Court." In addition, the Deputy Prime Minister explained that they had to prepare the plan in a short time.⁴² As the plan was continued to be discussed in the Budget Committee, the political atmosphere became more and more severe. MDP Deputy Ferite Melen said in summary that "Development has been left in favor of the private sector. It was clear from the first day that the plan would not be successful." Fenni İslimyeli from the party drew attention to the importance of the subject as" If the plan is not revised for the benefit of the citizens, it will be a document of collapse of middle class".43 The Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party (SODEP) Yiğit Gülöksüz expressed that the staff of SPO planning the next five-year lacked of technical skills and the technical quality of the plan was low.44

Even before the plan was presented to the parliament, it had a great impact which attracted different areas, and brought positive and negative discourses about it. The former SPO Undersecretary Yıldırım Aktürk said that "if this plan is implemented successfully, it will lead to a structural change in Turkey", while Hikmet Çetin, one of the former ministers, said "I do not consider the plan serious". He claimed that serious plans could not be made in the light of the basic principles of this government. He stated that there would be no plan with a document that

³⁵ Yayman, Türkiye'ye Yön Veren, 157; Barlas, Turgut Özal'ın, 164.

³⁶ *BCA*, 509.230.8/30.18.1.2. (Attachments-2)

³⁷ *Milliyet*, 21 June 1984

³⁸ *Cumhuriyet*, 12 June 1984.

³⁹ Cumhuriyet, 18 June 1984

⁴⁰ Cumhuriyet, 17 June 1984; Milliyet, 18 June 1984

⁴¹ Cumhuriyet, 22 June 1984

⁴² Milliyet, 21 June 1984; Cumhuriyet, 21 June 1984

⁴³ Cumhuriyet, 26 June 1984

⁴⁴ Milliyet, 25 June 1984

did not adequately evaluate the potential and resources in the society. He stated as; "A development plan cannot be made on the basis of an idea and policy that considers it necessary to get rid of SEEs in Turkey's conditions." By trying to remain neutral, TÜSİAD announced to the public that it was not very difficult to reach the 6.3% development rate on the subject, but that both the government and other sectors must do their part. ⁴⁵ Confederation of Turkish, on the other hand, stated that unemployment was not prioritized and even unemployment insurance was not mentioned at all, that income distribution was not given importance, that it would be wrong for retirement to be 50 years old for women and 55 years old for men, and that leaving everything to the private sector would be an easy thing to do. ⁴⁶ The common belief in the success of this plan was that it was dependent on the private sector.

On 26 June, the Development Plan was brought to the parliament. On the same day, Prime Minister Özal made a speech in the parliament. He indicated that the opposition considered the plan as unsuccessful but that was technically not possible since they were in power for 6 months. Expressing that the inflation did not emerge suddenly but existed since previous periods, he explained that with the "January 24 Decisions" that entered the world literature, Turkey experienced a new development move. He exemplified that the policy of keeping prices constant in the past had led to unfair profits and black market. He emphasized as an example that if the price of oil was 100 liras, it would be sold twice as much under the counter in grocery stores or somewhere else. In the continuation of his speech, mentioning the accelerating inflation rates in 1983, he stated that the 4.4% development rate for 1983 would be around 2.9% contrary to the target at the end of the year, and that a great effort and sacrifice would be required to reach the 1984 target of 25%. Özal hoped that the inflation would decrease in the medium and long term. At the end of his speech, he underlined that they did not increase the prices except for the fertilizer and electricity because local elections were going to be held and their aim was not to gain a seat, but to avoid new troubles in the country. At the same time, he ended his speech by mentioning that the shanty house and title deed issues had been resolved and that their reputation in the world had increased.⁴⁷ While completing his speech in this way, Özal did not directly make a statement regarding the development plan. However, it is possible to see the rising voice of the opposition in the same session.

HP Istanbul Deputy Tülay Öney made the biggest criticism of the planning and free economic policy that had been followed for four years on behalf of her party. Öney explained that although the inflation rate for 1983 was 30.6% in the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan signed by the members of the government, the inflation reached that figure in the last three months. Öney talked about why development plans were important and what had happened since the past. After stating that the 1961 and 1982 Constitutions required economic, social and cultural developments to be carried out within a certain plan, that it was a great danger to deprive economic development and growth of social content, and that economic and social policies were intertwined in the plans prepared since 1962, "Since then, a continuous pace of development has been achieved for 15 years and the cost of development has not been shared with the public." she said. While speaking she referred to the past years. Mentioning that there was not inflation, unemployment and depreciation of the Turkish Lira in the past years, she stated that the foreign debt, which was 17 million dollars at the end of 1979, reached a total of 23 million dollars as of 1983 with the new economic model implemented between 1980-1984. Considering the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan, which had been under discussion for two days, she stated that by 1990, the total foreign debt would be close to 30 billion dollars, while she claimed that the government would spend the savings for future. Öney persistently continued to talk about the losses of the new economic model. For that reason, she mentioned that the planned economy would be more suitable and beneficial for the conditions of Turkey. She reminded that there was an economic depression due to the Cyprus Incident and 1974 Oil Crisis but it was a mistake to put them on the planned economy. She argued that the biggest mistake of that period was to surrender the economy to the free market mechanism.

Öney also talked about the foundations of the new economic system in her speech. She stated that the new system, which was summarized as constantly raising the exchange rate, keeping the interest rates above the inflation, raising the prices of goods and services in accordance with the free market conditions, was necessary in the conditions of that day to prevent black marketing in the words of the Prime Minister. Clarifying that

⁴⁵ Milliyet, 21 June 1984

⁴⁶ *Cumhuriyet*, 27 June 1984.

⁴⁷ Turkish Grand National Assembly Tutanak Dergisi, Vol. 4, Period 17, 26 June 1984, 502-505

carrying on that policy for a long time would cause inflation and inextricable problems, she didn't neglect to address her question "Why hasn't the economy been stabilized although the new economic system has been implemented for four years?" to the power. Öney mentioned the development plan again at the end of his speech. She explained that liberal economic policies implemented since 1980 would not be valid for Turkey to a large extent, as understood from the statistics. Öney concluded her opinion on the subject as follows: "In the Fifth Plan, it was foreseen that the private sector should invest at a rate of 58 percent and that the private sector should invest at a rate of 42-43 percent. Why? Because we must. In such a system, it is not possible to ensure the private sector to make huge investments.⁴⁸

Fenni İslimyeli, MDP Balıkesir Deputy, stated in the parliament that the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan would not be a cure for Turkey's problems. He mentioned that while unemployment continued numerically, the per capita income would decline against the dollar, and it was time to discuss all those in the parliament. İslimyeli discussed the government's six-month action together with the previous period and accused the government of not listening to the voice of the opposition. In the continuation of his speech, he sought an answer to the question "What was visible at the end of 6 months of action?" He frankly expressed that after the January 24 Decisions, high inflation, stagnation of investments, the financial difficulties of people, unemployment and high cost of living continued that day, and addressed the parliament with the question "What has the result of Özal's stabilization measures followed so far shown us?" He continued to talk about inflation, income distribution imbalance and lack of production in his speech. He emphasized that there was an increase to raise funds for State Enterprises and the price was paid by the consumer, and that that policy was devoid of social policy. Towards the middle of his speech, he stated that it was not right to expect savings from citizens who had financial difficulties by increasing their prices from calico to cigarettes, gas to salt. He sought an answer to the question: "Is it possible to restrict the consumption of people having consumption difficulty in these living standards?" He regretted to inform that the national income, which was 59 billion in 1981, decreased to 54 billion dollars in 1982 and to 51 billion dollars in 1983 and while the per capita income was 970 dollars in 1976, it decreased to 700 dollars in 1984. Expressing that while the government was negotiating with the IMF for Turkey's economy, it wasn't widely discussed in the Turkish parliament, İslimyeli finished his speech as "It is time to say no to this altogether".49 On 27 June, the Assembly decided on the days and times of the Fifth Five-Year Plan to be discussed in the General Assembly and the principles to be followed in the negotiations. Accordingly, the proposal to start the negotiations on July 9, 1984 between 14.00-20.00, to hold 6 hours speech duration for each political party, 8 hours for the government and the commission in total, 10 minutes for personal speeches, and to complete the negotiations in the 5th round was accepted.⁵⁰

In the first meetings of the Parliament on the development plan on July 9, Prime Minister Özal touched upon almost every issue and made a long speech of 8 pages, and then negotiations began. He emphasized that the preparation and implementation of the Second Five-Year Development Plan was his own responsibility, that there was no debate about planlessness and lack of programming in Turkey that day, and that each party had to give importance to the plan according to its own program. In his speech, Özal also touched upon the structural change in the Turkish economy and its benefits. He stated that the Development Plan would be implemented at a time when there was an inflation problem and that there would be a significant structural change in Turkey, and that there would be a great increase in exports with the outward orientation. He brought to the attention of the parliament that while exports based on industrial products were at the level of 2 billion dollars in 1979, in 1984 it was 7 billion dollars in the first 5 months, and their main purpose was to ensure stable growth, and that the economy would be regulated within economic rules. To meet the demands of the developing domestic market and exports, to protect the consumer and to ensure a stable supply of goods were aimed by his party. To do that, tax, budget, exchange rate and monetary policies and especially SEE had to be coordinated effectively. Özal also listed what needed to be done for the plan to reach its goal. As a matter of fact, the production structure would be determined according to Turkey's current and foreign competition conditions, while at the same time not causing shortages of good, and there would be a fight against inflation which was one of the most important principles of the plan.

⁴⁸ TBBM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 26 June 1984, 509-511.

⁴⁹ *TBBM Journal of Official Reports*, Vol. 4, Period 17, 26 June 1984, 517-519.

⁵⁰ *TBMM Journal of Official Reports*, Vol. 4, Period 17, 27 June 1984, 535.

Towards the middle of his speech, he also touched upon the agriculture, mining, energy, and residential sectors. He stated that technological and modernization goals would continue to achieve the desired goals in agriculture, and that the private sector would be encouraged in mining, and that priority was given to the development of geothermal energy resources that would meet the energy needs in Turkey. Özal mentioned that for oil production and exploration there would be focus on the private sector and external resources. At the same time, he overemphasized that it was grounded on developing communication services uninterruptedly and reliably, at the end of the plan listening to at least two radios all over the country and watching television broadcasts clearly. According to his plans, infrastructure and superstructure services for tourism would be completed, and the resources accumulated in the Mass Housing Funds would accelerate private sector housing investments. In the continuation of his speech, Özal stated that the incentive measures would continue to differ in practice according to the regions to ensure that investments were balanced. He emphasized that they would take the necessary measures to increase savings and ensure investments from domestic sources.

Özal also mentioned how the outward orientation would be. He underlined that necessary measures would be taken to integrate with the EEC, relations with the community would be rearranged according to the policy of outward orientation, and the quotas for imports would be reduced gradually, taking into account the balance of payments. He also explained that exports would be encouraged to protect the consumer, the free exchange rate system would be implemented gradually, and the payment conditions would be improved by providing foreign debt. He declared that they would give priority to social and economic infrastructure investments in public expenditures and that taxes would be used in a way that encourages investment. He claimed that waste would be prevented, and savings would be achieved in the public sector.

Özal continued his speech by addressing the socio-cultural dimension of development. He emphasized that unemployment was caused by the inability to provide employment against the increasing population, and that the goal of the plan was to make the economy capable of feeding the population. He stated that the Development Plan was prepared to reduce unemployment and increase employment with its social and economic dimensions, and unemployment could not be eliminated in the short term but could be controlled. Then, he addressed educational dimension. He explained that they set new targets for the education system to contribute to employment, attached importance to in-school and non-formal education and through non-formal education, the population of all ages who could not attend school would be provided with a profession that met the needs of the market. Vocational acquisition programs would be focused on by increasing the schooling rate at all levels. He argued that as skilled technician training at high school level had not been undertaken till then, it would be one of the most important decisions of the plan. He also stated that they wanted to support the technician education in Vocational Schools with special projects.

Özal emphasized that social insurance should not encourage early retirement and non-employment. He stated that the necessary incentives and assistance for the agriculture-based industry would be provided to the farmer, as there would be no village without school, the problems of villages such as potable water and electricity would be solved. He emphasized that they would make a regional development plan to for development by using regional resources. Towards the end of his speech, he presented sections from the city life. Özal stated that they would make necessary arrangements to make city life liveable according to Turkish customs and that the most important tools to be used in the implementation of the plan were the residential issue, zoning and shanty amnesty, and then the housing fund and administration, and ended his speech with these statements: "Turkey has reached a certain point, I believe that it will be possible to reach even better points within the next 5 years." ⁵¹

In the same session, Antalya Deputy Aydın Güven Gürkan on behalf of HP Group objected to the plan for many reasons. He insisted that the first of these was the growth rate, as the 6.3% growth rate was the lowest rate that a Republican Government had targeted in a plan. He explained that the government did not trust himself and the society, and that the growth target was 7% in the First and Second Five-Year Development Plans. Gürkan continued his speech by giving examples from the past. He stated that the target of the Third Five-Year Development Plan, which was formed under the chairmanship of Ferit Melen, who is among us today, was 7.9%, the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan was prepared despite the adverse developments in the world, the parliament at that time considered it necessary to increase the gross domestic product 8.3% and the gross

⁵¹ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 9 July 1984, 637-645; Özdemir, Turgut Özal, 206-207.

national product 8% despite the adverse developments in the world. In the continuation of his speech, he mentioned that both the opposition and the government agree on rapid growth despite anarchy, energy shortages and importation problems. He indicated that in the First and Second Plans the growth targets were achieved despite the adverse effects of climatic conditions, and even though that day's conditions were better, the experts preparing the plan and the government promised 6.3% growth. He emphasized that they rejected the mentality that considered Turkey's future worse than its past, and with the January 24 Decisions in 1980, the Fourth Five- Year Development plan in other words the strategy of solving problems by growing, was shelved.

Gürkan also mentioned how the January 24 Decisions caused great difficulties for Turkey. He explained that those decisions prevented the economy from being productive and caused great economic waste, and that many investments were stopped due to credit shortages. In the continuation of his speech, he mentioned that the agricultural sector had stopped because there was no spraying, fertilization and machine repair in agriculture and believing total savings would increase by keeping the interest rate above the inflation rate would mean being unaware of economics. He explained that high deposit interest was the biggest obstacle to investments, and the inflation was not because of more consumption than production. In the same speech, he complained about the Prime Minister's not listening to the experts that day as he had done in the past with this question: "Why are we condemned to less welfare by being told to consume less?" He claimed that the plan foresaw investments to be made by the private sector, and that the government was eager to privatize everything from education to education, health, raki and cigarette production to boron mines with an ideological approach. At the same time, he ranted to parliament that if the government invested and undersold those investments to the private sector ideologically, the nation would not put up with that. Towards the end of his speech, he made an assertive statement that according to the plan, five years would be problematic in terms of agriculture, that Turkish agriculture was rapidly being pushed into a turndown as of January 24, and that the biggest weakness of the Development Plan was that it did not include any single problem determination regarding income distribution. He mentioned that the irregular income distribution accelerated by the January 24 Decisions had gradually increased and had become more disrupted than in countries such as Pakistan, India and the Philippines. Mentioning that the plan did not have a target on whether reducing the number of unemployed people, Gürkan concluded his speech with the hope that the plan would exceed the targets and brings prosperity, social justice, and productivity to the country.⁵²

The next day, MDP İçel Deputy Mehmet Koçabaş gave a speech on the status of the plan according to sectors. Koçabas listed seven items causing the foreign capital not to come to Turkey for years. He stated that Özal's claims such as "There is no alternative to this plan, it is the Marxist who criticizes the plan" was a denial of mind. He argued that Özal's economic policies eroded wealth and destroyed property. In the continuation of his speech, he explained that people turned to usury by selling their properties with the flood of bankers, and ANAP, defending this system despite its base, insisted on missing that system. He said the party was on the side of the big capital not on the side of poor and community despite they were whom brought them to power. Towards the end of his speech, he talked about the deficiencies in the plan. He emphasized that they couldn't find any information on how to solve the SEE problem in plan, that the biggest problem awaiting the country would be the energy issue, that the ties between energy and industry was broken and thus there had been a great decrease in energy production. He explained that the plan was insufficient regarding this, no funds were allocated to Etibank for the promotion of banking, no emphasis on the Fertilizer Industry, rather than protecting and promoting industry import was emphasized, and Turkish Industry was kept in the background in the import and export regime. At the end of his speech, he wished the plan to be beneficial for the country with the words: "There can be no development without national self-sacrifice, which is not in the plan." 53

In the same session, MDP Rize Deputy Turgut Halil Kunter held the floor and said that the policy followed in the economy "will result in transferring all enterprise power and industrial accumulation to private enterprise." He mentioned that it was necessary to take some measures inland to increase foreign competitiveness. He reproached that the SEE price policies were not effectively coordinated in the fight against inflation. In the continuation of his speech, Kunter touched upon the tax policy, business life and youth problems under three

⁵² TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 9 July 1984, 646-651.

⁵³ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 11-16.

separate headings and wished that the plan would be beneficial for the country.⁵⁴ Ahmet Sap from MDP, on the other hand, expressed the deficiencies in the plan regarding transportation and transportation services. Another issue was on investment. He stated in the parliament that there were great decreases in investment and oil, agriculture and industrial production.55Musa Öğün, from the same party, touched on the radio and television issues and explained that the targets in the plan were far from meeting the needs, giving examples from the Atatürk period and Turkey in the 1970s.⁵⁶ Unlike other deputies, HP Bursa Deputy Mehmet Kemal Gökçora made a 6 page long speech on the agricultural sector. Even though Gökçora found the targets of the plan insufficient, he expressed his satisfaction with some items.⁵⁷ That speech constituted the longest speech on agriculture in the negotiations until then. Party members started to express their views on certain issues towards the end of negotiations. Malatya Deputy from the same party, Ayhan Fırat, stated that a large amount of agricultural land would be flooded with the Karakaya and Atatürk Dams, and criticized the moves in the plan towards agriculture, as in Gökçora's speech.58 Mustafa Izci from MDP, on the other hand, explained that the energy policy of the plan was a fantasy far from seriousness and national interest.⁵⁹ Kazım İpek, who made the final speech of the session on behalf of the MDP Group, said: "The market economy is the economy of interest; It is ruthless, extremely open to exploitation." He made the shortest speech in the session with the words that the new economic policies brought nothing but economic depression to the country and the middle class, that is, the middle pillar, whose development is important, has collapsed. 60

Ordu Deputy Ali Mazhar Haznedar, who took the floor on behalf of the MDP on July 11, expressed his criticisms of the residential sector with its social and economic dimensions. He explained that sufficient residence could not be produced with the investment level aimed in the plan, and that the loan interest and repayments determined by the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Board did not appeal to low- and middle-income families. Haznedar concluded his speech with the wish that all the problems be reviewed for the benefit of the public.⁶¹ Immediately afterwards, Istanbul Deputy Yılmaz İhsan Hastürk made a speech on behalf of HP, criticizing the plan's fundraising and using policies. Hastürk asserted that the Turkish economy was handed over to foreign capital. In the same way, he cited the importance of land and agricultural reform by giving examples from the Atatürk period and saw the absence of these in the presented plan as an important shortcoming.⁶² Erzurum Deputy Hilmi Nalbantoğlu expressed that maybe all their resources would be handed over to an exploitation system that was not beneficial to them, with the policies of EEC and integration with the world economy put forward in the plan. He stated that to prevent this, it was necessary to make arrangements in accordance with the interests of the country. Nalbantoğlu stated that they did not find the "Balance of Payments" part of the plan realistic either.⁶³

In the last session, there were criticisms on various issues. Istanbul Deputy Sabit Batumlu, who took the floor on behalf of HP on 12 July, mentioned the parts of the plan related to sports and the press. He emphasized that there were round expressions about sports branches and that the future of sports was in danger. Referring to the issue of the press, Batumlu stated that the plan did not mention what kind of opportunities would be provided for the tools and equipment to be provided to the press in order to speed up the information exchange, and for other expenses. He claimed that the existence of the press was not even mentioned in the plan and that sufficient quality paper production was not included. Batumlu stated that the Plan was prepared without thinking for a long term and included the government's program. Sivas Deputy Şevki Taştan, on the other hand, stated that the legislation in the National Education Basic Law was not sufficiently clarified in the plan. He explained that they were astonished at the absence of a study and training programs for non-formal education, teacher training system.

TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 16-18.

⁵⁵ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 18-22.

⁵⁶ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 28-30.

⁵⁷ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 30-36.

⁵⁸ *TBMM Journal of Official Reports*, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 36-39.

⁵⁰ TDMM Journal of Official Reports, vol. 4, Ferrout 17, 10 July 1904, 30-39

TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984, 43-45.
 TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 10 July 1984,46-47.

⁶¹ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 11 July 1984, 83-86.

⁶² TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 11 July 1984, 86-90.

⁶³ *TBMM Journal of Official Reports*, Vol. 5, Period 17, 12 July 1984, 126-129.

⁶⁴ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 12 July 1984, 126-129.

⁶⁵ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 12 July 1984, 146-149.

In its last session, the opposition continued to express its views on education, culture and sports. In this context, Kars Deputy Aziz Kaygısız, who took the floor on behalf of the MDP, explained with examples that education and development are intertwined, and that economic development will not occur if human capital is not given importance. According to him, it was not possible to get rid of dual education in this plan. Get Rıfat Beyazıt, Deputy of Kahramanmaraş, made the last speech in the Assembly on behalf of the group and mentioned four different topics in the plan. These titles were on "Institutional and Administrative Arrangements", "Justice Services", "Improving Public Administration" and "Foundation Organizations". Instead of criticizing over the headlines, Beyazıt gave a moderate speech aimed at improving the current conditions and eliminating the deficiencies. Despite the rising oppositional voices of MDP's Ferit Melen, Faik Tarımcıoğlu, İmren Aykut and HP's Kemal Özer and Hüseyin Aydemir, the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan, which will guide the Turkish economy for five years, was accepted by the Assembly with 203 votes of approval and 153 rejections. Based on this statistics, it is clearly seen that the plan was rejected by the opposition as a block.

While the Fourth Development Plan was around 700 pages, the fact that the Fifth Development Plan consisted of a thin book of 205 pages would be sufficient to understand the economic model of the period.⁶⁹ In the Development Plan, the socio-economic and cultural objectives of our subject are given as follows:

- 1- The objectives are enhancing the Turkish Nation's welfare, promoting productivity and export growth, evaluating and improving current rate of accumulation, increasing the share of industrial production in a structure that takes into account the agricultural development potential and national defence requirements, increasing employment, reducing youth unemployment, changing the income distribution in favour of low-income groups, accelerating the development in priority regions and improving the economic and social infrastructure.
- 2- Investment policy will be determined in a way that will ensure the realization of the envisaged production structure and the projects that will increase exports, and the construction of infrastructure facilities supporting economic and social development will be given priority, and the share of private sector investments will be increased. The resources accumulated in the Mass Housing Fund will be used in a way that will accelerate private sector housing investments and will not create a bottleneck in housing infrastructure and production inputs.
- 3- Relations with the EEC will be reorganized in line with the foreign expansion policy. Necessary initiatives for economic integration with the Community will be continued within the plan period.
- 4- The public revenue and expenditure policy will be implemented in a way that supports economic and social development. Economic and social infrastructure investments will be given priority in public expenditures. The guidance and incentive function of the public will be brought to the fore. Profitable and efficient operation of State Economic Enterprises will be ensured and their burden on the budget will be reduced.
- 5- During the plan period, the production power of the merchants and craftsmen will be increased; necessary incentive policies will be implemented in order for the small industry to become more effective in providing the ancillary services of the medium and large industries
- 6- In order to increase the income of the villagers and farmers, new production branches will be encouraged, and auxiliary services will be provided to the farmers for the evaluation of the goods produced in the village.
- 7- It is essential that education and training be life-oriented, raising the manpower required by development and raising the quality at all levels of the education system. Culture and art are the basic elements in the protection and development of national values and therefore in strengthening national unity and solidarity.⁷⁰

Even after the plan came into force, it was subject of many criticisms by organizations both within the country and outside of Turkey. World Bank Planning Commission officials complained that they could not find an

⁶⁶ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 12 July 1984, 153-155.

⁶⁷ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 12 July 1984, 155-158; Also, for the dissenting opinions of Hüseyin Avni Sağesen, Ömer Kuşhan, Durcan Emirbayer, Türkan Turgut Arıkan and Abdullah Çakırefe, who took the floor on their behalf, see: TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 12 July 1984:158-172.

⁶⁸ TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 5, Period 17, 13 July 1984: 219; T.C. Resmi Gazete (T.C. Offical Journal), Issue 18467, 23 July 1984, 1-192; Milliyet, 14 July 1984.

⁶⁹ Tokgöz, Türkiye'nin İktisadi, 213-214.

⁷⁰ DPT, Beşinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, 1985-1989, Ankara, 1984,14-15; TBMM Official Reports, Vol. 4, Period 17, 9 July 1984.

addressee to explain the plan in Turkey. In addition, DPT officials stated that they did not have enough information to explain the balances envisaged in the plan. Because the balance of the plan was established by SPO Deputy Undersecretary Orhan Akman, that is, by a single person. After the plan was completed, Özal's brother Bozkurt Özal was appointed as the Undersecretary of the SPO, and Akman resigned.⁷¹ In its issue dated October 27, 1984, under the title of "IMF did not like the development plan", Milliyet included the information that the growth rate envisaged in development would increase the economy's outsourcing needs after 1986, and the would result in a one time more increase in the current accounts deficit. After the information that the IMF did not find the plan's export increase targets realistic, it was stated that although the export growth rate in 1987 was respectively shown as 10,11 and 12% in the plan, the IMF showed it as 9% for 1987 and 8% for the next two years. In the continuation of the news, it was stated that the IMF found the annual average growth target of 6.3% stated in the plan, rather high, and that 4.76% growth would be sufficient instead. It had been stated that a growth of less than 5% was required for foreign borrowing not to exceed 2 billion dollars, and the current accounts deficit would exceed 2 billion dollars in 1989.72 Another major criticism came from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). According to the calculations in the plan in the OECD report, it was stated that Turkey would have difficulties in terms of domestic savings and balance of payments in the future. Although it was stated in the report that expenditures would be reduced and the increased income would shift to investments, that would not be possible in terms of the traditional Turkish economy structure. In the continuation of the report, it was claimed that the plan's achievement of its purpose depended on increasing competition and the income distribution would be in favor of the capitalist sector. At the end of the report, it was foreseen that government investments would be allocated to infrastructure and many SEEs would be transferred to the private sector in the future.⁷³

OECD declared to the public that despite the measures taken, the inflation could not be stopped and in the years ahead, Turkey would face economic difficulties. One of the harshest criticisms of the plan came from Milliyet newspaperman Fikret Bila. According to him, in the third year of implementation of the plan, economy, plan, program and budget system had been moved away. It was stated that concepts such as non-inflationary development, fair income distribution, and social justice remained on paper, and the objectives of the plan and program and budgetary opportunities were playing a separate role. In the rest of his article, he criticised as: Özal, making plans without considering the programme and the budget, "flies blindly to the economy." He explained that the ANAP government, by understanding total development and numerical growth as the same, announced a figure above the plan targets with controlled statistics, but inflation could not be prevented, and a fair income distribution could not be achieved. He asserted that inflation, which was stated as the basic requirement of a stable growth within the framework of the plan and program, could not be brought under control, while the predicted inflation rate for 1983 was determined as 20%, the rate then was 30.5%. He stated that the targeted 25% inflation for 1984, 1985 and 1986 was respectively realized as 50.3%, 43.2% and 29.6% and the Özal Government fell behind the investment targets in 1985 and exceeded them in 1986. After this positive statement, he clarified that contrary to the plan, the changes in the volume of currency issued was determined according to the needs weekly. Bila stated at the end of his article that emission, credit, interest and anti-inflation were determined not according to the purpose, but according to Özal's way, and there were contradictions exceeding 100% between the target in the plans and the actual ones, and although the budget deficit envisaged for 1986 was 501 billion liras, it was determined as 1 trillion and 73 billion liras, and ended his article as; "While a budget deficit of 920 billion liras was envisaged for the whole of 1987, it gave a deficit of more than 1 trillion in the fifth month of the year."74

The government could not accomplish the objectives without compromise in the long term. The public lost confidence in government as the understanding of bossism rather than teamwork was dominant in the senior management, including the Central Bank. The fact that the Prime Minister's brother, the chairman of SPO Yusuf Özal was excluded from the decisions taken showed being how far from planning. Senior executives in the holdings had taken over the Treasury, Finance and Central Bank. While inflation was 50% in 1984, it increased to 69.9% in 1989 with the end of the planned economy. While the national income was 2.8% in 1980, it achieved an annual growth rate of 4.9% in the 1980-88 period. While the average external debt was 20.7% in

⁷¹ Cumhuriyet, 6 September 1984.

⁷² Milliyet, 27 October 1984; Cumhuriyet, 27 October 1984.

⁷³ Cumhuriyet, 15 January 1985.

⁷⁴ *Milliyet*, 14 June 1987.

1978-79, it was 37.1% in 1988. Growth by borrowing delayed rather than solving problems. The rate of development remained well below the rate of population growth and unemployment became widespread. The transition to a free-market economy based on domestic and private capital had not been the solution to all problems. The desired growth rate in agriculture, industry and service sectors remained below the desired targets. The growth rate of agricultural production remained below the population growth rate for the first time in the history of the republic. However, the GAP project, which was planned in the 1970s, consisting of an irrigation and hydroelectricity production project on the Euphrates and Tigris valleys, was transformed into a social and economic development program. In addition to energy production, the development program covered agriculture, rural and urban infrastructure, health, and education sectors. An important resource transfer was ensured during the ANAP period so that the inequality in regional income distribution would be eliminated and people's living standards and income levels would increase. It was foreseen that the irrigated agricultural areas would double. In this period, livestock also fell behind. Due to the decrease in the production of butchery animals and the increase in the population in parallel, the need for meat had been met through imports. Industrialization was left to the private sector's decision. However, it was not possible for the industrialists to invest in the face of high loan interest and inflation. Infrastructure investments such as highways and residences were mainly made. The funds created through toll transit from highways and bridges could not bring a solution to the economic crisis. Özal provided housing to the homeless with the Mass Housing Movement and he used the Mass Housing Administration for economic growth as well. The construction industry was exempted from all kinds of taxes. Export-led growth could not be realized, and the liberalization of imports caused imports to rise against exports. As this situation caused the foreign exchange to rise, the foreign debt, which was 20 billion dollars in 1984, increased to 41 billion dollars in 1989, that is, the external debt increased exponentially in the planned period. Interest-Free Banking was realized for the first time in this period with Al Baraka Türk, which was opened in 1985, and legal regulations that facilitated foreign banks to provide services in Turkey to facilitate the transfer of foreign capital to the country were also made in this period. While 4 foreign banks were operating in 1980, that number increased to 22 in 1989.75

Tokgöz explained three critical views on the Development Plan as follows: "First, while the Plans focus on growth, income distribution is neglected. Secondly, effective, and local business guidance cannot be provided between planners, investor offices and resource allocating units. Third, instead of being selective in promoting, every project from the private sector is encouraged and supported."⁷⁶

As for education, the ANAP government stressed out education so that the transformation in society could be permanent and effective, and the importance of education for the party was highlighted as "We consider it imperative for the state to take the necessary measures for religious education and training in primary and secondary education institutions in order to raise a well-balanced generation with high morals." Education should be strengthened with the support of private entrepreneurs and individuals as well as the state. The state would assume duties in a limited area, and other areas would be transferred to the private sector as much as possible and private schools would be encouraged. In this context, both the private enterprise and the establishment of private universities would be the first time in the ANAP period, when Prime Minister Özal would point to the West and made a statement that the strongest universities there that day were private universities. Özal wanted to raise individuals who would serve the market economy and the needs of the country, with an educational approach based on national and conservative values and at the same time providing practical information. According to him, people who were brought up with Islamic morality and discipline loved each other and glorified the nation. Imam Hatip High Schools were supported to meet the religious education needs of the people and for the village children to receive an advanced education. As stated in the Five-Year Development Plan, it was aimed to train intermediate qualified employee through vocational high schools for the first time. In this context, the "Vocational and Apprenticeship Education Law" was enacted. Art Institutes were transformed into Industrial Vocational High Schools. In addition, it was aimed to prevent the agglomeration at the university by giving importance to vocational and technical high schools instead of general high schools, and to start the business life at an early age. The student were in industry for three days and at school for two days. It was aimed that the graduates would find a job immediately. In this context, it was aimed

Tokgöz, Türkiye'nin İktisadi, 217-225; Pamuk, Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık, 272; Boratav, Türkiye İktisat, 159; Sami Zariç, 1983-93 Yılları Arasında Türk Siyasal Hayatında Anavatan Partisi ve Turgut Özal'ın Rolü, İstanbul: Hiperyayın, 2017, 76; Hasan Cemal, Özal Hikayesi, İstanbul: Everest Publishing, 2013, 141-142.

⁷⁶ Tokgöz, Türkiye'nin İktisadi, 227.

to increase education-industry cooperation in line with globalization. Thanks to the rapid development of communication and transportation with globalization, the world had shrunk, and a human type suitable for the new world order was needed for the transition to the information society.⁷⁷ In that period, the schooling rate in primary schools would be 100%, in secondary schools 55%, in vocational technical secondary schools 20%, in vocational high schools 20%, and in general high schools 18.8%. In higher education, this rate was targeted as 12%. ⁷⁸ In his memoirs, Özal expressed by self-criticism that they allocated the highest amount of money to education after the national defence, but that they could not get the desired result from national education, and then they had 13 million illiterate citizens who were resulted in loss in education.⁷⁹ He had always stated that education, like other public sectors, was based on competition and that situation would lead to progress. Boratav, in his work on the education of Özal period, claimed that the general framework of that ideology consisted of a combination of Turkish- Islamic synthesis and a mixture of Kemalism purified from all perspectives, and the task to carry out that was realized by military and civilian bureaucrats. He also indicated that by controlling the primary, secondary and higher education with ideological themes such as anticommunism, national unity, subversizm and separatistizm, the younger generations were brought up in a monotonous manner, depriving of critical and progressive thinking.⁸⁰

The Prime Minister Özal carried out radical reforms in terms of democratization and development during the development plan process. The right of individual application to the European Court of Human Rights, which the leftist governments could not do until 1987, was realized in this period.⁸¹ Considerable steps were taken towards democratization by removing political bans.⁸² In his memoirs, Özal stated that the Democrat Party and the Justice Party gave importance to the private sector and built many factories, but in their own time they gave importance to infrastructure rather than factory. Because, according to him, industry and service sector could not develop without infrastructure. Özal defended his economic policies with the narrative that they could not give up the Afşin-Elbistan, Atatürk, Keban and Karakaya Dams, the GAP and the F-16 project in order not to be dependent on outside financial sources and reduce inflation.⁸³ Despite all the criticisms, important developments have been experienced in democracy, human rights and infrastructure services in Turkey, and the problems faced in the period have provided important opportunities for the future of modernizing Turkey.

Conclusion

Development, in general, refers to the improvement of social conditions and the hope of the society to the future, as well as the material needs of individuals. Community development, on the other hand, is the partnership of communities and the state in economic, socio-cultural and health development efforts. Concepts such as increasing the welfare level of societies and the equal distribution of incomes individually and regionally are a part of community development. To ensure community development, development plans have been made throughout the history of the republic. The fifth of these, namely the examined program, was planned during the Özal period. In the globalizing world with the effect of World War II and post-modernism, tools such as communication and transportation have caused the world to become smaller in our minds. Turgut Özal, who was brought to the head of the economy after the military intervention, made a sharp transition from the interventionist and protective economic model followed in previous years to liberalism. Especially after he was elected prime minister in 1983, he would try to put neo-liberal policies into practice in all areas of social life. In the context of globalization, the Turkish economy was opened to the outside world with the aim of integrating with the European Economic Community. All legal arrangements had been tried to be made to transition to a market economy. However, the problems and objectives, which were prepared by taking the

Barlas, *Turgut Özal'ın*,113-114/178/212; Yayman, *Türkiye'ye Yön Veren*, 197; M. Fatih Ayaz, "Turgut Özal Dönemi Eğitim Politikaları ve Günümüze Yansımaları *Academic Sıght International Refereed Online Journal*, (2015), Issue 50, 329-331.

⁷⁸ Milliyet, 18 June 1984; ; Hasan Cemal, Özal Hikayesi, 132-133.

⁷⁹ Barlas, Turgut Özal'ın, 243.

Boratav, Türkiye İktisat, 157-158; See also: Hasan Cemal, Özal Hikayesi, 130-132.

⁸¹ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Issue 19438, 21 April 1987,2; TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 1, Period 18, 28 December 1987, 181; Cumhuriyet, 22 April 1987.

⁸² TBMM Journal of Official Reports, Vol. 1, Period 18, 25 December 1987, 41; Cumhuriyet, 8 September 1987.

Barlas, Turgut Özal'ın, 70-73; M. Zeki Duman, Türkiye'de Liberal-Muhafazakâr Siyaset ve Turgut Özal. Ankara: Kadim Publishing, 2010,294/392; Özdemir, Turgut Özal, 207/529; Güner, Özal'lı Yıllarım, 186-187.

picture of Turkey, remained in the shadow of the free economy conditions that did not recognize planned discipline. Short-term measures, arbitrary and ideologically related practices and privileges, and policies to save the day in the economy left their mark on the period. In that period, although efforts were made to ensure development in every field with the privileges provided for the entry of foreign capital into the country and the support of international organizations (IMF and the World Bank), the heavy burden of the economy was placed on the backs of the laborers and those who lived off their agricultural incomes. An order in which the rich got richer and the poor got poorer emerged even though it was undesirable. While outward expansion provided growth, the imbalance in income distribution, high inflation, privatization, and reduction of public resources, ultimately increasing unemployment caused the fever of the economy to rise. One of the most important findings in this study can be said that unplanned and short-term policies dominated the period, although there was an apparent plan. In that period, large appropriations were invested in the GAP, which contributed greatly to the development of the eastern region in all aspects. Since there was growth without producing, the current account deficit had grown and the welfare of the society seemed to have increase, but lower income groups had not taken their share from that situation. This deficit was tried to be eliminated with the privileges provided to the construction sector, the zoning law and slum amnesties. In short, it can be said that in Özal period, despite the development plan, unplannedness prevailed, and the desired goals in social development in all areas, albeit partial and relative, could not be achieved. At the same time, the basic view is that the development plan was not carefully prepared in a short time and that the plan is a mirror of the party program. For this reason, the shortness of the plan and the lack of details on the subjects caused opposition voices to rise. It can be concluded that despite all the negativities, infrastructure problems had been resolved, the effect of military tutelage in the administration had been broken and Turkey had been economically integrated with the outside world. Özal left his mark in Turkish democracy history with his humorous, modest, humble, and democratic personality.

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ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1.

Dogum tarihi ve yeri	: Halatya - 1927	
Medeni hali	: Evli,2 çocuklu	
Çocuklarının yaşı	: Klz 11, Erkek	- 10
Dini	: Îslâm	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
TAHSÎL DURUMU:	MEZUNİYET TARİHİ	DERECESÍ
İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Elektrik Fakültesi	- 1950 -	İyi
Kayseri Lisesi	- 1945 -	P.lyi
Mardin Ortaokulu	- 1942 -	P.İyi
Silifke Cumhuriyet İlkokulu	- 1939 -	P.lyi
Calistië: mileasese	Îsi	Calistië: tarih
Calistiëi müessese	İsi	Calistiki tarih
Calistigi müessese Elektrik isleri etüü İdaresi		<u>Çalıştığı tarih</u> 1950-1952
Calıstığı müessese Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi		<u>CalistiRi tarih</u> 1950-1952 1952-1953
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi	Proje Mühendisi Amerika'da staj Elektrik Proje	1950-1952
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi	Proje Hühendisi Amerika'da ataj	1950-1952 1952-1953
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi	Proje Mühendisi Amerika'da staj Elektrik Proje Servis Şefi Plân Proje Kolu	1950-1952 1952-1953 1953-1956
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi	Proje Mühendisi Amerika'da staj Elektrik Proje Servis Şefi Plân Proje Kolu Direktör Muavini Genel Direktör	1950-1952 1952-1953 1953-1956 1956-1959
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi " " " " Elektrik İ,leri Etüd İdaresi " " " "	Proje Mühendisi Amerika'da staj Elektrik Proje Servis Şefi Plân Proje Kolu Direktör Muavini Genel Direktör Teknik Müşaviri	1950-1952 1952-1953 1953-1956 1956-1959
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi " " " " " "	Proje Mühendisi Amerika'da staj Elektrik Proje Servis Şefi Plân Proje Kolu Direktör Muavini Genel Direktör Teknik Müşaviri	1950-1952 1952-1953 1953-1956 1956-1959 1959-1960
Blektrik işleri etüd İdaresi Elektrik İ.leri Etüd İdaresi " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Proje Mühendisi Amerika'da staj Elektrik Proje Servis Şefi Plân Proje Kolu Direktör Muavini Genel Direktör Teknik Müşaviri	1950-1952 1952-1953 1953-1956 1956-1959 1959-1960 TARIH 1960-1960 ortası

Attachment 1/b

- 4 -

ETÜD VE NEŞRİYAT

- 1 Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresinde muhtelif proje ve mevzularda Teknik ekonomik etüt ve raporlar.
- 2 Mühendislik Ekonomisi, Enerji Politikasiyle ilgili olarak muhtelif makaleler.(Elektrik Mühendisliği Mecmuası)
- 3 Keban Projesinin ekonomik ve teknik vecheleri üzerinde müteaddit raporlar. (Mühim bir kısmı beynelmilel finansman toplantıları için hazırlanmıştır.)
- 4 1963 te Cenevre'de toplanan Birleşmiş Milletler Bilim ve Teknoloji Kongresinde "Evaluation of Electric Development Polycy in Turkey" adlı tebliğ.
- 5 1965 Mayısında İstanbul'da Birleşmiş Milletler Simpozyumunda "On the Principles and Methods of Hydroelectric Development Planning" adlı tebliğ.
- 6 1965 Mayısında İstanbul'da Birleşmiş Milletler Simpozyumunda "An Analysis of historical load growht in Turkey" adlı tebliğ.
- 7 Devlet Teşkilâtında Etüd ve Plânlama üniteleri üzerinde bir Înceleme.
- 8 Muhtelif Kredilerin ekonomik mukayesesi üzerinde bir etüd.



Attachment 1/c

- 2 -Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi Genel Direktör 1961-1964 Yardimeisi Genel Direktör 1964-1965 Muavini Son Sekiz ay Genel Direktör'ün başka işte çalışmasından dolayı fiilen teskilâtı yönetme sorumluluğu. Pag bakanlık Özel Teknik 1965-1966 Mügavir Yukarıda belitilen müddet içerisinde 1953-ile 1960 arasında muhtelif tarihlerde toplam olarak 8 ay Îngiltere ve Almanya'da Türkiye elektrik sistemi etudu. 1961-1965 arasında toplam 10 ay müddetle Amerika'da, Keban-Gökçekaya Hidro-Elektrik santralları etüdünde EBASCO mühendislik firması ile çalışma.AID ve Dünya Fankası ile, Elektrik Projeleri finansmanı için müzakerelere iştirak.Gene 1964-1965 senelerinde muhtelif zamanlarda Paris, Bonn ve Brüksel'de ve Roma'da, Keban projesi finansmanı ile ilgili olarak Alman, Fransız ve İtalyan makamları ve Avrupa yatırımlar Bankası ile teknik temaslar yapılmıştır. MESLEK HAYATINDA YAPILAN MÜHİM İŞLER: 1950-1959 Devresi: Muhtelif santral, have hatları elektrik şebekeleri ön projeleri ekonomik raporları. 1959-1965 Devresi: 1 - ERASCO mühendislik Firması ile, Kuzey-Patı Anadolu Elektrik sistemi etudu. - Ambarlı santralı ön projesi 220000 KW 80000 KW - Sarıyar santral tevsiî 2 - Ankara, İstanbul, İsmir şehirleri ile 12 muhtelif büyük şehrin gehir elektrik şebekeleri tevsi ve ıslah projesi, Finansman temini, insaatın süpervizyonu. 3 - Mersin ve Kadıncık santralları ön projeleri Dünya Pankası'na, finansman için raporlar hazırlanması Mersin santralı 50000 KW 100000 KW Kadıncık santralı 030 11

Attachment 1/d

4 - Kovada hidroelektrik santralı ön projesi ve Avrupa yatırımlar Fankası'ndan finansman için rapor hazirlanmasi. Kovada Santralı 48000 KW 5 - Ketan ve Gökçekaya santralları ön projeleri, Financman raporları, kat'i projelerinin hazırlanması, Beynelmilel toplantılarda projelerin Teknik ve Ekonomik veçhelerinin izahı. Keban projesi 1240000 KW Gökçekaya projesi 6 - 130 gehir ve kasabanın, Enterkonnekte elektrik şe bekesinden beslenmesi için ön proje finansman raporu ve kat'i projeler hazırlatılması. Yukarıdaki maddelerde belirtilen işlerin hepeinin dış finansmanı temin edilmiş, bir kısmının inşaatı tamamlanmış ve geri kalanlar da inşa halindedir. Bi işler için temin edilen krediler yekûnu takriben 240 Milyon Dolar cıvarındadır. 7 - Devlet Blânlama Teşkilâtı kuruluşunda takriben l sene müddetle, proje analizleri, reorganizasyon etüdleri Türkiyede Makine Sana-yii etüdleri. 8 - Haşbakanlıkta kalkınma ile ilgili mühim iş ve projeleri özel olarak takip, yeni büyük projeleri analiz, genel ekonomik durumu izleme. LISAN DURUMU: İngilizce : İyi derecede okuma, konuşma, yazma : Orta derecede okuma Pransizoa 324 11 030

Attachment 2.

