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LANDLESS PEASANTS ISSUE AND VILLAGES IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DURING THE PROCESS FROM THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC TO LAW OF PROVIDING LAND TO FARMERS OF 1945

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Abstract

The newly established Turkish state took over social structure which consisted of oppressed community, peasants who were differentiated and became farm labourers and landlords who became wealthy by taking every opportunity from Ottoman Empire. When the twentieth century came, all the institutions that provided social order in the Ottoman Empire either lost their functions or collapsed. It was necessary to reconstruct the social structure that was deteriorated by the dysfunction and collapse of those institutions. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the new Turkish state, believed that the solution to this problem was to start with the villages, where production came to a halt.

In this article, the landless peasants issue and villages in the economic development process during the process from the first years of the republic to law of providing lands to farmers of 1945 are analysed.

Keywords: Village, Peasant, Land, Atatürk, Farmer, development

CUMHURİYETİN İLK YILLARINDAN, 1945 ÇİFTÇİYİ TOPRAKLANDIRMA KANUNU'NA GİDEN SÜREÇTE; TOPRAKSIZ KÖYLÜ SORUNU VE İKTİSADİ KALKINMADA KÖYE YÖNELİŞ

Öz

Yeni kurulun Türk Devleti, Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan, savaşların ağır yükü altında ezilmiş bir halk, farklılaşmış ve ırgatlaşmış bir köylü, her fırsatı değerlendirerek zenginleşmiş ağalardan oluşan bir toplumsal yapıyı

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devralmıştı. XX. Yüzyıla gelindiğinde Osmanlı'da sosyal düzeni sağlayan kurumların tamamı ya işlevini yitirmiş ya da çökmüş durumdaydı. Bu kurumların işlevsizliği ve çöküntüsüyle çözülen toplumsal yapıyı yeniden inşa etmek gerekiyordu. Yeni Türk devletinin kurucusu Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, bu sorunun çözümünün, öncelikle üretimin durma noktasına geldiği köylerden başlamanın gerekliliğine inanıyordu.

Bu makalede, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından 1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu'na giden süreçte topraksız köylü sorunu ve ulusal kalkınmada köye yöneliş ile ilgili olarak tahliller yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Köy, Köylü, Toprak, Atatürk, Çiftçi, Kalkınma

INTRODUCTION

Mustafa Kemal thought that the institutions that organized the social structure had started to be deteriorated as a result of land regulation since XVI century and believed that the land regulation had to be reconstructed. That meant leaning towards villages and peasants. However the villages and the peasants had very important problems such as property, transportation in the first years of the republic. First of all, the issue of property was very important. The peasants did not own the lands that they were cultivating. The owners of the lands were the landlords who became owners with opportunism during the war and poverty years. The peasants were working as farm labourers for those people and besides they were very poor. The Republic of Turkey took over institutions which lost their functions or about to collapse, sunk and indebted economy, education system dominated by bribes, patronage blind followers, a social structure that made the peasants land labourers and the landlords monopolists from the Ottoman Empire. Those were some of the problems that was left from collapsed Ottoman Government to the newly established republic. The nation had to re-surge and at first the independence had to be gained then those acquired institutions had to be either removed or replaced new ones with radical changes.

The independence was gained notably with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the determination and commitment of the Turkish nation. Nevertheless that would not make a sense unless the independence was supported economically, supported production mechanisms in the country, establishing a dynamic social structure. The independence that was gained through great sacrifice had to be crowned with radical changes in economy, social life, culture and industry so that the republic of Turkey would live forever. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the founding management who saw that, started to work towards the

acquisition of economic freedom and increase of productivity. Those works directed them to the peasants who had been ignored for a long time and seen as soldier taxes sources and turned to be farm labourers and the villages where the agricultural development would start. However, most of the lands in the villages was in the hands of those who we could consider as a landlords or gentry, taking the lands of the peasants in the times of war and absence. The peasants did not have any lands. On the contrary, although those landlords and the gentries owned the majority of the arable lands, they did not cultivate the lands.

-The issue of landless peasants and the perspective of the newly established Turkish Republic on the issue;

Since the day the new Turkish state was founded, it has been closely related to the land problem. Although the situation of landless peasants was closely known by the administrators of the period, all works to solve the issue were at local level and they were not for solving the issue in the whole country. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk mentioned the imbalances in land property in the parliamentary opening speeches. But the landlords were always opposed the laws about the issue.

The landlords, especially at the beginning of the Republic period, were influential in the suppression of local rebellions by some powerful tribes. For this reason, the landlords were very influential both in society and in the decisions taken by the state administration. The landlords had the power to prevent all the efforts towards land reform which would make a loss in their interests.

The landlords who battered on the poor peasants were influential both in their regions and in the politics of the country. The landlords opposed any project that would disturb their order, or they removed the acts in the projects that disturbed them. In 1935, in the report of Prime Minister İsmet İnönü after the investigative visit to Black Sea Region and Eastern Region to President Atatürk and Council of Ministers was a summary of the land order in Turkey. İnönü stated in his report as follows:

"...People are poor and shabby; the lands are not yet possessed; the meadows are parcelled out badly; the people are complainant. At present people are at the mercy of the landlords."

As Prime Minister İnönü stated, the people were at the mercy of the landlords in that period¹.

While the peasants who were living dependent on the landlords were becoming poor day by day, the landlords got wealth more. In addition, the landlords made the peasants more dependent on them by taking everything they possessed when they couldnot pay their debts. Every year some of the villagers who were trying to pay their debts which reached the high amounts with the interest were working for peanuts. The legal gaps and the power that the landlords had to influence the political decisions were the biggest obstacles to change this structure. In the Civil Code of 1926, there were provisions about private property and right of succession, there were not explanations about the provisions of the use of dimesne and sale of them. In addition, the provision of “not cultivating the land more than three years” stipulated by 1858 “Land Law” was removed, and the land saving was not mentioned. Heritage provisions were towards dividing of small properties more, while large properties grew through marriages. Especially in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, large property owners, most of whom were tribal leaders, took a considerable amount of lands, taking advantage of the authorities on the rural population and the fact that their cadastral work had not been done. As a result of the rebellions that started from the middle of the 1920s, the government took strict measures against the landowners involved in the rebellion and sent some of the landowners to exile to various regions of the country. Their lands were seized and large amount of them were distributed to the landless peasants. Between 1932 and 1933, 90,000 acres of land were distributed throughout the country, and in 1934, 6 million acres of land were distributed to landless farmers. However, those large property owners in exile made the necessary steps about how and by whom their lands were distributed through relatives. With the law numbered 2510 issued in 1934, the landlords and the sheikhs returning to their homeland succeeded in taking back most of the lands they had followed through their relatives².

The founding members of the newly establish state faced to villages and believed that national economical development would start with the development of the villages. That economical orientation towards villages would help the villages to develop in the social and cultural fields. The biggest indicator was

¹ Yakup Kepenek, Nurhan Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, Remzi Kitabevi, 12.edition, İstanbul, 2001, p.42.

² T.C. Resmi Gazete, Law Number:2510, Enactment date: 14.06.1934, Number 2733, 21 June 1934.

the establishment of the Village Institutes. Under favour of Institutes, the villages would be prosperous, the peasants would become conscious, the modern techniques would be tried so that the peasants and the villages that were going to be the starting point of the national development would have the desired result. In fact agricultural marches about the national development in the villages that were written by Behçet Kemal and composed by Ahmed Adnan Saygun started to be sung.

"We are the foundation of the national existence and roots

We are the real owners of the nation, we are peasants"

Besides, the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü's statement of " We are a villager government established in the middle of the Anatolia and we love peasants" showed the basic policy of the Republic established in Turkey towards villages, there were not real land reforms during their government.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk regarded the situation of the landless peasants as always a matter which had to be considered. However, due to the conditions of the period, he thought that it was not right to say that loudly in order to avoid confronting with the landlords and gentries in the years when the republic was first established. Because landlords, gentries were partially effective in winning the Independence War.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who thought that there were a lot of works to be done in the newly founded Republic, did not want to face agas and the people who had a lot of influence over the society. According to the recollection of Soviet Ambassador Aralov, it is understood that during the years of the War of Independence, Soviet Ambassador Aralov and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk talked about that³. Turkey's first Soviet Ambassador Semyan İvanoviç Aralov gave examples from Soviet Revolution in his country and claimed that the country had to be saved from the sovereignty of the landlords and gentries and the peasants had to have lands. Aralov regarded the peasants, who became stronger through owning lands, as the fortress that would fight the best with imperialism as in his own country. Aralov, thinking that there could be a revolution in Anatolia like in his own country, did not know how effective the local notables were

³ S. İ. Aralov, *Bir Sovyet Diplomatı'nın Türkiye Anıları*, Birey Toplum yay., Ankara-1985, p.,81.

in the Turkish War of Independence, nor could he imagine what the consequences of any practice to be made against them would be in the newly formed republic.

The Soviet ambassador, who saw the peasants as the most important castle to be used to fight against imperialism, shared those views with Mustafa Kemal. The ambassador told that the Turkish peasants were very heavy in their circumstances and lived under the dominance of a certain class. In the memories of Aralov describing the period in Turkey, Mustafa Kemal answered as below⁴;

“ Yes, yes it is right, the duty of the Turkish National Assembly is to save the peasants from heavy taxes and provide them other facilities. But cannot do this now. We would attract the grudge of many classes. They would move away from us and they would prevent us from doing our main duty such as expelling invaders, providing the the independence of the people and the country. After we solve the National case we can consider the peasants”

Mustafa Kemal had the open support of the Soviet Union through the good relations he established with Soviet Ambassador Semyan İvanoviç Aralov and Azerbaijan Soviet Republic Ambassador İbrahim Abilov and he used that as a threaten against the allies without putting the Turkey under Soviet dominance. Commander-in-chief Mustafa Kemal Paşa who could not control the Turkish Army that was preparing for a big attack invited Soviet Russian Ambassador Semyan İvanoviç Aralov and military attache Zvonaryev and Azerbaijan Soviet Republic Ambassador İbrahim Abilov to join him during his inspection visits to fronts and hinterlands. During those inspection visits, Mustafa Kemal who talked about the general issues, shared his experiences with Soviet Ambassador Aralov.

Land Diversity and Land Potential: Agriculture Inventory

The data about land utilization is now provided with General Agricultural Inventory results. In countries such as Turkey that the economy is based on agriculture need detailed, confidential statistics that reflect agricultural potential and the realities of agricultural structure. For this purpose, General Agricultural

⁴ Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*, Tekin yay., İstanbul, 2001, p.,352; See also., Aralov, ibid., pp.,80-83.

Inventory was applied in certain periods. There were totally 7 General Agricultural Inventory in Turkey in 1927, 1950, 1963, 1970, 1980, 1991 and 2001⁵. In this study, the results of the inventory 1927 and 1947 that is the limit of the study and 1950 will be evaluated.

The first agricultural inventory in Republic of Turkey was held in 1927. As a result of this inventory, it was seen that the Turkey had 762.737 square kilometres and the population was 13.648.270⁶. According to 1927 inventory the land distribution was as below;

Land	Decare (1 decare= 1000square metres.)	Percentage Share in Total Land
Arable land	213. 500. 000	% 31
Forest	139. 487. 000	% 18
Meadow	269. 409. 000	% 36
Mountain, Stone (Unusable)	102. 234. 000	% 13
Marsh, Lake	13. 629.000	% 1

Table 1 1927 Agricultural Inventory

According to the 1927 Inventory, only 43.637.727 decares of the arable lands were used. This constituted 1/6 of arable lands. The vast majority of the productive lands were not used in Turkey. The most important for that was; "The landlords" who had large amount of lands could not cultivate all the lands they had so they left some uncultivated. However, there were those who could not cultivate because they had no place to plant in their hands, but those who had the power to cultivate.

The landlords, who had lands in large amounts, left part of their lands uncultivated and dragged the country into agricultural deprivation because they could not cultivate the lands in their hands. On the other hand, there was no land to work in the hands of the peasants who would be carry out the agricultural activities. It was a contradiction between the landless peasants and

⁶Hatay, land and population that joined the homeland after the death of Atatürk was not included in this inventory. The area of Hatay is 4383 square kilometres.

those who did not use much land. The most obvious example of this is seen when the figures in Table 1 are examined⁷.

Although the 1927 inventory gave us the necessary information about the distribution of lands on the basis of the use of arable land, the social structure of Turkish Ziraat did not give necessary information about the distribution of land ownership. The statistical information concerning this type of social construction was not explained by the inventory of 1950⁸. In the years of 1940s, the population of Turkey was 18.592.000 and the area was 767.119 square kilometres⁹. The percentage of the peasants living in the villages was 70 in general population. However, the vast majority of people living in cities and in the towns lived off by farming. This share in the general population along with the population in cities were almost %80¹⁰.

Country	The ratio of general population to active agriculture population
Turkey	% 82
Bulgary	% 80.09
Hungary	% 53
Greece	% 53.7
French	% 35.70
Germany	% 28.8
England	% 6.6

Table 2 - Ratio of general population to active agriculture population by country (1940).

⁷ Şevket S. Aydemir, *İkinci Adam(1938-1950)*, Remzi Kitabevi, II. Volume, VII. Edition, İstanbul, 2000, pp. 337-341.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 341.

⁹ İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Nüfusun Mekansal Dağılımında Yaşanan Gelişmeler: (1935-2000)", *ODTÜ MFD*, 2005/I, (22/1), pp. 85-102. See also. Şevket S. Aydemir, *ibid.*, p.341.

¹⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi Toplu Eserler 1*, Gözlem yay., I. dition, İstanbul, 1980, pp., 449; Ayrıca Tablo İçin bkz., Selim Sabit Aykut, *Türkiye'de Ziraat*, Ankara İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, (1940).

When compared with the data of other countries in the rate table, it is seen that Turkey is to what extends depends on agriculture and agricultural country. In those years Turkey had seventy percentage of national income and the ninety three percentage of the export from agricultural products. When considering those numbers, it gave clues that any other works ignoring the development of the peasants would result in failure¹¹.

Operational Area	Families	%	Used Field(hectare)
1 - 20 Decare	773.00 0	30.6	836.000
21 - 50	797.00 0	31.5	2.790.000
51 - 75	336.00 0	13.3	2.097.000
76 - 100	216.00 0	8.6	1.915.000
101 - 150	168.00 0	6.7	2.108.000
151 - 200	92.000	3.6	1.648.000
201 - 300	68.000	2.7	1.712.000
301 - 500	39.000	1.5	1.520.000
501 - 700	17.000	0.7	1.015.000
701 an more	21.000	0.8	3.811.000

Table 3 The distribution of lands among families according to widths (1944).

¹¹Barkan, *ibid.*, pp.449-453; See also., *Türk Çiftçisinin İstihsal ve geçinme Vaziyeti*, Ekonomi Bakanlığı Konjonktür Servisi, No: XI, Ankara, 1938, p.,10.

When the table above is examined; the number of the families having 75 acres lands were about three quarters of all farm families in 1945. This ratio was an indicator that there was not enough land for a large majority of the country's population. That population who had enough lands were living in cities. In Turkey there were families living in the cities but live off farming. The number of families with more than 500 acres of land was 0.8% of the total number of families. This percentage shows that land distribution of land was not fair¹².

Although the village population was crowded in Turkey, Turkish peasants who were depended on agriculture economically did not have their own lands to cultivate. Some people possessed great amounts of lands by taking the advantage of the directionless of Ottoman Empire as a result of the failures in its final stage. But those people did not depend on agriculture, they left large part of the lands uncultivated. As a result, while the production decreased in the economy of the country, foreign dependency was increasing. In addition when the land that was not cultivated for two years, productivity was decreasing. On one side was a farmer who needed land but did not have his own land to work on; on the other side is the landlords who had lands unfairly and left the lands uncultivated¹³...

In some parts there were plenty of lands, in others there were enough lands. Farmers who did not have enough land, were working for landlords, as croppers, farmhands and sharecroppers to earn money to buy the products they needed. The influence of landlords on peasants was great. They were not good to the peasants working for them and they were constantly adding fortunes to their growing wealth. Those landlords were very effective on peasants and the managers of the region. They were opposed to all kinds of decisions that would take away their unfair profits from their hands and they wanted to be the leading players in every decision.

Land Reform Studies;

Before the declaration of the Republic, the Ottoman Empire had wars for about ten years. Moreover, since 1914, the burden of war has increased and since

¹² Şevket S. Aydemir, *ibid.*, pp. 341-345.

¹³ Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*, Tekin yay., İstanbul, 2001, p.489; See also., *Cumhuriyet*, (25 January 1945); see also., Erdal İnce, "1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu ve Türk Siyasal Yaşamına Etkisi" Libra Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2008, pp 85-88.

1918 there has been a period of existence. This process in the last period of Empire affected production negatively. Another loss of the war years was in the field of labor. The young population that produced came to a stopping point as they joined the war. While the population was 14 million in 1914, it was 13.6 million in 1927. A large majority of the young population that went to the fronts did not return. Thus the population of the country decreased. That decrease was particularly evident in the field of agriculture. The village population, which suffered from the loss of labor force, came to be unable to produce even for themselves. The Turkish peasants, who were remembered only during the war times, were even more deprived of that labor loss¹⁴. That impoverishment also manifested itself in the country's economic life. The decrease in the production power of the self-sufficient village population in the country brought the poverty. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who saw the situation of the peasants who worked for landlords gave the promise of the new state government would work for the situation of the landless and poor villagers with his statement "the peasant is the master of the nation" before the establishment of the republic,¹⁵.

The new Turkish state has emphasized the importance of the land issue since its establishment¹⁶. The processing of long-neglected homeland lands; Turkish nation that indigenised the identity of "Turkish" as a homogenous society having an effective role in the development of the country were the desires of the modern, dynamic and entrepreneur administrators of the new Turkey¹⁷

The newly established state did not deliberately bring about the issue of land in 1920s. Because the War of Independence was won by the support of the landlords. For this reason, the new Turkish state, which did not want to take this economically strong sector on, would break through about land reform later. Moreover, in that period, distributing lands to landless would mean a change in the social structure. That was a breakthrough that should not have been done at the beginning of the 1920s¹⁸. The first regulation concerning the distribution of

¹⁴Ahmet Yetim, "İzmir İktisat Kongresi'nin 85. Yılında Türkiye Ekonomisinin Geldiği Nokta", *İzmir Ticaret Odası Ar-ge Bülten 2008 February- Ekonomi*, pp. 18-24.

¹⁵See. 1 March 1922 Mustafa Kemal parliament opening speech; See also. Erdal İnce, " Köylüyü Topraklandırma Kanunu ve Türk Siyasal Yapısının Oluşumu Üzerindeki Etkileri" *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, volume V/15, pp. 59-79.

¹⁶Süleyman İnan, "Toprak Reformunun En Çok Tartışılan Maddesi: 17. Madde", *Journal of Historical Studies*, (2005-3), pp. 45-57.

¹⁷Kemal Arı, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikasını Belirleyen Temel Unsurlar", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Number 23, Volume: VIII, March 1992, pp. 43-45.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.46.

land mentioned in article 25 of the 1925 Annual Budget Act. According to this article; *“the existing national lands will be given to the farmers who need land, in installments in the ten years, and to the amount of the land to be given to each family together with the lands in his hands, not exceeding 200 acres”*¹⁹. This article was added to every budget act until 1934. This article was brought to a permanent position in the same year, Article 56 of the "Increase, Reduction and Procurement Law" No. 2490 adopted on 2 June ²⁰.

President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk gave the order to deal with "important in terms of providing lands to farmers who do not own land" to the government, especially in eastern provinces, during the opening speech of the Grand National Assembly in 1928²¹. As a matter of fact, the Law No. 1505 dated June 8, 1929, entitled "The Law on the Distribution of the Lands in the Eastern Region to the needed people". According to this law, those who were transported from the East to the West could give their lands to the peasants, tribes, nomads and immigrants²². At first, the arrangement that aimed changing the land ownership in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions in order to end the rebellions was adopted at the beginning of the 1930s, with the idea of application to the whole country, considering the increase of agricultural production. In 1930, the idea of distributing some parts of the state lands by deriving the "Land Privy Decree" was not successful. In the paragraph (b) of Article 12 of the "Settlement Law" No. 2510 dated 14 June 1934 that was prepared for the same purpose it is written as follows;

*“landless people or farmers who have lands and who have been from the indigenous people of the area or who have come there to settle in any manner with tribal members from the same territory for a long time will have lands of public treasury through Cabinet Decree”*²³.

Until 1935, land distribution was made according to the Settlement Law. Regional arrangements until 1935 were far away eliminating injustices in land distribution. CHP administrators seeing this added their party programs the article of *“To have enough lands for every Turkish farmer is one of the main goals*

¹⁹ Barkan, *ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

²⁰ Süleyman İnan, *ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

²¹ Kazım Öztürk, *Cumhurbaşkanların Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Açış Nutukları*, Baha Matbaası, İstanbul, 1969, p. 204.

²² Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *“Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta”*, İletişim yay., İstanbul, 2006, pp. 120-122. See also., Erdal İnce, *ibid.*, pp. 59-79.

²³ Süleyman İnan, *ibid.*, p.47; See also., Erdal İnce, *ibid.*, p.60.

of our Party". This decisive stance manifested itself in the draft of the "Settlement-Land Law" dated November 12, 1935, prepared by the Ministry of Interior. According to this draft, the government would be able to expropriate more than 2,000 acres of treasury lands, which were not cultivated by the owners, which were less than 2,000 acres and were not cultivated by their owners. The currency code amounts for the expropriated lands was stated to be calculated according to the 1914 tax records. This practice contradicted the requirement in Article 74 of the 1924 Constitution, which was in force, to "pay in advance on the basis of market value at the time of expropriation"²⁴. Ömer Lütfi Barkan who was a professor of economics in the period, noted his thoughts on the draft as follows ;

"This draft law could not be sent to the Assembly as a law draft in order not to cause a stir, it was kept as a secret and it was not announced to the public, it was only in the "narrow periphery" of the Assembly and the Government"²⁵.

The draft prepared by the Ministry of Interior in 1935 was criticized for the incompatibility with the Constitution of 1924 and the criticism that the interested parties of agriculture about technical and expertise was ignored and the study on this issue was taken from this ministry and given to Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Agriculture, which took over the mission, immediately began work on land reform. The Ministry of Agriculture prepared the "Draft Law on Agricultural Reform" in 1937, taking into consideration the criticism of the draft prepared by the Ministry of Interior²⁶. One year before the draft, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in his opening speech of the Turkish Grand National Assembly demanded that the land law should be made as soon as possible and no landless peasants should be left. Atatürk stated his opinions about the issue as follows;

"I expect that the law of the land will reach the conclusion from the Assembly. Every Turkish farmer must have lands to work and maintain his family"²⁷

The most intense criticism of the draft that the Ministry of the Interior had prepared was that it did not comply with Article 74 of the 1924 Constitution. It

²⁴ Suna Kili, A.Şeref Gözübüyük, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri*, Türkiye İş Bankası yay., 3.edition, p.204.

²⁵ Barkan, *ibid.*, p. 456; See also., (Adnan Menderes in his speech in Parliament on 16 May 1945 gives information about the proposed law), TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Term 7, Combination 55, session 1, volume.17, pp.115-116.

²⁶ Barkan, *ibid.*, p.456.

²⁷ Kazım Öztürk, *ibid*, p.250.

was decided to amend Article 74 of the Constitution in the opinion that the Ministry of Agriculture had the same problem in the draft. On February 5, the necessary amendment was made by adding the paragraph 1937, Article 74,

*"The expropriation of land and forests to be farmed and to expropriate forests is indicated by special laws"*²⁸.

In 1938, "Draft Law on Agricultural Rehabilitation" that was prepared the Ministry of Agriculture that was commissioned to prepare the farming law plan, was restructured. Although this law was evaluated in parliamentary commissions and other ministries, the beginning of the 2. World War caused all the works stopped. The administrators of the period were of the opinion that a radical change in the land issue could have a major impact on agricultural production and social building in a battle environment. However, even as the Second World War continued, the land issue was always on their minds. İsmet İnönü, in his opening speeches of 1941 and 1943 stated that the land issue would be solved by a law to be presented to the parliament. The government gave full authority to Agriculture Minister Raşit Hatipoğlu on the solution of the land problem. During the war, Hatipoğlu made necessary studies together with the related subunits and proposed a law called "Provision of Law". That law draft was brought to the agenda of the parliamentary when the war was over.

Conclusion;

The issue of landless peasants continued its existence as a serious problem to be solved in every period of the Republic. Starting from the years when the Republic was first established, it has been added to the agenda in various times and places, but no steps have been taken to overcome the problem.

Land has been an important commercial value in every period of Ottoman Empire and from the establishment of the Republic to today. The land was the main element of the establishing a development unity, economic and social existence of the Turkish Republic that was trying to eliminate the bad heritage of the Ottoman Empire and keep the ignorant societ alive, functionalize the institutions. This element is very important for the continuity of existence for unindustrialized or newly established states. If a state has fertile soil and is able to use it,

²⁸ Suna Kili, A.Şeref Gözübüyük, *ibid.*, p.125.

it means that it can meet its basic needs at minimum level. This is an indicator that it can keep his existence to a minimum.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, agriculture had an important place in the pursuit of national development. It required the efficient planting and use of lands so that agricultural activities could provide national development. It can be seen in the agricultural inventory carried out in 1927 is to the point when the population of the country is taken into consideration. When Table 1 is examined, the arable and the land that could be converted into direct economic activity constituted 67 percentage of the national lands. This was the capacity to look at the population of 13,648,270 as of 1927.

The most noteworthy feature here is that 1/6 of the the arable land was used. According to the same table, there were 213. 500. 000 acres arable lands. 43.637.727 acres of this land was cultivated. In other words 5/6 of the fertile land that would be at the point of agricultural welfare were uncultivated. This was an unbelievable contradiction. The main reason for this is that, as we have mentioned above, in the years of war and deprivation, landlords who were opportunists. These people were not able to use the lands they possessed. The landless peasants on one side and landowners who had great amounts of lands. The real contradiction was the national development expect of Turkish Republic despite the productive inequality of those two groups.

This issue has always been on the agenda since the first years of the Republic. It has been discussed many times. However, the result is a national ideal that has not been achieved and can not be realized. Until the year 1945, many attempts were made to work on this national ideal, but no results were obtained. When it came to 1945, for the first time, the issue of landless peasants was seriously taken into consideration, the previous researches and statistical information were evaluated and the draft law including the Provision of Land and farmer's Society, including the development of villages and peasants, was prepared.

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