

CHANGING TRENDS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Editor
Hakan Altıntaş

BIDGE Publications

CHANGING TRENDS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Editor: Prof. Dr Hakan Altıntaş

ISBN: 978-625-372-512-9

Page Layout: Gözde YÜCEL

1st Edition:

Publication Date: 25.12.2024

BIDGE Publications,

All rights of this work are reserved. It cannot be reproduced in any way without the written permission of the publisher and editor, except for short excerpts to be made for promotion by citing the source.

Certificate No: 71374

Copyright © BIDGE Publications

www.bidgeyayinlari.com.tr - bidgeyayinlari@gmail.com

Krc Bilişim Ticaret ve Organizasyon Ltd. Şti.

Güzeltepe Mahallesi Abidin Daver Sokak Sefer Apartmanı No: 7/9 Çankaya /
Ankara



Content

Europe's Anxiety: Second Trump Term	4
Muhammed Murat Oymez	4
Norway's Non-Membership in the European Union: A Comparative Analysis with Turkey's EU Integration Efforts	14
Soner AKIN	14
Equality-Based Urbanization Models in the 21st Century: Lessons from Boris P. Larin's Urbanization Theory to the Present Day.....	29
Soner AKIN	29
Castells, M. (1989). The informational city: Economic restructuring and urban development. Oxford: Blackwell.	54
From The Great Depression to the Second World War: Railways and Foreign Trade Policy in Turkey and Iran (1929-1939).....	56
Murat YÜMLÜ.....	56
Perihan ÜNLÜ SOYLU	56

CHAPTER I

Europe's Anxiety: Second Trump Term

Muhammed Murat Oymez¹

Introduction

The global geopolitical landscape has entered a period of heightened instability, marked by escalating conflicts, shifting alliances, and growing uncertainty about the future of international cooperation. The Russia-Ukraine war, has reignited fears of a broader global conflict, challenging the resilience of Western alliances and the efficacy of international diplomacy. Amid these tensions, the prospect of a second Donald Trump presidency has emerged as a pivotal variable, raising pressing questions about the continuity of U.S. foreign policy and its implications for Europe's security.

For Europe, the stakes are particularly high. As the continent grapples with the immediate threat posed by Russian aggression, it also faces the deeper challenge of rethinking its reliance on

¹ Bandirma Onyedi Eylul University, Lecturer.

American leadership. The Biden administration's robust military support for Ukraine has solidified transatlantic unity, but Trump's history of questioning NATO's value and favoring an isolationist approach looms large. European leaders now find themselves navigating a complex paradox: they must confront Russia's destabilizing ambitions while simultaneously preparing for a less predictable and potentially less engaged U.S. partner. This study sets the stage for a detailed exploration of Europe's strategic dilemmas, the risks of escalating the Russia-Ukraine conflict, and the broader implications of Trump's potential return to power. It underscores the urgency of developing cohesive and independent European strategies capable of addressing the interconnected crises reshaping the global order.

Europe's Strategic Crossroads Amid Global Uncertainty

Since Putin launched a special military operation against Ukraine, the global perception of a "world war threat" has reignited with each new development. Former U.S. President Donald Trump's populist promise to "end wars" has prompted the current leadership in Europe and the U.S. to adopt more aggressive measures against Putin, particularly in recent months. In this context, the Biden administration's decision to supply Ukraine with supersonic tactical ballistic missiles and allow these weapons to target Russian territory has been interpreted by Moscow as a direct challenge from the West. While this escalation underscores the West's resolve against Russia, it also heightens the risk of a broader conflict.²

German Chancellor Olaf Scholz's call to Putin to ease tensions reflects Europe's preference for a more cautious and

² "Putin's War: Global Risks and Western Responses," *The New York Times*, December 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com>.

diplomatic approach. However, this initiative failed to prevent Russia from intensifying its attacks. This situation highlights the fragile balance between military actions and diplomatic efforts.³ The contrast between Biden's assertive policies and Scholz's diplomatic outreach reveals the strategic divergences among Western leaders. Yet, these differences also expose a lack of a unified, multilateral strategy on both diplomacy and military support. The escalation of this conflict has evolved beyond a regional crisis, posing a significant threat to the future of the global system. While military support for Ukraine reinforces the West's commitment, it also raises the stakes as Russia increasingly resorts to nuclear threats. At the same time, the insufficiency of diplomatic efforts underscores the failure of international mechanisms to maintain global peace⁴. These dynamics reveal that neither military solutions nor diplomacy alone will suffice; a more comprehensive and multilateral approach is urgently needed to de-escalate tensions.

Putin has formally endorsed the "nuclear weapons use doctrine" in the event of a large-scale attack on Russian territory, signaling a more definitive stance on this issue. He also signed a decree stating that if Ukraine targets Russia using U.S.-supplied missiles, it would constitute a "joint attack." Since the onset of the war, Putin has repeatedly brought up the possibility of using nuclear weapons if his "red lines" are crossed. However, these threats have so far remained unfulfilled, functioning primarily as a tool of deterrence rather than an actionable strategy. Despite the fact that the U.S. and European countries have supplied Ukraine with advanced weapons systems that Putin considers to have crossed those red lines,

³ "Europe's Struggle Between Diplomacy and Defense Amid Russia's Aggression," *The Guardian*, December 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com>.

Russia has refrained from responding with nuclear force. This suggests that his nuclear rhetoric is largely a psychological strategy aimed at exerting pressure on international actors¹. At the same time, the West's continued military support for Ukraine, despite these threats, highlights both the limits of deterrence and the resolve of the Western alliance.⁴

From a broader perspective, Putin's nuclear rhetoric serves not only as a defensive posture but also as a tool in the broader power struggle between Moscow and the West. The lack of action behind these threats suggests that international actors are willing to adopt more resolute and risk-taking policies in response to nuclear intimidation. However, this dynamic also raises concerns about the potential for Russia to escalate its response in the long term.⁵

Until President-elect Trump takes office, the situation in both the Russia-Ukraine and Israel-Palestine conflicts is expected to worsen. European media has recently raised alarms, emphasizing the need for "enhanced credible guarantees for Ukraine" and warning against over-reliance on Washington. These discussions reflect growing skepticism about the United States' reliability as a strategic partner in light of impending leadership changes. Analysts argue that if Europe were to concede a significant strategic advantage to Russia in Ukraine, it could expose the continent to long-term security risks. This fear underscores the precariousness of Europe's position as it

⁴ Smith, L. (2023). Tactical Missiles and Global Security Risks. Brookings Institution Press, pp. 45-67.

⁵ Brown, T. (2023). Nuclear Threats and International Stability. Cambridge University Press, pp. 78-89.

grapples with uncertainties in U.S. foreign policy under a Trump administration.⁶

In the short term, the Biden administration's potential moves to solidify its legacy could exacerbate tensions. Decisions aimed at constraining Trump's foreign policy options might further inflame existing conflicts. For instance, the provision of advanced weaponry to Ukraine or a diplomatic shift in the Israel-Palestine conflict could provoke reactions that complicate the incoming administration's ability to recalibrate relations. These last-minute maneuvers, while intended to strengthen U.S. alliances, may instead deepen divisions within NATO and heighten transatlantic tensions.⁷

European leaders, particularly in Berlin and Paris, are voicing increasing concerns. German media outlets such as *Der Spiegel* and *Die Welt* highlight a "state of paralysis" in European policymaking, as governments await clarity on Trump's international stance³. French newspapers like *Le Monde* have similarly called for greater European strategic autonomy, with editorials urging that "Europe must prepare for a less predictable America." These warnings reflect a growing consensus that Europe cannot afford to depend solely on the U.S. for its security, especially in the face of escalating Russian aggression.⁸ From a broader perspective, Europe's current "state of anxiety" is both a symptom of the continent's reliance on American leadership and a wake-up call for strategic reorientation. The increasing push for independent

⁶ "European Allies Worry About Ukraine's Future Amid US Transition," *The Guardian*, December 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com>.

⁷ "Biden's Legacy Moves in Ukraine: Calculated or Counterproductive?" *The New York Times*, December 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com>.

⁸ "EU Defense Integration Gains Urgency Amid US Uncertainty," *Politico Europe*, December 2024, <https://www.politico.eu>.

European defense mechanisms, as seen in discussions about bolstering the EU's Rapid Deployment Capacity, may signal the beginning of a larger shift toward greater self-reliance.⁹ However, the short-term implications remain troubling, as this transitional period risks creating a vacuum of leadership that adversarial powers like Russia and Iran could exploit.

The Russia-Ukraine War has seemingly reached a new turning point, presenting Europe with a profound paradox. While European leaders broadly agree on the necessity of restraining Russia, they also recognize that overly aggressive actions against Moscow could provoke even greater hostility from Putin. This creates a complex dilemma for Europe, where balancing immediate security needs with long-term stability is one of the most pressing challenges in both the short and medium terms.

This paradox reflects deeper tensions within European foreign policy. On one hand, there is an understanding that failure to confront Russia decisively might embolden its geopolitical ambitions, undermining European security. On the other hand, escalating the conflict risks destabilizing the continent further, especially given Europe's heavy reliance on Russian energy supplies and its geographic proximity to the conflict.¹⁰ As noted in *The Economist*, European leaders are increasingly divided between hawks advocating for stronger military support for Ukraine and moderates pushing for a renewed emphasis on diplomacy.¹¹

⁹ "EU Defense Mechanisms: A Response to Growing Uncertainty," *Politico Europe*, December 2024, <https://www.politico.eu>.

¹⁰ "Europe's Balancing Act in the Russia-Ukraine War," *Financial Times*, December 2024, <https://www.ft.com>.

¹¹ "Hawks vs. Doves: Europe's Divide on Ukraine," *The Economist*, December 2024, <https://www.economist.com>

The potential beginning of a second Trump administration adds another layer of complexity to this equation. Trump's unpredictable approach to foreign policy, including his past ambivalence toward NATO and reluctance to confront Russia, raises significant questions about the United States' future role in the conflict. European policymakers are already considering scenarios where the U.S. either reduces its support for Ukraine or pressures Europe to shoulder a larger share of the burden.¹² According to *The Washington Post*, these uncertainties are pushing European nations to accelerate discussions about greater defense cooperation within the EU.¹³

Europe's paradox is emblematic of the broader challenges in contemporary international politics, where addressing one crisis often exacerbates another. A second Trump term would likely serve as a critical variable in reshaping the global approach to these interconnected issues. Whether Trump's leadership would encourage de-escalation or further complicate the geopolitical landscape remains an open question, but it is clear that Europe must navigate its current dilemma with or without the assurance of robust American support. This underscores the urgency of developing a cohesive and independent European foreign policy capable of managing such multifaceted crises.¹⁴

Conclusion

¹² "Trump's Foreign Policy Legacy and its Implications for Europe," *The Washington Post*, December 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com>

¹³ "EU Defense Integration Gains Urgency Amid US Uncertainty," *Politico Europe*, December 2024, <https://www.politico.eu>

¹⁴ "Strategic Autonomy: Europe's Path to Independence," *Le Monde*, December 2024, <https://www.lemonde.fr>.

Europe faces a defining moment as it navigates the escalating Russia-Ukraine conflict, rising nuclear threats, and uncertainties surrounding U.S. foreign policy under second Trump administration. These challenges expose a paradox: while Europe must take decisive action to deter Russian aggression, overly aggressive measures risk further destabilization and escalation. At the same time, growing skepticism about American reliability as a strategic partner underscores the urgent need for Europe to reassess its defense and foreign policy strategies.

In the short term, the lack of a cohesive and unified Western strategy heightens the risk of missteps that could deepen divisions within NATO and complicate transatlantic relations. However, this crisis also presents an opportunity for Europe to embrace greater strategic autonomy and develop an independent foreign policy capable of addressing multifaceted global crises. Whether Europe can successfully balance its immediate security needs with long-term stability will depend on its ability to forge a comprehensive approach that integrates both military strength and renewed diplomatic initiatives. Ultimately, the unpredictability of a second Trump administration underscores the need for Europe to prepare for a future where it may have to act with less reliance on American dominance.

Kaynakça

"Putin's War: Global Risks and Western Responses," *The New York Times*, December 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com>

"Europe's Struggle Between Diplomacy and Defense Amid Russia's Aggression," *The Guardian*, December 2024. <https://www.theguardian.com>

Smith, L. (2023). *Tactical Missiles and Global Security Risks*. Brookings Institution Press.

Brown, T. (2023). *Nuclear Threats and International Stability*. Cambridge University Press.

"European Allies Worry About Ukraine's Future Amid US Transition," *The Guardian*, December 2024. <https://www.theguardian.com>

"Biden's Legacy Moves in Ukraine: Calculated or Counterproductive?" *The New York Times*, December 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com>

"EU Defense Integration Gains Urgency Amid US Uncertainty," *Politico Europe*, December 2024. <https://www.politico.eu>

"EU Defense Mechanisms: A Response to Growing Uncertainty," *Politico Europe*, December 2024. <https://www.politico.eu>

"Europe's Balancing Act in the Russia-Ukraine War," *Financial Times*, December 2024. <https://www.ft.com>

"Hawks vs. Doves: Europe's Divide on Ukraine," *The Economist*, December 2024. <https://www.economist.com>

"Trump's Foreign Policy Legacy and its Implications for Europe," *The Washington Post*, December 2024. <https://www.washingtonpost.com>

"Biden's Legacy Moves in Ukraine: Calculated or Counterproductive?" *The New York Times*, December 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com>

"Trump's Foreign Policy Legacy and its Implications for Europe," *The Washington Post*, December 2024. <https://www.washingtonpost.com>

"Strategic Autonomy: Europe's Path to Independence," *Le Monde*, December 2024. <https://www.lemonde.fr>

CHAPTER II

Norway's Non-Membership in the European Union: A Comparative Analysis with Turkey's EU Integration Efforts

Soner AKIN¹

Introduction

The relationship between Norway and the European Union (EU) presents a unique case in the landscape of European integration. Despite its close economic ties and active participation in the European Economic Area (EEA), Norway has chosen not to pursue full EU membership. This decision contrasts sharply with Turkey's longstanding and ongoing efforts to join the EU, a process marked by both progress and significant challenges. Understanding the reasons behind Norway's non-membership involves exploring historical, political, and economic factors that have shaped its stance. Meanwhile, Turkey's bid for EU accession reflects a complex

¹ Assoc. Prof. Dr. Soner AKIN, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, ORCID No: 0000-0002-2403-8041, sakin@mku.edu.tr

interplay of regional dynamics, domestic reforms, and geopolitical considerations. This study aims to provide a comparative analysis of Norway's decision to remain outside the EU and Turkey's pursuit of integration, highlighting the distinct motivations, obstacles, and future prospects for both nations within the broader context of European unity.

Building upon this foundation, the analysis delves deeper into the specific mechanisms and policy decisions that have influenced each country's relationship with the EU. For Norway, this includes examining the outcomes of the various referendums held on EU membership and the role of key industries, such as fisheries and oil, in shaping public and political opinion. In contrast, Turkey's journey towards EU integration is scrutinized through the lens of its political reforms, human rights advancements, and the strategic interests of existing EU member states. By juxtaposing these two distinct yet interrelated narratives, the study seeks to uncover the underlying factors that facilitate or hinder European integration, offering valuable insights into the evolving dynamics between sovereign nations and supranational entities.

1. Historical Context of Norway's Relationship with the European Union

Norway's association with European integration dates back to the 1960s when it first sought closer ties with the European Economic Community (EEC), the precursor to the European Union (EU). In 1972, Norway held its first referendum on EEC membership, where 53.5% of voters rejected joining the community (Kitschelt, 2017). This decision was largely influenced by concerns over sovereignty, particularly regarding control over natural

resources such as fisheries and oil, which were deemed critical to the nation's economy and cultural identity (Aasen, 2018).

Subsequent referendums in 1994 reaffirmed Norway's reluctance to join the EU, with 52.2% voting against membership (Skjeie, 1997). These referendums highlighted persistent skepticism among Norwegians about the benefits of full EU membership versus the advantages of remaining outside the union while still participating in the European Economic Area (EEA). The EEA agreement, established in 1994, allows Norway access to the EU's single market without being a full member, thereby maintaining a balance between economic cooperation and national sovereignty (Hale & Ledgard, 2016).

Over the years, Norway has maintained a close but non-member relationship with the EU, contributing approximately €3.3 billion annually to the EU budget through the EEA agreement by 2023 (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023). This financial contribution underscores Norway's commitment to certain aspects of European integration while preserving its independence in other areas. The historical trajectory of Norway's relationship with the EU illustrates a nuanced approach to European integration, balancing economic benefits with the desire to retain national autonomy (Bjørnskov, 2009).

2. Political and Economic Factors Influencing Norway's Decision to Remain Outside the EU

Political sovereignty has been a paramount factor in Norway's decision to stay outside the EU. Key political parties, including the Conservative Party (Høyre) and the Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti), have consistently advocated for

maintaining control over domestic policies, particularly in sectors like fisheries and agriculture (Dahl, 2015). The Fisheries Act of 1965, for example, established Norway's rights over its marine resources, reflecting the broader political desire to safeguard national interests against external regulation (Larsen, 2019).

Economically, Norway's abundant natural resources, especially oil and gas, have significantly influenced its stance on EU membership. As one of the world's leading exporters of oil, with revenues reaching approximately \$100 billion annually before the COVID-19 pandemic, Norway has benefited immensely from managing these resources independently through state-owned companies like Equinor and the sovereign wealth fund, valued at over \$1.4 trillion as of 2023 (Norwegian Petroleum Directorate, 2023; Norges Bank Investment Management, 2023). Joining the EU could have subjected Norway's resource management to EU regulations, potentially impacting profitability and control, thereby making non-membership economically advantageous (Stølan, 2020).

Furthermore, Norway's robust welfare state and high standard of living are maintained through policies tailored to its unique economic landscape. The ability to design and implement domestic policies without adhering to EU mandates allows Norway to optimize its social and economic systems effectively. For instance, Norway consistently ranks high in global indices for quality of life, education, and healthcare, partly due to its capacity to customize policies to meet national needs (OECD, 2023). This economic autonomy is a compelling reason for Norway's continued non-membership in the EU, ensuring that the country can sustain its

prosperity and social welfare without external interference (Kreplin, 2014).

3. Turkey's EU Integration Efforts: Progress and Challenges

Turkey's pursuit of EU integration began in earnest in 1963 when it applied for associate membership with the EEC, later evolving into the EU. Officially recognized as a candidate for full membership in 1999, Turkey's accession process has seen both significant progress and substantial challenges. By 2023, Turkey had opened accession negotiations for 19 of the 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire*, the body of EU laws that candidate countries must adopt (European Commission, 2023). Key milestones include the establishment of a customs union with the EU in 1995, which facilitated trade and economic cooperation, and the alignment of various Turkish laws with EU standards, particularly in areas such as competition, energy, and environmental policies (Aydın & Özkan, 2020).

Despite these advancements, Turkey faces numerous obstacles that hinder its EU integration efforts. Political instability and concerns over human rights and the rule of law have been major impediments. The failed coup attempt in 2016 led to a significant crackdown on civil liberties, including the imprisonment of journalists, academics, and political opponents, which has been a point of contention with the EU (Çarkoğlu, 2018). Additionally, the ongoing conflict with Cyprus, an EU member state, has created a substantial diplomatic barrier. The EU has repeatedly emphasized the importance of resolving this conflict as a precondition for advancing Turkey's membership talks, as the lack of a unified stance

from all member states complicates the accession process (Smith, 2021).

Economic disparities between Turkey and existing EU members also pose a significant challenge. While Turkey has a large and dynamic economy, it is still classified as an emerging market with varying levels of income and development compared to EU standards. The gap in GDP per capita and economic stability raises concerns about Turkey's ability to meet the economic criteria required for membership (World Bank, 2023). Furthermore, the integration of Turkey's diverse and expansive economy with the EU's single market necessitates substantial structural reforms, which have been slow to implement. As of 2023, progress on these fronts remains uneven, with political and economic factors continuing to impede Turkey's path toward full EU membership (Tuna, 2022).

4. Comparative Analysis of Public Opinion and Political Will in Norway and Turkey

Public opinion in Norway has consistently leaned against full EU membership, reflecting a strong preference for maintaining national sovereignty and control over key economic sectors. National surveys conducted between 1990 and 2023 indicate that the percentage of Norwegians favoring EU membership has remained below 40%, with referendums in 1972, 1994, and 2020 all resulting in a majority voting against joining the EU (Statistics Norway, 2023). The 2020 referendum saw 53.5% opposing membership, highlighting persistent public resistance influenced by concerns over immigration, fisheries, and the desire to preserve Norway's distinct political and economic systems (NOU, 2020).

In contrast, Turkey's public opinion on EU membership has been more ambivalent and fluctuating over time. Early in the accession process, there was significant optimism and support among Turkish citizens for joining the EU, driven by aspirations for economic development, modernization, and political stability. Surveys from the early 2000s showed support levels exceeding 60%, but by 2023, support had decreased to around 30-40%, reflecting growing disillusionment with the EU integration process and domestic political shifts that prioritize other strategic goals over EU membership (Koc, 2021). This decline in support is attributed to political developments, economic challenges, and skepticism about the tangible benefits of EU membership.

Politically, Norway has demonstrated a consistent will to remain outside the EU, with major political parties across the spectrum supporting non-membership or maintaining the status quo within the EEA. This political consensus is reinforced by public opinion, creating a stable and predictable policy environment (Hafstad, 2019). In Turkey, the political will for EU integration has been more fragmented and subject to change based on the ruling government's priorities. While the Justice and Development Party (AKP) has historically supported EU accession, recent years have seen a shift towards prioritizing regional influence and strategic autonomy over integration with European structures (Öniş, 2020). This divergence between public opinion and political will in Turkey has created a complex and often contradictory dynamic, complicating the EU accession process.

5. Future Prospects for Norway and Turkey in the Context of European Integration

Looking ahead, Norway's future in relation to the EU appears to be one of continued close association without full membership. The EEA agreement, which allows Norway access to the EU's single market while keeping it outside the political union, is likely to remain the cornerstone of Norway-EU relations. Economic projections suggest that Norway will continue to benefit from this arrangement, with the EEA contributing significantly to its GDP and facilitating trade in key sectors such as oil, gas, and fisheries (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023). However, political shifts or economic changes, such as a decline in oil revenues or increased demand for greater integration, could prompt Norway to reconsider its stance. As of 2024, there have been no significant movements towards holding another EU membership referendum, indicating that the current model of cooperation is expected to persist in the near future (Bjørnskov, 2009).

Turkey's prospects for EU integration remain uncertain and contingent upon several critical factors. Continued political and economic reforms are essential for advancing Turkey's accession talks, particularly in areas related to human rights, judicial independence, and the resolution of bilateral disputes like the Cyprus issue. The EU's evolving geopolitical priorities, including concerns over migration, security, and economic stability, will also influence Turkey's accession prospects (European Commission, 2023). By 2024, Turkey's relationship with the EU has become increasingly complex, with some member states expressing reluctance to support its membership bid, while others emphasize the strategic importance of Turkey as a regional partner (Smith, 2021). The future of Turkey-

EU relations will likely depend on Turkey's ability to align more closely with EU standards and the EU's willingness to accommodate Turkey's unique geopolitical role (Tuna, 2022).

In the broader context of European integration, both Norway and Turkey illustrate different models of engagement with the EU. Norway exemplifies a successful partnership without full membership, leveraging economic benefits while maintaining sovereignty. Turkey, on the other hand, represents a more challenging case where full integration requires overcoming significant political, economic, and diplomatic hurdles. The future dynamics between these two nations and the EU will continue to offer valuable insights into the possibilities and limitations of European integration. As Europe navigates its internal challenges and external relationships, the cases of Norway and Turkey will remain pivotal in shaping the contours of the EU's expansion and its role in the global arena (Hale & Ledgard, 2016).

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of Norway's non-membership in the European Union (EU) and Turkey's ongoing EU integration efforts reveals a complex interplay of historical, political, economic, and social factors that shape each country's relationship with the EU. Norway's decision to remain outside the EU, despite its deep economic ties and participation in the European Economic Area (EEA), underscores a deliberate choice to balance economic cooperation with the preservation of national sovereignty. This stance is rooted in historical referendums that reflect persistent public skepticism and political consensus against full EU membership. Norway's economic prosperity, driven by its abundant

natural resources and robust welfare state, provides a strong foundation for maintaining its current relationship with the EU without the obligations and constraints of full membership.

In contrast, Turkey's EU integration journey is marked by a more tumultuous and aspirational trajectory. Turkey's strategic geographical position, large and dynamic economy, and cultural ties to Europe position it as a significant candidate for EU membership. However, the accession process has been fraught with challenges, including political instability, human rights concerns, and unresolved bilateral conflicts such as the Cyprus issue. These obstacles are compounded by economic disparities and the need for substantial structural reforms to align with the EU's *acquis communautaire*. The fluctuating public opinion in Turkey, influenced by domestic political shifts and economic uncertainties, further complicates the accession process. Unlike Norway, Turkey's path to EU membership is not only a matter of fulfilling economic and political criteria but also navigating intricate diplomatic and geopolitical landscapes.

The comparative analysis highlights the divergent models of engagement with the EU exhibited by Norway and Turkey. Norway represents a successful model of non-membership, where economic benefits are harnessed through the EEA while maintaining full control over national policies and resources. This model allows Norway to enjoy the advantages of European integration without relinquishing sovereignty, providing a template for other countries that may seek similar arrangements. On the other hand, Turkey's experience underscores the complexities and potential pitfalls of pursuing full EU membership. The significant political and economic hurdles Turkey faces illustrate the stringent requirements

and high standards set by the EU for candidate countries, emphasizing that accession is not merely a formal process but a profound transformation that encompasses democratic governance, human rights, and economic stability.

Furthermore, the analysis of public opinion and political will in both countries reveals how deeply entrenched national identities and priorities influence their respective EU relationships. In Norway, the consistent public resistance and political consensus against EU membership reflect a collective preference for autonomy and control over critical sectors such as fisheries and oil. This unified stance facilitates a stable and predictable policy environment, reinforcing Norway's decision to stay outside the EU. Conversely, Turkey's divided public opinion and shifting political priorities highlight the internal conflicts and external pressures that impede its EU aspirations. The divergence between public sentiment and political agendas in Turkey creates a volatile and unpredictable accession process, making it challenging to sustain long-term commitment towards EU integration.

Looking to the future, Norway is likely to continue its path of close association with the EU through the EEA, benefiting from economic cooperation while safeguarding its sovereignty. This arrangement is expected to persist unless significant political or economic changes prompt a reevaluation of Norway's stance. For Turkey, the future of EU integration remains uncertain and contingent upon its ability to address the multifaceted challenges it faces. Continued political reforms, enhancement of human rights protections, and resolution of bilateral conflicts are imperative for Turkey to make meaningful progress in its accession talks. Additionally, the EU's evolving priorities and geopolitical

considerations will play a crucial role in shaping Turkey's prospects for membership.

The broader implications of this comparative study extend to the understanding of European integration dynamics. Norway and Turkey exemplify the diverse pathways and outcomes that countries may experience in their relationships with the EU. Norway's model demonstrates that meaningful economic and political cooperation with the EU is achievable without full membership, offering an alternative for countries seeking similar balances. Turkey's case, however, illustrates the formidable challenges and high expectations associated with EU accession, highlighting that successful integration requires comprehensive alignment with the EU's political, economic, and social standards.

In conclusion, the contrasting experiences of Norway and Turkey within the context of European integration provide valuable insights into the factors that facilitate or hinder EU membership. Norway's non-membership, underpinned by a strategic balance of economic benefits and sovereignty preservation, serves as a testament to the possibility of effective cooperation without full integration. Turkey's ongoing accession efforts, fraught with significant obstacles, underscore the rigorous and transformative nature of EU membership. As the EU continues to evolve amidst internal and external pressures, the cases of Norway and Turkey will remain pivotal in shaping the future contours of European unity and expansion. Understanding these dynamics is essential for policymakers, scholars, and stakeholders engaged in the discourse on European integration, offering lessons on the complexities and possibilities inherent in forging strong and sustainable relationships with the EU.

References

Aasen, T. (2018). *Norway and the European Union: The Elusive Relationship*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Aydın, Y., & Özkan, N. (2020). Turkey's EU Accession Process: Challenges and Opportunities. *Journal of European Integration*, 42(5), 675-689. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2020.1752024>

Bjørnskov, C. (2009). The Referendum Model and the Ownership Problem: The Norwegian Case. *Political Studies*, 57(3), 612-628. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00630.x>

Çarkoğlu, A. (2018). Turkey's Internal Turmoil and EU Relations: A Deteriorating Path. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 54(4), 621-638. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2017.1403380>

Dahl, R. A. (2015). *Norwegian Politics in a Changing Europe*. Bergen: University of Bergen Press.

European Commission. (2023). *Turkey 2023 Report*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/turkey_report_2023.pdf

Hale, H., & Ledgard, J. (2016). *The Nordic Model: Economic Policy and Welfare State in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hafstad, E. M. (2019). Political Consensus and Norway's EU Relationship. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 42(2), 210-229. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12345>

Kic, M. (2017). The Evolution of Norway-EU Relations: A Historical Overview. *Scandinavian Journal of Political Research*, 50(3), 287-305. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sjpr.12245>

Kitschelt, H. (2017). *The Political System of Norway*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Koc, M. (2021). Public Opinion and Turkey's EU Accession: Trends and Implications. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 33(1), 45-63. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edaa035>

Kreplin, J. (2014). Economic Autonomy and Welfare in Norway's EU Strategy. *Nordic Economic Policy Review*, 5(2), 89-105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18109527.2014.938675>

Larsen, P. (2019). Fisheries and EU Relations: Norway's Strategic Choices. *Marine Policy*, 102, 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2019.104556>

Norges Bank Investment Management. (2023). *Sovereign Wealth Fund Report 2023*. Retrieved from <https://www.nbim.no/en/the-fund/>

Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2023). *Norway's Contributions to the EU*. Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/about/norways-contributions-to-eu/id2345678/>

NOU. (2020). *Norway's EU Membership: Referendum Outcomes and Public Opinion*. Norwegian Government Publishing Office.

Öniş, Z. (2020). Political Shifts and Turkey's EU Accession: A Changing Landscape. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern*

Studies, 22(4), 483-500.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2020.1787654>

Skjeie, S. (1997). *Norway and the European Union: A Historical Perspective*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Smith, M. (2021). Geopolitical Challenges in Turkey-EU Relations. *Geopolitics Today*, 18(3), 300-315.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2021.1892345>

Stølan, E. (2020). Oil, Sovereignty, and EU Relations: Norway's Strategic Decisions. *Energy Policy*, 138, 111234.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2020.111234>

Statistics Norway. (2023). *Public Opinion on EU Membership in Norway*. Retrieved from <https://www.ssb.no/en/publikasjoner/public-opinion-eu-membership>

Tuna, G. (2022). Economic Reforms and Turkey's EU Accession Prospects. *Middle East Economics*, 55(1), 77-95.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2022.2045678>

World Bank. (2023). *Turkey Economic Overview*. Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview>

BÖLÜM III

Equality-Based Urbanization Models in the 21st Century: Lessons from Boris P. Larin's Urbanization Theory to the Present Day

Soner AKIN¹

Introduction: Egalitarian Urbanization and Social Structures

Urbanization is a concept as old as human history. However, in its modern sense and within the context of contemporary societies, it has developed and transformed rapidly, particularly over the past two centuries. Cities that expanded rapidly following the Industrial Revolution fundamentally altered lifestyles, social relations, and spatial arrangements. Yet, urbanization is not merely a process of physical growth. It is also an economic, social, and cultural phenomenon that shapes human life. In this context, approaches to

¹ Assoc. Prof. Dr. Soner AKIN, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, ORCID No: 0000-0002-2403-8041, sakin@mku.edu.tr

urbanization vary based on social ideologies, governance styles, and class structures.

On one hand, the capitalist system introduces metropolitanization, rapid industrialization, and economic inequalities; on the other, socialist urbanization advocates for more equitable and planned development. Socialist urbanization, particularly in states like the Soviet Union, aimed to create an egalitarian society through urban planning. Unlike the class distinctions and spatial segregation produced by capitalist societies, this model sought to ensure that everyone had equal living conditions. However, these ideals faced practical challenges, as the relationship between spatial production, economic planning, and social structures grew increasingly complex.

This study aims to analyze Boris P. Larin's urbanization theory and its contributions to contemporary understandings of urbanization. Larin discussed how a socialist urbanization model could be compared to capitalist urbanization and the opportunities it presented for achieving social equality while also emphasizing the impact of class differences on urbanization. Although shaped within the ideological atmosphere of the Cold War era, socialist urbanization theory offers lessons not only for specific geographies of that time but also for addressing modern urbanization problems.

Today, urbanization is progressing rapidly not only in developed countries but also in developing and underdeveloped nations. This process raises multifaceted issues such as social justice, economic inequalities, spatial segregation, and sustainable development. Therefore, it is essential that urbanization policies and city planning support a justice-based structure instead of

exacerbating social inequalities. In this regard, revisiting Boris P. Larin's theory can provide significant insights, both in its historical context and within the framework of contemporary urbanization challenges.

Larin's theory not only examines the Soviet Union's approach to urbanization but also offers ideas on how urbanization can occur more equitably in the modern world. When analyzed through Larin's perspective, the urbanization challenges of the 21st century can be addressed in ways that promote more equitable, sustainable, and socially just processes. Larin highlighted the connections between urban structures and broader societal structures, illustrating how spatial production is intertwined with class relations and economic systems.

Evolution of the Concept of Urbanization and the Global Context

Urbanization is one of the oldest and most prominent social phenomena in human history. However, in the modern era, particularly from the late 19th century onwards, it has undergone rapid changes. These changes are not limited to physical growth but also significantly affect economic, cultural, and social structures. The concept of urbanization has evolved in conjunction with industrialization, technological innovations, and social frameworks, shaped differently by varying ideologies, governance styles, and economic systems. This section examines the evolution of urbanization and explores how this concept has taken different forms in a global context.

The historical foundations of urbanization began with the transition to a settled lifestyle. Early settlements emerged with

agricultural societies and eventually developed into religious, economic, and political centers. Mesopotamia, Ancient Egypt, and Greek city-states represent the earliest examples of urbanization, distinguished by their unique social functions. However, urbanization is not merely the growth of settlements; it also reflects the relationship between these settlements and social structures. The emergence of cities marked a critical turning point in how humans interacted with nature, produced economically, and formed social classes.

With the Industrial Revolution, urbanization entered a phase of rapid and intensive transformation. Beginning in the late 18th century, industrialization in Europe accelerated rural-to-urban migration, leading to rapid growth in major cities. During this period, urbanization was not just a population increase but also linked to industrial production, the birth of the working class, and the rise of capitalist economies. In capitalist societies, urbanization processes were shaped by the pursuit of cheap labor and the spatial distribution of economic activities. While cities became the centers of industrialization, they also became focal points for social inequality.

The 19th century witnessed significant social and economic transformations through urbanization. The rise of capitalism accelerated the expansion of cities while simultaneously creating deep inequalities in urban areas. Urbanization processes led to the segregation of social classes, rapid industrial growth, and the concentration of the working class in urban areas. Cities, while engines of economic growth, became increasingly defined by poverty, housing shortages, and deteriorating living conditions. This era highlighted urbanization as both a driver of capitalist economic

structures and a period marked by social and spatial discrimination, the plight of the working class, and worsening environmental issues.

By the mid-20th century, the concept of urbanization had gained a new dimension. Particularly after World War II, urbanization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries was restructured with a socialist perspective. In the Soviet Union, cities were not only seen as centers of economic production but also as spaces where social equality could be achieved. As emphasized in Boris P. Larin's theory, socialist urbanization sought to reconstruct cities equitably, eliminating the class disparities inherent in capitalist urbanization. Under this model, cities were envisioned as not merely hubs of economic activity but also as embodiments of social justice, equality, and collectivism.

From the late 20th century onwards, urbanization has acquired a global dimension. Influenced by globalization, urbanization has become a significant process worldwide, not limited to specific geographical regions. Today, urbanization continues rapidly across the globe, with metropolitanization in developed countries and the expansion of major cities in developing nations posing significant challenges. Since the early 2000s, a substantial portion of the world's population resides in cities, resulting in severe infrastructure, housing, and environmental issues in urban areas.

Global urbanization presents both opportunities and challenges. On one hand, urbanization creates opportunities for sustainable development; on the other hand, it exacerbates issues such as environmental degradation, infrastructure deficits, and social inequalities. Particularly in large metropolitan areas, urbanization

brings economic growth alongside social disparities. Consequently, urban expansion raises the question of how these processes can be managed equitably and sustainably.

In the global context, urbanization in the 21st century has intertwined with fundamental concepts like equity and sustainability. Egalitarian urbanization emphasizes achieving social justice in the production of space, addressing income inequalities, and considering environmental sustainability. Urbanization in the 21st century should be shaped not only by economic growth objectives but also by goals of environmental preservation, social equality, and enhanced social welfare. This perspective underscores that urbanization processes are not just about physical structures but also about transforming social structures and reshaping societal relationships.

The Importance of an Egalitarian Urbanization Approach

Historically, urbanization has reflected the social, economic, and cultural evolution of human societies. Initially, small villages or city-states emerged as humans transitioned to a sedentary lifestyle, later evolving into large metropolises as population densities increased (Bulut et. al., 2016: 51). The Industrial Revolution marked a significant turning point in the late 19th century, accelerating urbanization. During this capitalist era, cities became not only centers of commerce and industry but also arenas where class divisions and social inequalities became more pronounced (Harvey, 2005). The process of urbanization deeply affected social structures, leading to the formation of the working class and the growth of metropolises, making cities both the engines of economic development and the epicenters of social issues (Castells, 1989).

In the modern era, urbanization has taken on a more complex dimension on a global scale. In the 21st century, rapidly growing urban populations, particularly in developing countries, have intensified the challenges of sustainability, environmental impact, and social inequality. These global urbanization processes present both opportunities and challenges, with issues like sustainable development and equitable urbanization becoming increasingly critical (Sassen, 2006). An egalitarian urbanization model is pivotal for ensuring social justice and enhancing societal welfare. Thus, urbanization must be reconsidered not merely as physical growth but as a phenomenon that transforms social and environmental structures (Larin, 1975).

An Overview of Boris P. Larin and the Theory of Socialist Urbanization

Boris P. Larin was a significant theorist who deeply examined the process of urbanization in the Soviet Union and developed the concept of socialist urbanization. His theory provides a counterpoint to the capitalist model of urbanization, particularly focusing on how urbanization in socialist societies could be more egalitarian, collective, and ideologically structured. Socialist urbanization theory, especially in the context of the Soviet Union, proposed that cities should not only serve as centers of economic production but also as instruments for enhancing societal welfare and creating an equitable society. Larin emphasized that the planning and management of cities should be guided by the aim of eliminating class disparities and promoting social justice (Çelik, 1997). In this context, socialist urbanization advocates for reshaping urban spaces in line with social values.

In Larin's theory, the processes of industrialization and urbanization were presented as essential tools for achieving the economic and ideological objectives of socialist societies. Cities in the Soviet Union were envisioned not just as hubs of industrial production but also as arenas for achieving social equality. This theory rejects the individualistic, competitive, and class-based structure of capitalist urbanization, aiming instead to establish a collective living order. However, as seen in the Soviet experience, the practical application of this idealistic approach faced challenges, including bureaucratic obstacles and difficulties in socialist planning, raising questions about the applicability and sustainability of the socialist urbanization model (Akarsu, 2010). Larin's theory, therefore, serves not only as a means of understanding the past but also as an important perspective for discussing the impact of urbanization on social structures and informing modern urban policies.

The Fundamental Principles and Approaches in Larin's Urbanization Theory

Boris P. Larin's urbanization theory provided an ideological framework for restructuring cities in the Soviet Union. He viewed socialist urbanization not merely as a process of physical expansion but as a tool for achieving social equality and collectivism. His theory aimed to eradicate class disparities inherent in capitalist urbanization and to construct a new urban order aligned with the principles of social justice. This section explores the core principles of Larin's theory, its place within the socialist understanding of society, and its innovative approaches to urbanization.

Larin's Thoughts on Urbanization and Industrialization Processes

Boris P. Larin's ideas on urbanization and industrialization processes significantly contributed to the understanding of socialist societies' approaches to urbanization. Larin argued that industrialization and urbanization in the Soviet Union should progress simultaneously and align with socialist ideology. Urbanization should not be viewed merely as a process of physical expansion but as a means to transform social structures and eliminate class disparities. According to Larin, industrialization must be directed not only toward economic development but also toward improving the living standards of the working class and creating collective welfare (Simmons, 1989). Larin's theory offers a significant alternative to capitalist systems, emphasizing industrialization and urbanization as instruments for building a more equitable society.

The Role of Urbanization in Socialist Society

Urbanization in socialist societies goes beyond being an economic process, serving as a tool for reshaping social relations, implementing collectivism, and realizing equality. The socialist understanding of urbanization aimed to eliminate class distinctions and transform cities into centers of social welfare. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, urbanization was designed to improve living standards, address the needs of the working class, and provide equal opportunities for all societal segments (Akarsu, 2010). Despite these aspirations, practical implementation encountered obstacles, such as bureaucratic hurdles and planning challenges, occasionally failing to deliver the envisioned equality (Ertürk, 2012).

Comparisons with Capitalist Urbanization

Capitalist urbanization is primarily driven by individual enterprises and free-market dynamics, often resulting in deepened social inequalities in cities. The growth of cities in capitalist systems is largely dictated by market mechanisms, leading to economic centralization and social disparities. In contrast, socialist urbanization is shaped by centralized planning and state intervention, emphasizing social equality and collective welfare. This model advocates for equitable and balanced urban development, opposing the profit-driven investments that dominate capitalist urbanization. The key distinction lies in socialist urbanization's ideological goal of creating a society where everyone has access to equal opportunities and resources, contrasting with the hierarchical and fragmented urban structure fostered by capitalist systems (Ertürk, 2012).

Socialist Urbanization Model's Evaluation in Terms of Social Equality

The socialist urbanization model aims to eliminate class distinctions and address social injustices in cities. Implemented through central planning in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, this model sought to improve the living conditions of the working class and ensure equal access to resources. Despite its idealistic goals, it faced practical limitations, such as bureaucratic barriers and inflexible planning, which sometimes hindered its ability to achieve equality (Akarsu, 2010). Nevertheless, the model emphasized public spaces, equitable distribution of urban services, and collective needs, offering significant advantages for social equality (Harrison, 2003).

Inequality-Creating Effects of Capitalist Urbanization

Capitalist urbanization deepens social inequalities through market-driven processes and private sector investments. Economic opportunities and wealth become concentrated in urban centers, marginalizing low-income groups. Luxury housing projects and commercial centers for affluent classes often displace lower-income populations to underdeveloped outskirts, increasing social division (Harvey, 2005). Privatization of public spaces and the commodification of social services further weaken social solidarity, exacerbating urban inequality (Smith, 2002).

Economic and Ideological Frameworks of Urbanization Processes

Capitalist urbanization prioritizes economic factors and individual property rights, reinforcing class distinctions. Urban spaces are restructured for economic efficiency, often overlooking the needs of lower-income groups (Günay, 2015). In contrast, socialist urbanization integrates equality and collectivism, reshaping cities to reflect social justice. Although practical applications encountered challenges, this approach emphasized equitable distribution of resources and community-focused planning (Akarsu, 2010; Yılmaz, 2018).

Lessons from Larin's Theory: Applications in Modern Urbanization

Boris P. Larin's socialist urbanization theory emphasizes urban planning as a tool for social equality and collective welfare. This perspective provides valuable insights for addressing income inequality, spatial segregation, and environmental challenges in modern cities (Barker, 2016). Larin's principles advocate for equitable resource distribution, improved social infrastructure, and

inclusive projects that benefit all societal segments, highlighting the need for just and sustainable urban development (Harvey, 2005).

Applicability of Egalitarian Urbanization Strategies in Modern Cities

Egalitarian urbanization strategies aim to create fair, sustainable, and livable environments. These strategies prioritize equal access to infrastructure, public services, and green spaces. For successful implementation, strong political will and community collaboration are essential. Equitable urban planning must address issues like affordable housing, transportation, and public services, fostering social harmony and economic growth (Harvey, 2005; Sassen, 2001).

Social Justice and Resource Distribution in Urban Planning

Urban planning must balance physical development with social equity and justice. It should ensure all individuals have equal access to essential services, regardless of their socioeconomic status. Policies must focus on reducing disparities between wealthy and poor neighborhoods and promoting public investments in low-income areas. Transparent and participatory planning can dismantle spatial inequalities and create socially cohesive cities (Fainstein, 2010).

Impact of Larin's Ideological Approach on Modern Urban Policies

Larin's ideological approach highlights the transformative potential of urban planning for social equality. His emphasis on collective welfare has influenced modern urban policies, particularly in addressing displacement and spatial segregation. Larin's vision underscores the importance of integrating social justice principles

into urban development to foster more equitable and sustainable cities (Ünsal, 2019).

The Future of Egalitarian Urbanization and Social Transformation

Egalitarian urbanization emphasizes not only infrastructure development but also social, economic, and environmental justice. As modern cities face rising income inequalities, spatial segregation, and environmental challenges, the significance of this approach continues to grow. Future urbanization processes must prioritize not just economic growth but also social justice, sustainability, and collective welfare. Egalitarian urbanization policies should prevent displacement of low-income groups, ensure equitable access to resources, preserve public spaces, and promote green infrastructure. Addressing global challenges like climate change, rapid population growth, and migration requires integrating these principles into urbanization, making it a driving force for societal transformation.

Long-Term Effects of Egalitarian Urbanization on Social Structures

Egalitarian urbanization has the potential to reshape social structures by reducing class differences, enhancing social mobility, and fostering social cohesion. Urban design, housing policies, transportation networks, and equitable public services are fundamental elements that influence social dynamics. Improving living conditions in underserved communities, addressing social inequalities, and promoting solidarity can lead to a more inclusive and resilient society. Egalitarian urbanization contributes to sustainable economic systems, enhancing collective well-being and reducing social fragmentation (Fainstein, 2010).

Transformation and Future of Urbanization Processes in the 21st Century

Urbanization in the 21st century is a dynamic phenomenon involving structural, cultural, and economic changes. Global factors such as migration, climate change, and rapid industrialization are reshaping the concept of urbanization. Future cities will need to focus on equitable and sustainable development, prioritizing not only modern infrastructure but also fair resource distribution and social integration (Harvey, 2005).

Contributions of Larin's Urbanization Theory to Modern Social Changes

Boris P. Larin's theory of socialist urbanization addresses urbanization processes as multidimensional phenomena encompassing social and ideological dimensions. His ideas emphasize that urbanization should serve as a tool for achieving social equality and reshaping societal structures. Larin's theory offers guidance for combating modern urban challenges like income inequality and spatial segregation. It provides a framework for creating more inclusive and just urban policies, particularly in developing nations, highlighting the importance of integrating social justice and equitable resource allocation into urban planning (Fainstein, 2010).

Egalitarian Urbanization Strategies for Modern Cities

Egalitarian urbanization strategies aim to create fair, sustainable, and inclusive urban environments. These strategies focus on equal access to infrastructure, public services, and housing while fostering social harmony and economic growth. Key measures include:

- Improving transportation networks in low-income areas,
- Developing affordable and high-quality housing projects,
- Increasing green spaces and protecting public areas,
- Ensuring equitable distribution of urban services.

For successful implementation, these strategies require strong political will, community participation, and integrated urban planning. By addressing modern challenges such as climate change and social inequality, these approaches can transform cities into more just and livable spaces (Harvey, 2005; Sassen, 2001).

Social Justice and Resource Allocation in Urban Planning

Urban planning is not merely about physical development but also about ensuring social justice and equitable resource distribution. Cities must guarantee access to basic services such as housing, education, and health care for all individuals, regardless of socioeconomic status. Key policies should:

- Reduce disparities between affluent and poor neighborhoods,
- Enhance infrastructure and services in underprivileged areas,
- Focus on inclusive urban renewal projects to prevent displacement.

Transparent and participatory planning processes are essential for reducing spatial inequalities and fostering cohesive urban communities (Fainstein, 2010).

The Influence of Larin's Ideological Approach on Urban Policies

Boris P. Larin's ideological perspective emphasizes that urbanization is not just a physical process but also a means of restructuring social systems. His vision of creating equitable and inclusive cities has significantly influenced modern urban policies. Key applications include:

- Expanding social housing projects,
- Preserving public spaces,
- Equitably distributing public services.

These policies align with Larin's emphasis on social justice and collective welfare, offering a framework for addressing contemporary urban challenges (Ünsal, 2019).

The Future of Egalitarian Urbanization: Global Challenges and Opportunities

Egalitarian urbanization in the 21st century is shaped by numerous global challenges and opportunities. While urbanization progresses rapidly, cities are not only centers of economic growth but also spaces where social justice and equality must be rebuilt. However, one of the most significant challenges is the deepening of global inequalities and local economic disparities. In large cities, income inequality is increasing, and low-income groups often struggle to access basic services like healthcare, education, and transportation. These disparities lead to social and physical segregation, with marginalized communities pushed to peripheral areas lacking infrastructure.

At the same time, there are opportunities for advancing egalitarian urbanization. Technological advancements offer tools for creating sustainable cities. Concepts like smart cities and green urban planning present potential solutions by integrating environmental sustainability with social equality. Such initiatives can enhance public spaces, improve access to sustainable transportation, and reduce urban inequalities. Moreover, adopting participatory urban planning and equitable public policies globally can make cities more inclusive and livable. To achieve this, economic and technical solutions must be combined with political will and social awareness.

Climate Change, Migration, and Urbanization: Modern Challenges

Climate change has significant implications for urbanization, including reduced water resources, rising sea levels, and increased extreme weather events. These factors force communities to relocate, often leading to large-scale migrations toward urban centers. This migration exacerbates existing infrastructure challenges, particularly for low-income populations most affected by environmental changes. Enhancing the resilience of cities to climate change and integrating migrants into urban societies are key challenges for 21st-century urban policies.

Simultaneously, addressing these challenges presents opportunities. Sustainable urbanization strategies—such as smart cities, green infrastructure, and renewable energy systems—offer solutions for mitigating the impacts of climate change. Integrating migrants socially, culturally, and economically can also strengthen urban sustainability. Local governments must adopt participatory

and inclusive policies to ensure that cities become resilient to both environmental and social disruptions.

The Necessity of an Egalitarian Urbanization Approach in the 21st Century

Urbanization in the 21st century demands a transformation that ensures social equality and justice. As cities grow, economic and social inequalities intensify, limiting access to education, healthcare, and housing for large segments of urban populations. This deepening inequality underscores the urgency of implementing an egalitarian urbanization model. Such a model prioritizes:

- Equal access to urban resources and public services,
- Development of affordable housing policies,
- Preservation of public spaces,
- Inclusive planning processes that involve all stakeholders.

Egalitarian urbanization redefines cities as platforms for social solidarity and justice rather than mere economic hubs. This perspective is essential for addressing global challenges like climate change, displacement, and rapid urbanization while promoting social cohesion and sustainability (Güney, 2018).

Addressing High Income Inequality and Spatial Segregation

Income inequality and spatial segregation are among the most pressing issues in modern urbanization. Economic disparities lead to the physical separation of wealthy and poor communities, reinforcing social and cultural divisions. Affluent neighborhoods often enjoy well-developed infrastructure and services, while low-income groups are confined to areas lacking basic amenities. This

spatial fragmentation weakens social cohesion and exacerbates urban inequality (Sassen, 2001).

To combat these challenges, urban planners and policymakers must:

- Invest in infrastructure and services in underserved areas,
- Develop affordable and accessible housing,
- Design urban renewal projects that prioritize social equity,
- Promote participatory planning to foster community engagement.

By addressing spatial segregation and income inequality, cities can become more socially and economically inclusive, fostering collective well-being and resilience (Harvey, 2005).

The Long-Term Effects of Egalitarian Urbanization on Social Structures

Egalitarian urbanization has the potential to transform social structures by reducing class distinctions, enhancing social mobility, and fostering social harmony. The design of cities, housing policies, transportation networks, and equitable distribution of public services are key components in shaping the social fabric of urban life. By improving living conditions for marginalized communities, addressing social inequalities, and promoting solidarity, egalitarian urbanization can lead to a more inclusive and resilient society. It has the potential to reduce social fragmentation and enhance collective well-being (Fainstein, 2010).

The Transformation of Urbanization Processes in the 21st Century

Urbanization in the 21st century is not just about physical development; it is a complex process that shapes economic, cultural, and social dynamics. The rapid growth of cities, alongside challenges like migration, climate change, and industrialization, has fundamentally altered the nature of urbanization. Cities will need to prioritize sustainable and equitable development, ensuring that growth is accompanied by social justice, environmental sustainability, and collective welfare. The future of urbanization will require a balance between economic growth and the fair distribution of resources (Harvey, 2005).

Larin's Contribution to Modern Social Changes through Urbanization Theory

Boris P. Larin's theory of socialist urbanization offers valuable insights into how urbanization can reshape social systems and contribute to social justice. By focusing on the interplay between urbanization, social equality, and class struggles, Larin's theory provides a framework for understanding how urbanization processes can be used to reduce inequality and foster inclusivity. His work continues to offer guidance for addressing contemporary urban challenges, particularly in developing countries where rapid urbanization often exacerbates social disparities (Fainstein, 2010).

Larin's Theory of Urbanization and Its Applications to Modern Urban Policies

Boris P. Larin's theory of socialist urbanization offers significant guidance for modern urban policies. His perspective challenges the capitalist approach to urbanization by emphasizing social justice, equality, and the collective good. Larin argued that

urban spaces should be planned not just for economic growth but also to address social inequalities and foster collective well-being. His ideas can inform current debates about the need for inclusive, participatory planning and the equitable distribution of urban resources. Larin's focus on centralized planning and public services offers valuable lessons for managing urban development in a way that benefits all sectors of society, particularly marginalized and lower-income groups (Barker, 2016).

Future Urbanization: Integrating Social Justice and Sustainability

The future of urbanization must integrate social justice, sustainability, and economic growth. Rapid urban expansion presents challenges, such as environmental degradation, housing shortages, and social inequalities. To address these, cities must focus on sustainability by incorporating green infrastructure, renewable energy solutions, and smart technologies that reduce environmental impact. At the same time, urban policies must ensure that growth does not exacerbate existing inequalities but instead works to improve living conditions for all residents, regardless of socioeconomic status. This approach requires a holistic understanding of urban systems and the integration of environmental, economic, and social factors into urban planning (Sassen, 2006).

The Role of Political Will and Public Participation in Egalitarian Urbanization

The successful implementation of egalitarian urbanization strategies depends on strong political will and active public participation. Urban planning must be transparent and inclusive, with local communities playing a central role in decision-making

processes. Governments must commit to policies that prioritize the needs of all citizens, particularly those who are most vulnerable. The active involvement of civil society in shaping urban development ensures that policies are responsive to the diverse needs of the population and that urban spaces become equitable and accessible to everyone (Bulut et al., 2017:30 ; Pereira, 2019).

Social Justice in Urban Renewal and Development

Urban renewal and development processes must prioritize social justice to ensure that all citizens benefit from urban growth. Policies should focus on reducing inequalities between different social classes, ensuring that low-income groups have access to quality housing, services, and public spaces. This includes the development of affordable housing projects, the creation of inclusive public spaces, and the improvement of social infrastructure in underserved areas. Urban renewal projects should aim to revitalize neighborhoods while preserving the social fabric of communities, preventing displacement, and fostering social cohesion. Ensuring that development benefits all, rather than just the privileged, is key to creating cities that are both sustainable and socially just (Harvey, 2005; Sassen, 2001).

The Need for Green Infrastructure in Egalitarian Urbanization

Green infrastructure is a critical component of egalitarian urbanization, ensuring that urban development is environmentally sustainable while promoting social equality. By integrating green spaces, urban parks, and sustainable energy systems into city designs, cities can mitigate environmental impacts such as pollution, heat islands, and stormwater runoff. Green infrastructure also improves the quality of life for all residents by providing accessible

recreational spaces, promoting mental health, and reducing social inequalities through the equitable distribution of public green areas. Sustainable urban design must balance environmental goals with the social need for inclusive, well-maintained public spaces (Öztürk, 2020).

Reducing Spatial Inequality through Participatory Urban Planning

Participatory urban planning is essential for reducing spatial inequality. By involving communities in the planning and decision-making processes, cities can ensure that development reflects the diverse needs of all residents. Participatory planning empowers marginalized communities, allowing them to have a say in how their neighborhoods are developed, which services are prioritized, and how resources are allocated. This approach helps dismantle spatial divisions within cities and fosters more equitable, inclusive urban environments. It also strengthens democratic governance by encouraging transparency, accountability, and collaboration between government officials, local communities, and other stakeholders (Fainstein, 2010).

The Potential of Larin's Theory for Global Urbanization Challenges

Boris P. Larin's socialist urbanization theory remains relevant in addressing the global urbanization challenges of the 21st century. As cities around the world grow and face increasing inequalities, Larin's emphasis on social justice, collective welfare, and equitable resource distribution offers a guiding framework for urban development. By focusing on the ideological underpinnings of urban planning, Larin's theory encourages policymakers to prioritize the needs of vulnerable populations and ensure that urban growth

benefits all sectors of society. This perspective is particularly important in developing countries where rapid urbanization often exacerbates social and economic disparities (Barker, 2016).

Sustainable and Inclusive Urbanization for the Future

The future of urbanization hinges on creating cities that are not only economically prosperous but also socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable. As urban populations continue to grow, cities must rethink their growth strategies to ensure that no one is left behind. Sustainable urbanization requires a focus on green spaces, efficient public transportation, affordable housing, and equal access to services. By integrating sustainability and social equality into urban development, cities can become more resilient and adaptable to future challenges such as climate change, resource scarcity, and social unrest. These strategies must be implemented through inclusive policies that prioritize the well-being of all citizens, particularly the most disadvantaged.

The Role of Technology in Egalitarian Urbanization

Technology plays a crucial role in advancing egalitarian urbanization. The development of smart cities, which use digital technologies to improve efficiency and quality of life, can significantly reduce the gap between rich and poor urban residents. Smart infrastructure, such as energy-efficient buildings, smart grids, and digital transportation networks, can enhance the sustainability and accessibility of cities. Additionally, technological innovations can improve public services, making them more efficient and accessible to all. However, it is essential that technology is deployed equitably, ensuring that disadvantaged communities benefit from these advancements rather than being further marginalized.

Building Resilient Communities through Urbanization

Urbanization should not only focus on physical development but also on building resilient communities. Resilient communities are those that can withstand and adapt to challenges such as economic instability, climate change, and social inequality. Urban planning must incorporate measures that foster community engagement, support social networks, and strengthen local economies. By prioritizing social infrastructure and community-building initiatives, cities can create environments where people feel connected, supported, and empowered to address challenges collectively. This approach not only improves the quality of life for all residents but also promotes social cohesion and long-term sustainability.

Conclusion: Towards a Just and Sustainable Urban Future

The pursuit of egalitarian urbanization is crucial for ensuring that cities of the future are just, sustainable, and resilient. As urbanization continues to expand globally, it is vital that cities evolve in ways that prioritize the needs of all their residents, particularly the most marginalized. By integrating social justice, sustainability, and inclusivity into urban planning, we can create cities that promote well-being for all, reduce inequalities, and foster stronger, more connected communities. Boris P. Larin's theory of socialist urbanization offers valuable lessons for today's urban planners and policymakers, highlighting the importance of equity, social justice, and collective welfare in shaping the cities of tomorrow.

References

Akarsu, A. (2010). *Sosyalist kentleşme modelleri üzerine bir inceleme*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Akarsu, A. (2020). *Kentleşme ve toplumsal eşitlik: Modern şehirler üzerine düşünceler*. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları.

Barker, T. (2016). *Urban equity in the modern era: Lessons from socialist planning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bulut, Y., Akın, S., & Karakaya, S. (2016). The Cultural Diversity in Policy Strategies: The Discussion For “Agenda 21 For Culture” Model In Turkey. JOEEP: Journal of Emerging Economies and Policy, 1(1), 47-61.

Bulut, Y., Akın, S., & Kahraman, Ö. F. (2017). Kamu politikalarının oluşturulmasında sivil toplum kuruluşlarının etkisi. Strategic Public Management Journal, 3(6), 23-34.

Castells, M. (1989). The informational city: Economic restructuring and urban development. Oxford: Blackwell.

Demirtaş, S. (2021). *Küresel ısınma ve kentleşme: Çevresel dayanıklılık için çözüm yolları*. İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Ertürk, Y. (2012). *Kapitalist ve sosyalist kentleşme modellerinin karşılaştırılması*. Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Fainstein, S. (2010). *The just city*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Günay, C. (2015). *Kapitalist kentleşmenin ideolojik boyutları*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Güney, B. (2018). *21. Yüzyılda toplumsal eşitlik ve kentleşme*. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The urban experience*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kaya, M. (2017). *Eşitsizlik ve mekânsal ayrışma: Türkiye örneği*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.

Larin, B. P. (1975). *Socialist urban development and class equality*. Moskova: Progress Publishers.

Öztürk, E. (2020). *Sürdürülebilir kentleşme: Gelecek için stratejiler*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları.

Sassen, S. (2001). *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo* (2nd ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (2006). *Cities in a world economy* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Smith, N. (2002). *New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy*. *Antipode*, 34(3), 427–450.

Ünsal, K. (2019). *Modern kentleşme sorunları ve sosyalist kentleşme yaklaşımları*. Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık.

BÖLÜM III

From The Great Depression to the Second World War: Railways and Foreign Trade Policy in Turkey and Iran (1929-1939)

Murat YÜMLÜ¹
Perihan ÜNLÜ SOYLU²

Introduction and Methodology

The 1838 Treaty of Trade (Balta Liman), signed with Britain destructed the capability for foreign trade and the competition of the Ottoman State and made her to conduct a way for a new debt policy. By way of enlarging with the new treaties signed with the other Western countries, the capitulations were extended. (Yılmaz, 1996: 26). Respectively, the development of the already-weakened economy of the Ottoman state being desired as an open market and the depo of raw materials became an almost incredible source for the story of semi-colonisation. Galata Stock Exchange which was established during the 1850s and stayed open until 1929 had

¹ Lecturer, Assoc. Prof. Dr., Bartın University, Department of Core Curriculum (History of Turkish Revolution and Atatürk's Principles), Bartın, Türkiye. myumlu@bartin.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0001-7902-5339

² Dr.,Türkiye. perihanunlusoylu@gmail.com,ORCID: 0000-0003-3713-9893.

comprised of the Greek, Jewish and Armenian businessmen of the minorities. These businessmen who constituted the trade bourgeoisie had continued to deal with the commissioner of foreign debts and held the export and import in a monopoly under their tutelage. The bulk of the economic surplus, owned by these merchants was transferred out of the country. The expenditures were generally directed to luxury consumption and the glorious palace, mansion and residences. (Tezel, 1982: 83). This consumption of luxury emerged by the Ottoman Imperial Palaces such as Dolmabahce, Beylerbeyi and Yıldız Palaces. The domestic production which had been under the tough conditions deteriorated extensively after the construction of railways during the 1860s. Ottoman state granted the railway concession to the foreign companies with the method for a kilometer guarantee. The Ottoman Bank which was founded with the British and French capital in the same period mediated the indebtation processes. The Ottoman state, by declaring that she cannot fulfill the payment responsibility of all the external debts came to accept the situation under an economic tutelage. Right after that, an institution which would directly appropriate the taxes paid by the Ottoman people, General Directorate of Foreign Debts (GDFD) was founded.

Meanwhile, Baghdad Railway Concession was given to Germany in 1902. Next year, Baghdad Railway Company was founded. This railway project which was planned to be extended towards Basra (Persian) Gulf had been a matter for German regional interests. (Çavdar, 1974: 90). During the period before the First World War, the products such as the wheat, flour, rice, wool, sugar, tea were imported while the tobacco, dried fruits, opium, and cotton were the goods that were exported. On the eve of WWI, the Committee of Union and Progress abolished the four-century-old economic concessions under the name of capitulations unilaterally. (Eldem, 1994: 7-27) During the National War of Independence, the number

of revenues which were controlled by the GDFD decreased from time to time. (Tekeli ve İlkin, 1997: 165). The capitulations were abolished at the end of the peace talks at Lausanne Peace Conference. Here, Turkey also assumed to pay the bulk of the Ottoman debts. Italy had been the forefront country in the general context of Turkish foreign trade prior to 1929. The other two countries which had been effective on the Turkish foreign trade were the United States of America and Germany. (Tezel, 1982: 150). During the same period, a new plan which prioritized the national unity and the railway construction was implemented. While the opportunities were used towards the nationalization of railways, the bases of the anti-concessionary policies were started by way of the revolutions in the field of law. The finalization of the captivity of customs and 1929 Great Depression coincided at a critical period.

Owing to its strategic location, Iran had stayed under the pressure of the West and the East, in particular, Britain and Tsardom of Russia for long decades. This rivalry over Iran had escalated and reached its apex throughout the dawn of the 20th century. Russian merchants started to benefit from the privileges including the widely-arranged concessions and the capitulations that were provided by the Turkomanchai Treaty of 1828. (Neyyirî, 2005: 62). After 1860, Britain accelerated the quest of finding the economic concessions in the fields of the telegraph, banking, and railways. At the end of 1880s, Iran granted the concession of Shahanshahi Bank which had been holding the country's entire financial monopoly to Britain. This bank was also the State Bank. On the other hand, some other concessions were granted to Russia pertaining to the telegraph lines and the maritime issues. In addition to these, the construction concession of roads from Pirpazar to Teheran and railways was restricted to any countries excluding the concession to Russia. (Jones, 1987: 70) During that period, the country had been turning

into a more vulnerable dependent country. Between 1890-1905, Britain and Russia had held the biggest shares in Iranian foreign trade. At the end of the Qajar period, the general concept of Iranian merchants was the collection of raw materials such as the opium, cotton, dried fruits, and nuts and foodstuffs and to export them. During those years, goods such as the Manchester fabric, tea, sugar were imported. Some of the Iranian merchants who had not been experts in their fields continued to deal with the exchange of some goods and foreign currencies. Majority of these merchants had been in cooperation with the foreign trade representatives. Some of them had been under the protection of northern and southern neighbors. The customs administration of Iran was lent to Belgium in 1898. (Daei, 2013:13-16, 105)

Oil, as the most prominence-gaining natural resource of Iran, had defined the framework of economic policies and the plans for the construction of railways and development from the dawn of the 20th century. With the discovery of oil in Iran, the lens of the big powers had been directed back to this country of the Near East. As a result of the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks declared the nullification of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Moreover, the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1919, had been called off due to the intense reactions stemming from both in and out of the country. With the help of the treaty signed with Soviet Russia in February 1921, Iran's debts were erased. In 1925, Qajar period ended with the formation of a new Majlis and the approval of this Majlis to found the Pahlavi dynasty. In 1928, the capitulations and the legal concessions from which the foreign powers benefited had been abolished. The same year, National Bank of Iran (*before 1935, it was still named as Persia*) was established with the help of German experts as it started to substitute the Shahanshahi Bank. This bank had the right to

control the emissions. (Day, Zaman, August 4 1935: 5; Abrahamian, 2011: 103)

This article targets to examine the Iranian and Turkish national policies of railway construction and the foreign trade from 1929 to 1939. To elucidate the framework of methodology, one may apply to the prominent sources from the angle of historical studies. It is possible to assert that a comparative scale of Iran and Turkey requires an explanation for the modernization of both countries. Between 1929-1939, the world had been under the pressure of being dragged into a Great War perceiving the inclination of possible threats against the domestic and regional peace and international cooperation. These two countries Iran and Turkey had been under the pressure of big powers which had been in a harsh rivalry around the Near East. Under the light of these, the railway and foreign trade policies of these two countries had been taken as specific parameters to display the economic and political quest to overcome the destructive effects of 1929 Great Depression in the peripheral world. In this context, it was aimed to put forth the diverging and converging points of these two parameters to compare Iranian and Turkish examples.

From the Great Depression to the Second World War: Turkey's Foreign Trade Policy

The Republican government could just gain control of foreign trade through the midst of 1929. The Government, as the first measurement, escalated the protection rates with the help of the Tariffs Law. (Balkanlı, 2002: 149). The imports had increased before the implementation of the new Customs Tariff Law. Because the merchant bourgeoisie had stocked the cheap commodities of import via the low-rate import taxes, (Ahmad, 1999: 169) the balance of payments had caused a big portion of the deficit. The same year, in October 1929, the economic crisis named as the Great Depression

started from the United States and flourished to the peripheral economies. World trade rates decreased rapidly. At this period, when the quests for the economic model had been concentrating, the models at the Soviet Union, Germany and Italy were examined. (Akşam, December 19 1929: 3). The economic vision was defined as the “economic program”. (Vedat Nedim, Cumhuriyet, January 12 1930: 2). During this period, the tendency of turning back to the statist policies went hand in hand with the protectionist policies. The Legislation of the Protection of Monetary Value of Turkish Lira which was enacted after 1929 had stayed among the key steps taken by the Government. During the 1930s, the decrees which had been related to this legislation helped to bring the foreign exchange restrictions, changed the import conditions to a more difficult level and escalated the customs rates. (Aysan, 2014: 218). The Supreme Economic Consultative Chamber which was set up two years before 1929 Great Depression and functioned through the midst of the 1930s, prepared some new reports about the economic situation of the country, finalization of the foreign trade deficits and the urgency of new economic programs. (Boratav, 1977: 8). In addition to that, National Economy and Savings Association encouraged savings economy and the use of national goods. (Akın, 2000: 113-114).

Even under these type of conditions, it was not forgotten to continue the budget strategy to support the struggle against the epidemics such as malaria. (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2010: 136). At the same time, Young Turkish Republic continued to apply the radical social reforms, made efforts to provide the integral peace and even though it was a failing part, she continued to gain experience by applying a multi-party system. Young Turkey’s administration attempted to postpone the payment of Ottoman debts with the diplomatic negotiations. Turkey focused on the protection of national currency and the foundation of Central Bank. According to Ziya Gökalp, the state and the nation had

been an organic total structure and the heart of this total structure had been the Central Bank. (Tekeli ve İlkin, 1997: 137).

By the purpose of getting foreign expertise on the foundation of Central Bank of Turkey and the Ottoman debts, the consultation was asked from the experts such as Charles Rist and Hjalmar Schacht. These foreign experts, represented the views of the worldwide financial circles. At that time, the Ottoman Bank had been on the way of continuing its historical concessions. The transformation of the Ottoman Bank into the Central Bank of Turkey was the clear preference of the worldwide financial circles. The main theme at the reports had been summed up as given below: The Central Bank's foundation was not possible without the resolution of the Ottoman debts, various concessions, and the foreign credits. The most famous of these reports had been Müller and Schacht report. According to that, Turkey had to confine the defense and railway expenditures because of depending on the limited level of foreign currency. However, the main condition of providing stability was the foundation of the Central Bank. Eventually, with the 10 million-dollar amount of the lighter monopoly, the first steps to found the Central Bank were taken. The Bank was designed as an independent institution from the Government. This was going to make the Central Bank of Republic Turkey stronger vis a vis the global financial circles. (Kuruç, 2012: 287-289). The Free Party of that period opposed the railway expenditures in line with the views of Schacht and Müller reports. (Yılmaz, 1996: 255).

Turkey, set up new trade relations with many countries including Austria, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Iraq and Greece during the 1930s. It completed the labor union agreement with Iran. (Ünlü Soylu, 2015: 204). On the other hand, the deepening of the world economic crisis resulted in the weakening of world trade and the decrease of custom taxes. According to that, the state revenues fell

down. The chance of the national economy to get out of the economic crisis could be realized with the guarantee of finalizing the foreign trade deficit and the control of the foreign trade and exchange market. The other way was launching new taxes. With the help of expenditures in the field of railway, education, health and the defense systems, the economic dynamism was targeted. During that period, the resolution for the problem of Ottoman debts was obtained. Because of its risky situation, the Turkish government was sensitive about domestic and foreign loan at the utmost level. The most important guarantee of the loan was the respectful image of the Republic of Turkey. In order to realize this goal, the targets were clear. These were the balanced budget, strong monetary policy, careful approach to the devaluation and the foreign trade with principles. This economic policy made the economic revitalization more apparent after 1935. The world was getting armed rapidly. Even under these circumstances, the economic principles were kept. The tasks which were offered during the times of İsmet İnönü and Celal Bayar were turned down by Selâhattin Çam, as the Director of Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey. (Kuruç, 2012: 290-298). The nationalization processes had been the other type of foreign debt group during the 1930s. İzmir Harbour Company was purchased from a foreign company in 1933. The law that stated the nationalization of the company of İstanbul Telephone was passed from the Turkish parliament on June 10, 1936. The railways in the Aegean Region had been nationalized in 1934 and 1935. In 1935, İzmir Air Gas Company, Ereğli Coal Mine Company had both been nationalized. In 1937, Toprakale İskenderun and Eastern Railways, Üsküdar and Kadıköy Water Company had been nationalized. In 1938, İzmir Telephone Company, İstanbul Electricity had been purchased from foreign shareholders. (Derin, 1995: 54-55).

The foreign trade policy of the 1930s formed the import's structure compatible with the industrial policy. The export revenues of the country had been increasing and these revenues had mostly been used for investment and the import of component materials. This result was affected by both Turkey's beneficial aspect of using the competition among the capitalist world economy and the competition of these with the Soviet Union. In 1934, through suitable conditions, the credit was loaned from the Soviet Union. In the second half of the 1930s, a great part of imported machines for the industrialization policy of Turkey had been provided with these credits. (Tezel, 1982: 157). Even though the share of the Soviet Union in the foreign trade of Turkey had stayed at a low amount, it kept its strategic importance. For example, the Soviet Union made a high amount of payment in equal case of the goods during the hard times of the Turkish economy in the winter of 1930. (Times, 11 February 1930: 14). The ties between the Soviet Union and Turkey could be kept in a more closer way. Nonetheless, the difference of the political systems had been causing a delay in the development of bilateral ties. The import from the Soviet Union to Turkey had been free according to the Customs Laws. However, because of the difference between the political regimes, the import from Turkey to the Soviet Union had not been at the monopoly of Turkish merchants. (TBMMZC, Date: 22.VII.1931: 316-317).

The arrangement of trade relations between these two countries and the resolution of Turkish merchants could become a big problem. (Mehmet Asım, Vakit, February 11, 1929: 1). In 1932, after the negotiations of Stalin-Inonu, a considerable way was passed pertaining to these issues. In particular, the official visit of the Turkish Minister of Economy Celal Bayar and his entourage to Moscow to talk to the officials of foreign trade and heavy industry have made quite satisfying records. Another type of foreign debt was

provided from Britain for the construction of Karabük Iron-Steel Mill. (Tokgöz, 2009: 79). At the same time, in May 1939, an industrial credit agreement was signed between Germany and Turkey. (TBMMZC, 8.V.1939: 31-32). In April 1939, another trade agreement was signed between the USA and Turkey. The Customs Tariff Law that was enacted in 1929 in the USA affected Turkish-American trade relations. After 1934, the relations started to foster again. The bilateral treaty of trade was endorsed at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on May 5, 1939. In the midst of 1939, there had been many American companies in İzmir region.

The Way to Overcome the Difficulty In Foreign Trade: Barter Agreements

Wholesale prices had been significant indicators for the economic situation. According to that, excluding the coffee and oil, the prices of all the goods had fallen down from 1932 as unprecedented and unseen in the last centuries. As an example, the wheat prices had not fallen down to that level since the 16th century. Another important indicator was the total international trade amount. At the committee report of the experts who prepared the *London Economics Conference*, dealt with the dramatic decline of international trade. The general value of international trade was around one percent of the rate that was recorded in 1929. If the trade capacity would follow the same route, the general trend of decline would drag the international trade down to the level of null. (Akşam, 24 Haziran 1933: p. 1, 2). Under these conditions, the eye of the world was turned back to the London Economics Conference in 1933. At that conference, first, France declared its view that the stability of the currencies should be preserved. The United States, by staying in opposition to this view, defended that the real problem is the resolution of price question, lowering of the customs tariff and the normalization of the world trade. Britain, by thinking about the

necessity of preserving the general value of the currency, defended the lowering of customs tariffs. Germany was seeking a colony and a seaport to enlarge its influence. The Soviet Union protested the demand of Germany. At this conference, the procrastination of these countries made the final solutions impossible, and some other issues such as the arrangement of wheat prices and the lowering of silver prices had been negotiated.

Conference also provided a way to sign a non-aggression treaty among the Soviet Union, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Poland, Latvia, Estonia. Upon the failure of the conference in terms of economics, the bilateral treaties and the barter methods have become wider than before. (Necmeddin Sadak, *Akşam*, 16 Haziran 1933: 1-2; Esmer, 1953: 78-79) In 1936, the number of special treaties that surrounded the world had reached the level of two hundred and seventy (Derin, 1995: 117) and this result was assessed as the most significant proof of the diplomatic failures at the conference.

the main topics at the agenda of 1933 Economics Conference had been the finalization of barter trade agreements, the lowering of customs tariffs and the reformation of the international trade. Pertaining to these topics of the agenda, the proposals of Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras had involved a rational approach. According to Aras, the quota and the foreign exchange control aimed not to hinder the international trade, but it was realized by the purpose of protecting the country's international balance of payment. It was impossible to call off all these arrangements. However, these things could be assessed gradually. Aras was informing the conference circles about the urgency of financial balancement. Because there was no contribution of this kind of countries which had been suffering from financial and economic instability. Turkey had already lifted some of these quotas. Meanwhile, it was not possible to accept or decrease customs taxes.

Because the customs revenues had a significant portion at the budget. (Akşam, 16 Haziran 1933: 1). It was recommended the balance of payments should not stay at the deficit level and it should keep feeding the savings economy. It was a natural result that Turkey considered doing the payments with goods instead of the financial way. These agreements had been beneficial for both sides. (Cevat Nizami, Akşam, 23 Haziran 1933). The currency control had nearly been making international payments impossible. In 1934, Turkey had been assuming the bartering method of foreign trade policy and it acted in parallel with the principle of purchasing goods from the trading countries.

In 1934, The Foreign Trade Affairs National Office of Turkey (Türkofis) was founded. This Office aimed to organize and facilitate the signing of international trade agreements and the adjustments of affairs among the foreign trade units. Turkey conducted much foreign trades and clearing treaties including several countries such as Germany, Austria, Estonia, France, England, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland Italy, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. (BCA, 490..1.0.0, 0.0.1938: 3-10). During those years, nine percent of important export had been conducted along the lines of clearing treaties. (BCA, 490..1.0.0, 0.0.1938: p. 4). Germany had implied its Drang Nach Osten policy which involved Iran and Turkey with the pioneering role of Minister of Economy Hjalmar Schacht. At this foreign trade policy, Balkans and the Middle East had been presumed as the depo of raw materials for the German war industry. The official visits of Hjalmar Schacht to Tehran and Ankara in 1936 had carried strategic importance. (Glasneck, 1976: 53). Turkey, after Bulgaria and Romania, had been the third country which continued its foreign trade policy with the way of clearing. (Neumark, 1939: 123). At the end of the 1930s, Turkey had been in a closed position to Germany in the sense of trade. (FO, 1940: 7). Britain had not been

much interested in Turkish goods due to its policy to trade with its colonies that provided more qualified and cheaper goods. Britain had not been paying much attention to Turkish export goods. It generally thought that Turkish goods such as coal, chrome, cotton, and tobacco had been less qualified and expensive. In the meantime, Britain, with the intensifying concerns due to the rapprochement of Turkey with Germany in the late 1930s, continued to watch the foreign trade with increasing attention. (Koçak, 2010: 287). The foreign trade with the Soviet Union started to decline to begin from 1938.^[1]

APPENDICE- 1 1924-1950 – Share of Main Countries in Turkey's Export and Import Nominal Values: (1929-1939).

Tablo 5.2: Türkiye'nin İhracat ve İthalatının Cari Değerlerinde Başlıca Ülkelerin Payı.

	Almanya + Avusturya (1)		İtalya		İngiltere		Fransa		ABD		SSCB		Almanya+Fransa+İtalya+İngiltere+ABD	
	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-	İhra- ki	İtha- latta-
	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı	payı
	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§
1924	13	11	22	21	15	18	12	9	10	6	1	3	72	65
1925	14	13	26	18	9	16	12	11	13	8	3	3	74	69
1926	13	16	28	16	11	14	12	14	13	3	3	4	77	67
1927	10	17	23	12	11	14	11	14	16	4	4	3	71	61
1928	14	17	18	12	10	12	11	13	16	5	4	5	69	59
1929	14	17	22	13	10	12	13	10	10	7	3	6	69	59
1930	14	21	21	14	9	11	12	10	12	4	5	7	68	60
1931	12	24	24	15	9	11	10	10	10	3	4	6	65	63
1932	15	25	16	13	10	12	8	8	12	3	5	7	61	61
1933	20	27	13	11	9	13	6	7	10	3	5	5	58	61
1934	40	36	11	9	6	10	3	7	10	4	4	5	70	66
1935	43	43	10	6	5	10	3	5	10	7	4	5	71	71
1936	42	48	4	2	5	7	3	3	11	10	3	5	75	70
1937	39	44	5	5	7	6	4	1	14	15	5	6	69	71
1938	44	48	10	5	3	11	3	1	12	10	4	4	72	75
1939	37	51	10	8	6	6	4	2	14	10	3	3		
1940	9	12	16	16	10	14	6	3	14	11	1	1		
1941	22	12	2	3	16	25	1	0	13	5	1	0		
1942	25	28	3	3	15	23	0	0	17	5	0	1		
1943	24	38	2	2	11	16	1	0	21	2	0	0		
1944	23	30	0	0	22	18	0	0	24	5	1	0		
1945	-	1	0	0	15	23	1	0	44	18	-	0		
1946	0	0	3	6	18	19	4	1	20	31	0	0		
1947	1	0	11	14	16	13	5	2	24	33	-	0		
1948	6	2	6	9	15	24	6	4	22	23	0	0		
1949	19	8	2	5	12	17	5	6	14	20	0	0		
1950	25	20	6	5	14	10	4	5	17	25	0	0		

(1) 1938'de Avusturya Almanya ile birleştiği için 1938-1945 arasında Almanya ile ticaretimizin istatistikleri Avusturya'ya da kapsar. Önceki yıllarla karşılaştırabilmek için 1924-1937 döneminde Almanya ve Avusturya'ya olan ticaretimiz bir arada değerlendirildi. 1924-1937 arasında Avusturya'ya olan ticaret ihracatın % 0,9'unu, ithalatın ise % 2,2'sini oluşturmaktadır.

Kaynak: DİE, *Dış Ticaret Yıllıkları*.

Source: Yahya Sezai TEZEL, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950)*, Yurt Yayınları, Ankara, 1982, p.149.

Prior to the Second World War, there were the export unions which aimed to represent Turkey as the monopoly of Turkish goods. In addition to these export unions, the import unions had also been founded. (Tekeli-İlkin, 2014: 220). Between 1930-1938, the main principles of the interventionist and protectionist foreign trade policy had been the purchasing of goods from the countries which had traded with Turkey, the import-substitution policy, the free trade of the other goods according to the treaties of trade, the boosting of the quality for the exported goods and providing the foreign trade balance in favour of Turkey. (Töre, 1982: 56).

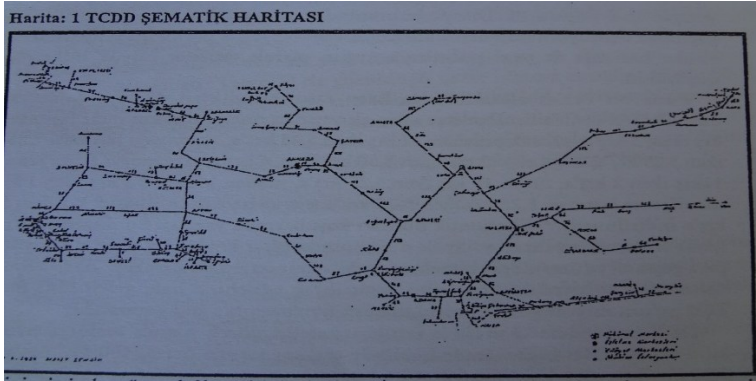
Turkey's Railway Policy

The real problem was the nationalization of the railways, expropriation and the construction of new lines on the basis of the domestic market's integration.

For example, in June 1924, the amount of one-ton wheat had been imported by 5.06 dollars from New York to Istanbul. Whereas the transportation cost of wheat by the same amount to Ankara to Istanbul had been 8.84 dollars. Under these circumstances, the foundation of General Directorate of State Railways followed the steps of nationalization and etatism. (Aydın, 2001: 66, 70). The inadequacies in transportation and shipping restricted the production with the necessities. Whereas the bonds between international trade and the world's productive regions could be realized by domestic transportation. The Republican administration which was aware of these facts had made great investments to the transportation in the primary of railways and the harbors. The regions to which the railways had reached had been successful to make the abundance of their goods and to circulate them in the markets. (Toynbee, 2000: 19-20). The World economic crisis had halted the progressive mechanization steps of Turkish agriculture. At the same time, the type of soil and the structure of the land in Turkey had not been

compatible with the tractors of the 1920s and 1930s. However, there were some other fields in which the seed breeding and the state agricultural combines had been put under the reformation. With the help of selectors and sieves, the aids were provided to the peasants. Some exemptions from the taxes had been provided. (Toprak, 1988: 33-34). Peoples Houses had become the tools to transform the peasants in ideological, educational and cultural dimensions. Peasants should be conscious, productive and the crofters at the same time. In 1933, at the end of these efforts, 69 model villages had been founded. (Şahinkaya, 2009: 230-231). The understanding of cooperatives on the axis of populism had been assumed as the tools of interclass compatibility and solidarity. Lodges or the guild organizations had constituted obstacles for the modernizing Republican administrations. (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2010: 244). The populist Republic which did not aspire to deal with the class struggles as the result of industrialization and the urbanization wanted to utilize the thought of “unprivileged, unclassed, integrated society” by keeping the peasantry at the villages. It encouraged the small scale of land ownership. In 1937, the land reform discussions had been among the top issue of the national agenda of Turkish politics and press. (Karaömerlioğlu, 2002: 292-296).

APPENDICE - 2 The National Railway Network Scheme of Turkey.



Source: İlhan TEKELİ & Selim İLKİN, “Cumhuriyetin Demiryolu Politikalarının Oluşumu ve Uygulaması”, *Kebikeç*, Sayı: 11, *Kebikeç Yayınları*, Ankara, 2001, p. 157.

The Republic of Turkey had inherited a neglected railway network. Before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the railways had the shape of trees of which the branches could reach nowhere. Turkey’s Republican Government had been connecting the northern side Kasaba and the southern side’s Aydın railways and the Aegean hinterland to Izmir, to the foreign markets. Anatolian and Baghdad railways which started from Istanbul had been connecting the country’s capital Ankara to Istanbul and making the Anatolian towns open to the foreign markets. This scheme, with all of its inadequacies, could not match with the national integration and national economics. After changing its capital, Turkey should have transformed the tree branches into a railway network. “Furnishing the country with the railways” meant to realize this policy. On the axis of this policy, two lines had been constructed at West Anatolia, two other lines had been constructed in Central Anatolia and from Central Anatolia to Eastern Anatolia that culminated in a national network. These four closed circle networks had been connected to

the harbors and the international railway lines with differing dates of construction. World economy crisis started to affect the railway construction policy from the very beginning of the 1930s. The number of loads and passengers declined. Although this situation caused the decline of profits, no losses had happened. From 1934, the purchasing of Aegean lines increased the profit levels of railways. These lines which had been causing economic losses at the hands of the foreign companies started to gain high profits by the help of the cheap price policy followed by General Directorate of State Railways. Republican administration started to do everything depending upon its own resources such as the contractors, workers and the production of the railway. (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2001: 156-161).

On depending upon its own resources, Kırıkkale Steel Mill, founded in 1929, maintained a special position. The first railway production was completed at this military steel mill. According to the test results that were conducted in Switzerland, these railways had been four times stronger than the railways in Germany. The railways of this steel mill were used in 1934-1940. (Kuruç, 2012: 347). The information at the news of Times in 1938 mentioned that in 1923, Turkish railway's 67,5 percent had been under the control of Germany, 15,3 percent had been under the control of France and 11,7 percent had been under the control of Britain. (Times, 9 August 1938: 54).

From the Economic Depression to WWII: The Foreign Trade Policy of Iran

Between 1879-1914, the gold standard prevailed in the world economic system. In the global context, all of the countries had to define the gold content of its currency and stand ready to buy and sell gold at a pre-announced price. This was halted by WWI. Between 1918-1923, the floating exchange rate system prevailed. (Oskooee, 2005, p. 2). In 1922, at a conference in Geneve, the

purification of the Central Banks had been discussed in order to bring the gold standard. The countries which lacked the central institutions to organize the monetary system should also found the Central Banks. Therefore, with the help of the Central Banks network, the Gold Standard could be settled. (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2010: 186). Although these efforts came to a halt with the depression of the world economic crisis, the hopes did not vanish until the London Economics Conference. At the conference which aspired to reach a consensus for the whole of countries to adapt to the Gold Standard, no consensus was achieved. Because every country had been presenting its own interests as the most correct option in the world. (Necmeddin Sadak, Akşam, 16 Haziran 1933: 1-2). Iran, as a country which had a Central Bank (National Bank of Iran), suffered to provide the economic balance at the beginning of the 1930s. In February 1930, it started the foreign exchange control. Between 1930-1935 was the period when the tides among the Money standards pursued each other, functioned as a period of devaluation circle at the same time. (Oskooee, 2005: 2, 4). In 1930, a new period of emission increase by fivefold had been starting for Iran. (Issawi, 1971: 377).

Iran experienced 1929 World Economic Crisis in the category of peripheral countries through which the exportation expectations of basic goods of consumption had declined. During these months, the prices of basic goods of consumption had been falling and the precautions that led the rising foreign trade policy had been the monopoly application and the foreign exchange control. The tendency towards the protectionist policies started to increase after the crisis. In 1931, the monopoly application started and in 1936 the foreign exchange control system was adapted. (Issawi, 1978: 131-133).

National Bank of Iran (*Bank e Melliye Iran*) was founded in 1928 as the Central Bank of the country. The establishment of this bank had become a breaking point in the history of the Imperial Bank. The bank had branches in all of Iran. Imperial Bank, founded by Britain, had used the loans given to the Iranian government as the source of political pressure. The primary thing for the bank had been the interests of the British government and the shareholders. The interests of the Iranian government could just come at the end. After the foundation of *Bank e Melli*, *Imperial State Bank* had lost its function. The financial capacity of the Imperial State Bank had been withdrawn. It lost the authority of exporting foreign exchange. The bank which lost the market share in the 1930s started to belittle the industrialization efforts. The Iranian government asked help from the Imperial State Bank several times between 1933 and 1936. Imperial State Bank preferred to give the loans to English companies and the merchants who had been holding big capital. (Jones, 1987: 71, 74).

Kurt Lindenblatt was appointed as the first General Director for the National Bank of Iran (*Bank Melli-ye Iran*). Lindenblatt had already been experienced with the directorship at Bulgarian National Bank. (Bostock & Jones, 1989: 33). National Bank of Iran had gained the right to emit the Iranian rial by a new law enacted in 1931. The foundation process of the National Bank of Iran had converged with the difficult times following the Great Depression that circulated the destructive effects and the difficulties of distributing the expectations of finance and credits. In 1932, upon the escalation of rumors pertaining to the corruption and the bribery at the credit policy, Reza Shah Pahlavi gave a command for the trial of the administration. At the end of this trial, Lindenblatt was dismissed. One of the pioneering members of the German experts, Vogel committed suicide in Beirut city. The dramatic events pursued each

other and culminated in the trial of Imperial Court Minister Abdolhossein Taimurtash. Taimurtash, after being condemned, lost his life at the prison after a short while. After the trials, General Amir Khosravi had been appointed as the new General Director of National Bank of Iran. Khosravi was experienced in the banking system. Just two years ago, he had been appointed as the new administrator of Iran's Military Bank. Khosravi, among the leading figures of bureaucracy, had been at the head of the banking system. (Bostock, Jones, 1989: 34) Eventually during the 1930s National Bank of Iran, supported the state's investment projects in terms of the mixed economic model. Iran also directed towards the investment projects to overcome peripheral economy scale of the interwar period during the 1930s when it continued to improve the infrastructures of industry, transport and the communication. During the 1920s and 1930s, although the temporary trade agreements had been conducted, the Pahlavi regime's main target had been the lowering of the share of the USSR. The USSR's share in Iranian foreign trade declined drastically from the beginning of the 1930s to the end of the decade. From the beginning to the end of the 1930s, foreign trade capacity of USSR had fallen from the level of % 40 to %1. (Savory, 1970: 606). A new foreign trade policy that supported the increase of Nazi Germany's share had been boosted. Nazi regime had gained superiority in Iran before the dawn of WWII. The German companies helped Iran towards the quest of industrialization. German propaganda machine had already been powerful and Nazi agents had already been active all around the country. (Mansfield, 2012: 321).

1933 Anglo-Persian/Iranian Oil Company(APOC) Treaty: An Historical Politico-Economic Turning Point

At the beginning of the twentieth century, upon the invitation of the Iranian government, an oil agreement was signed with the Australian

businessman William Knox D'Arcy. After the drilling, Iran's strategic importance had gained a more dramatic situation. The treaty of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had been one of the remarkable moments of twentieth-century Iranian history in terms of economic and political angles.

After the Great Depression, Iran's main economic vision had been the industrialization and the realization of the rights of sovereignty for the oil industry. It was possible to realize some developments such as the industrialization, agricultural development, and land reform from the agenda that started in November 1931. In terms of the concessions, two issues had been disputed. The dividend from the oil revenues or the royalty and the taxes. It was clear that the position of the agencies had played a significant role under the Shah's bureaucracy. The oil share revenues had declined dramatically from the record of 1929 and 1930 as 1.427.000 and 1.288.000 to 1931 in a sharp way. According to the task that was offered in May 1932, the royalty of Iran was going to fall to the level of 306,872 pounds. Tehran did not accept this offer. Next step was the cancellation of an oil concession. Meanwhile, the Iranian press had been broadcasting against AIOC and D'Arcy concession. At the same time, as a prominent name, Taqizadeh had been taking the lead. In the summer months of 1932, Minister of Finance Taqizadeh started to take the place of Taimurtash. Between August and November, no affirmative response to the offer of recalculating the oil profit shares from Anglo-Persian Oil Company came at the juncture. Upon this situation, the concession treaty, signed with Anglo-Persian Oil Company had been called off. However, the doors were not shut completely. At the announcement of the oil treaty's cancellation, it was stated that a new concession treaty could be signed. At that point, it can be stated that the oil concession treaty had a two-fold dimension. The first phase of these had been the

transfer of the question to the International Court of Justice at Lahey. The Iranian government gave a response that Iran had not recognized the status of the International Court of Justice. In 1919, the League of Nations was going to be defined as the new platform for the negotiation of controversies. (Malek, 2005: 131).

The second dimension had been related to the inter balance among agents such as Taimurtash, Taqizadeh, on behalf of APOC administration Sir John Cadman as the General Director and Reza Shah Pahlavi. After the renewal negotiations of the oil concession, in the place of Taimurtash, Taqizadeh, Ala, Foroughi, and Davar had been assigned. Along this process, the authorities of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company offered to prolong the oil concession for thirty years beginning from 1933. This concession should have lasted until 1993. The Iranian authorities had not accepted this offer. Shah, under these circumstances, had accepted Sir John Cadman who was reported to leave the country and with the expression of Katouzian, accepted to prolong the concession agreement “under pressure”. The author did not agree with the view of “sham fight”. According to Katouzian, Taqizadeh, and Shah could not have been seen as the agents of Britain. An important point stated that if the regime had not been an arbitrary rule, if the norms of the state of law had been functional, then an agreement in terms of Iran’s economic interests could have been realized. (Katouzian, 2013: 65).

According to Abrahamian, the distrust rooted deeper after the treaty signed with Anglo- Iranian Oil Company. On the amount of little increase in the oil revenue share of profit on behalf of Iran, Shah decided to prolong the concession contract up until 1993. Despite the patriotic rhetoric of the Shah, the suspicions had been gathering because of his bonds with London. A British observer had noted that the number of people who thought the state system could survive more than the architect of the system had been very few.

(Abrahamian, 2011: 127). The differing interpretations about the concession treaty with AIOC had been worthy of attention. As an example, the news at a Turkish newspaper that focused on the occupation of Iran during the turmoil of WWII had been assessing the occupation with the views below. Iran's biggest source of wealth had been the oil. The country was coming after the United States, the Soviet Union, and Venezuela as the fourth in the world system. The annual production level was around ten million tons approximately. In 1932, Reza Shah Pahlavi had broken the contract of oil concession with the British by a circular. After all these, the oil drills at Muhammarah and Abadan had started to function on behalf of the Iranian government. The newspaper stated that by this method the British influence had been eradicated. (Tan, 28 Augustos 1941: 4).

According to another view, through the end of Great Depression, AIOC had not been ready to forsake about its concessions or sharing its power with the Iranian government. The challenges between the two sides continued to increase with the crisis. As an example, AIOC had been selling oil with the discounted price to its substitutive companies and the British Royal Navy; it had been involving the investment expenditures to the costs of oil drilling. This maneuver had been making Iran lose the related source. Whilst the negotiations had been flowing, AIOC asked from the Iranian government to prolong the concession period. Moreover, AIOC, as an internationally-recognized economic institution rejected to pay the income tax launched by the Iranian government and tax exemption in terms of the concession treaty. This meant that the AIOC aimed at taking the guarantee of the oil concessions in advance. These guarantees had been in favor of the British government, and that was a disadvantageous point for Iran. (Abdelrehim, 2010: 31-32). Under these conditions, the 1933 Concession Treaty which was confirmed by the Majlis and the Shah defined some rights and responsibilities

that guaranteed the continuation of AIOC's activities. As an example within the framework of concession, no permission for any other companies had been among those. The concession meant the realization of research, production, marketing, and the refinery within the predicted period. The company also had some guarantees for The Iranian government. These were the payment of taxes and the rights, employment terms, the seminars of the local workers and the technicians, the oil supply to the Iranian markets with the suitable prices. Aside from that, the change of workforce from the international cadres to Iranians should be completed in the following years. Albeit, this process moved slowly. At the same time, the share of Iran was augmented to twenty percent. However, AIOC increased its tax rates to decrease the net oil profit rate. Thus, Iran's oil rate and the share in the general reserves could lead to the decrease. Iran which had been left to the mercy of the British government would lose the chance of sovereignty over the oil industry with that treaty. (Abdelrehim, 2010: 4-5).

Reza Shah had started to question the recent situation in terms of D'Arcy concession and the commission of oil revenues and the indisputable power of AIOC. Iran, on November 1932, called off the D'Arcy concession unilaterally. London did not accept the decision of cancellation and applied to the League of Nations at Geneve. Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs Edouard Benesh was assigned as the mediator. He encouraged both sides to find a suitable treaty opportunity. After five months, in April 1933, General Director of AIOC Sir John Cadman and Reza Shah agreed to several talks. Finally, a new agreement was signed. On May 28, 1933, the treaty accepted by the Majlis, and one day after that, Reza Shah ratified the treaty. Although the concession period was stated until 1993, the new treaty had been restricting the area of the concession and gave acceleration to the Organization of the workers at AIOC.

Aside from that, with a new calculation method over the volume of oil reserves, an increase of rights over the portions of the shareholders was provided. (Djalili ve Kellner, 2010: 73).

Although the treaty had been presenting a time advantage, with the advance of years, the flexible attitude of AIOC towards the application of the guarantees, the treaty had fallen in a disadvantageous way. (Abdelrehim, 2010, p. 110). It was both important to control the realization of the treaty as important as the signing of the treaty. Along this process, Taimurtash was absent. Either Foroughi or Taqizadeh had not been equal to Taimurtash in terms of political influence. These men, who had been abstaining to share the same fate of Taimurtash became the subservient to the rule of the Shah during the second half of the 1930s. Taimurtash, as a prominent diplomat and a statesman, had been an adequate figure to protect the rights of his country. (Knapp, 1977, p. 30).

According to Rezun, Taimurtash had attempted to start the parliamentary reforms by encouraging the political parties to restore the constitutional monarchy. This situation had meant the diminishing of the Shah's superiority. Court Minister Taimurtash was aware of the fact that Iran had been contingent on Britain via the Imperial Bank and AIOC. Under these circumstances, the state system should have depended upon the strong ruling party system which was founded around a large class allegiance. It was just possible to break up the influence of Britain in Iran with the opposition of a strong ruling party based on the class. Although Reza Shah was a powerful figure at the heart of Iranian politics, his power, and anti-British policies could not have broken the influence of Britain. In this sense, it was claimed as an exaggeration that the Shah needed Britain's mercy to protect his Peacock throne. (Rezun, 1980: 122-123).

In May 1932, Sayyed Hassan Taqizadeh had been appointed as the new Minister of Court in the place of Taimurtash. In November of the same year, after his visit to Khuzestan, the Shah convened the Cabinet and shouted at his ministers due to the failure of the negotiations. At this meeting, the AIOC concession was canceled; however, the AIOC continued to extract and export the oil after the Cabinet meeting. Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhammad Ali Foroughi had been asking at one of his speeches that he wondered whether the United States could have accepted a situation like that or not. This, compatible with the official quest of Iran at the beginning of the 1930s, referred to apply to a third-power policy to break the two-dimensional influence of the Soviet Union and Britain. Remembering the American experts who had been invited to Iran in the 1920s, Reza Shah and the palace as the center of Iranian political configurations had been aware of the strong capacity of American experts. In December 1932, Taimurtash had been dismissed. Reza Shah had come to the end of the road with Taimurtash. The former Court of Minister who had been sent into prison died suspiciously in the midst of 1933 during the heyday of the oil negotiations with the AIOC. (Knapp, 1977, p. 40-43).

The treaty had been signed after longlasting of decisive negotiations, allegiant talks, and challenges. These discussions which exalted the Iranian self-conscious and national pride had caused a deep frustration. The overall assessment had been a result of this frustration. Aside from that the death of Taimurtash, the rumors around whether the embezzlement had taken place or not, the rumors about the Shah considering him as the man of Britain had all caused influences to shake the base of the legacy of the treaty. If the Shah had accepted to sign the treaty “under pressure”, what subject had been the justification of this pressure? Whether it was an exaggeration or not, it was discussed that the treaty could carry a

secret article guaranteeing the Pahlavi dynasty's power. Apart from that, the control over the treaty had been quite weak and it could not have been ameliorated in the following years. What were the sources of affirmative evaluation of the new concession treaty? It was high probably related to the propagandist texts and news that made the main pulse of the Iranian press during the rest of the 1930s.

Trans-Iranian Railway: The Shah and the Alliances

During the power of Pahlavi dynasty that had started in 1925, Iran recorded significant steps towards the centralization and modernization. Reza Shah put his signatures to the leading reforms and applications with his core staff of the court. (Ahin, 2010: 83). The proclamation of the Republic in Turkey had caused a new synergy in Iran. The intellectuals of this country had been discussing the probability of establishing a new political regime. However, after the abolition of Caliphate in the Republic of Turkey, Reza Shah had to apply to the ulama for the first and the last time; that he obtained a response as Islam and Republic were not compatible with each other. (Knapp, 1977: 26). The Shiite ulama had been composed of clerics, mujtahids, ayatollahs and some other layers of the religious "aristocracy". The religious "class" had been interpreted as an original class structure in Iranian society. Although the conventional interpretation of class referred to the Marxian terminology, in the Iranian context, this sourced from the central position of the clergy in the national socio-economic and political domains. These depended upon the strong power of the market (artisans and the merchants). The clergy had the possibilities of applying to the massive tax revenues of the religious *waqfs*. Their political cooperations had been related to their economic bases and historical roots. While this traditional structure had problems in the "class" domains, it also had to encounter the new problems in the course of

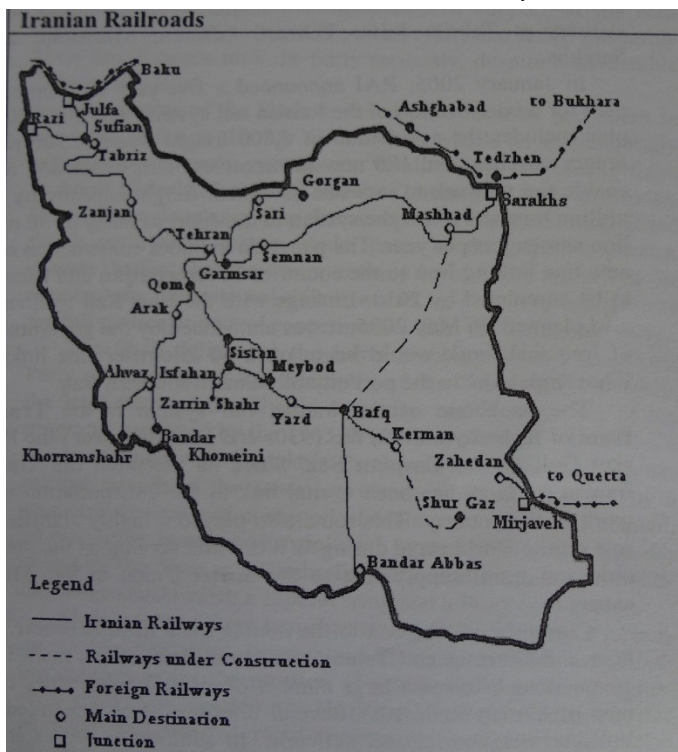
modern times. (Berkes, 1997: 112). The change could result from the encounter and the challenge of these two structural components.

Between 1925 and 1941, the formation of a modern state in Iran had been a new milestone in the recent history of country's irregular type of modernization progress. (Issawi, 1978: 131). Reza Shah was the sovereign political figure of this period who could manage anything in the country. In some of the biographies dealing with his political life, he was remembered as "Deux en Machina" (Rezun, 1980: 119). The Shah's controversies could be assessed from many angles. He was both a traditional authoritarian king and a secular reformer who aspired and sought to westernize his country. Therefore, his controversies caused a kind of stagnation in the political mindset but this did not result in a failure. The institutional basis of his authority had been the control over the military and the bureaucracy. After coming to power, he enacted the law of conscription to make the military stronger in a short time. He founded a permanent military. He provided the officers with a privileged place. His centralization policy created a strongly loyal bureaucracy. By applying to the military, he provided a stronger state authority over the tribal leaders. (Cleveland, 2008: 210). The railway project which started in 1927 had been a key component over the consolidation of his political authority. Regime's landowning policy sought to bring an advantageous position to the landowners in the place of the peasants. In the midst of 1930s, the land laws resulted in the increase of landless peasants reaching up to the level of % 95 to 98. The Shah's land property that addressed to millions of acres represented a new centralization process. This caused the accumulation of land capital in the hands of the Pahlavi dynasty and the Shah. While the massive lands of the large landowners had been expropriated, the others were rewarded by some new positions in the government.

If the country would not have been left between the two competing countries, Iran could construct the railway before 1927. In fact, at the end of the 19th century, Iran already had a very short railway from Tehran's center to the five-mile distant Sheikh Abdolazim Shrine. The railway was constructed by the Belgians. During the 1930s, textile, tobacco and sugar mills were founded in order to compensate the internal consumption. Half of these investments had been assumed by the private capital. (Axworthy, 2016: 122, 139).

The construction of Trans-Iranian Railway lasted for eleven years. The project started in 1927, and it followed the route from Bandar Shahpur to Tehran and the other route to Bandar Shah at the Caspian littoral.^[1] Although the Iranian workers had been employed at this project, most of them had been employed at the low banks. In order to decrease the influences of Britain and the Soviet Union, mostly the workers from other countries had been employed. Reza Shah who had been abstaining from the foreign influences supported a national level railway project and opposed the view of applying to the foreign loans. The finance of the railway had been provided by the industrial revenues and the high taxes which were put on the basic goods of consumption such as the tea and sugar. (Lorentz, 2007: 334).

APPENDICE – 3 Iranian National Railway Network Scheme.



Source: John H. LORENTZ, *Historical Dictionary of Iran*, The Scarecrow Press, USA., 2007, p. 263.

Shah Reza Pahlavi had been stating in one of his speeches that they could not stay confined to the export of goods to only the Soviet Union. Azerbaijanian merchants could prefer the new road connecting Tabriz to the Mousoul railway. The Shah had hoped to construct a railway which could connect Tehran to the West sooner. By negotiating with Turkey, it could be a good opportunity to look for a port at the Black Sea or the Mediterranean Sea. There was an urgency to find an outlet towards Europe. The Shah set up the dreams of constructing a railway for Iran to make exports in all directions. (BCA, 261.756.22, 28.09.1930: 1).^[2] At the beginning of

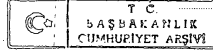
WWII, the railway construction had already made a long route of approximately 1,400 kilometers. The rapid nation-building processes had affected countries such as Iran and Turkey. One of the Iranian ministers who defended the view of investing to the road system instead of railways had found himself imprisoned sooner. (Abrahamian, 2011:104). This could be evaluated as a sign of priorities. The finalization of the Trans-Iranian Railway project increased the military control and the security branches all over the rural sides. It became a sign of national pride that symbolized the rise of “new Iran”. The symbolic reference to the term “new Iran” emphasized the strong nation-building process of the country. Owing to its strategic location and the sympathy displayed towards Germany, Iran was jointly occupied during the turmoil of WWII in the “hot” summer of 1941. (Lorentz, 2007: 334).

**APPENDICE – 4 Newspaper Statement of Reza Shah on the
Railways and Iranian Commercial Interests.**

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti
Hariciye-Vekâleti
3. nci Daire Umum Müdürlüğü
I. ncı Şube
U. No 9537
H. No 37
Lef

Ankara 24 / 9 / 1930

Hulâsa



Yüksek Başvekâlete

437
164

İran Şahı Pehlevî Rıza han hazretleri Deyli
Telgraf gazetesinin Tahran muhâbirine İranın Ticarî münasebatı
hakkında aşağıda arzolunan beyanatta bulunmuştır .

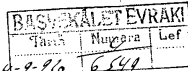
"Mahsulâtımızı piyasaya çıkarmak için tamamen
Rusyaya tabi kalamıyız . Azerbaycan tacirleri Tebrizi Musul
Şimendîferleriyle birleştiren yeni yolu tercih edebilirler .
Bazı noktaları nazari dikkate alarak Tahranı garba bağlayan
bir şimendîfer hattı tesisini görmek ümidindeyim . İhtimal
Türkiye ile mesâfı tegrik ederek karadenizde veya akdenizde
bir limandan istifade ederiz . Biz Avrupaya doğru bir mahrece
mühtacız .Tasavvur olunan başlıca yol , ümit ederim ki , İrana
intihap edebileceği her hangi bir istikamette ihracatta
bulunmak imkânını verecek olan bir şimendîfer şebekesinin
başlangıcı olacaktır " demıştır .

Keyfiyet Yüksek itlâlarına arz olunur efendim .

Hariciye Vekil Vekili

H. F. J.
28-9-1930

S. - 10/11/30



-1-

446

030 10 261 756 22 M R.

Cevabı muharreratta hanki daire ve şube ifadesile yazıldığına ve umumî ve hususî nümerolarının derci merudur.

Kaynak: BCA, Fon Kodu: 30.10..0, Yer No: 261.756..22, Tarih:
28.09.1930, p. 1.

As a part of the comparison, the process of international expansion
started with the capitulations in both countries. The discovery of new

roads and the dissemination of the international trade had accelerated this process with the chain of concessions and caused a consolidation. The National Bank of Iran which was founded in 1928 by the German experts encountered a serious blow after the Great Depression. At the heart of Turkey's banking system the foundation of Central Bank of Turkey developed as a process of consulting with foreign expertise. In this context, it can be stated that the foundation process of the national banks which assumed the right of seigniorage had realized in Iran and Turkey coincidingly. After 1929 Great Depression, the prices of agricultural goods had fallen, the level of exports decreased. Against the fall of prices, the deterioration of the people's financial status, some new protectionist precautions had been taken. Turkey followed a new path by the new foreign trade regime and anti-concessionary policies and diminished the dominance of trade capital during the 1930s. During the same period, it was not possible to diminish the sovereignty of bazaar in Iran. Imperial Bank had supported the trade capital by giving loans. During the 1930s, the world had been fully curious about the newly shaping "Kemalist Turkey". *Yaban*, as the novel of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, famous Turkish novelist had been translated into foreign languages. *Kadro* journal had been closely examined in several capital cities without missing the publishing calendar. This journal, as a source to interpret the new model in Turkey, had been published in Egypt in Arabic regularly. (Küçük, 1985, p. 392) Iran, at the same period, was assessed as an exotic country in the eyes of a Western observer and a kind of island country which was being isolated from the modern world.

1933 became a remarkable date for both of these countries to sign prominent treaties. Despite the fact that Iran challenged along the process of AIOC, it could not avoid from re-signing the concession

treaty. On the other hand, Turkey's model of the resolution of Ottoman debts had been a diplomatic victory.

Although Iran had opened some new factories for the internal markets and consumption, these could not have been compared to the factories in Turkey. Nonetheless, the path that was recorded in Iran could have been treated as a relative eye taking progress. Besides, Turkey's industrialization policy had been sealed with the economic vision of statism. In Iran, this could be realized with the private capital in half of the investments.

In Turkey, the policies that targeted to make the peasants more conscious producers had been followed. The Republic of Turkey aimed at making the entire of its citizens benefit from the possibilities of the nation-state. The slogan of a society "fused without class" had been exalted as a leading slogan. In Iran, the peasants had been deprived of their lands in a dramatic way. Ataturk had become a respected leader in and out of the country. After the start of WWII, Reza Shah was deposed of the throne following the occupation of the country.

In Iran, the political figures who thought to criticize the railway policy had been imprisoned. On the other hand, the Free Party circles could make the critique of the railway policy by defending the views around Müller and Schacht's projects. On one side, the Trans-Iranian railway project brought an unprecedented result which helped the occupying forces to use the railway from the northern side to the southern parts of the country; on the other side, Turkey could mobilize its troops without having any difficulties. Thus it could find a fast and dissuasive war strategy.

Conclusion

It is quite important to state that the industrialization policy of the underdeveloped countries had been causing and confronting the

barrier to diminish deficit in the short term and an adverse result to increase the deficit of the foreign trade balance. The impact to provide the foreign trade deficit diminish and reach a consistent level by industrialization can be seen in the mid and long terms. This process causes the incline of production and the decline of import. (Röpke, 1984, p. 4-5).

From the Great Depression to the War, between 1929 and 1939, the economic precautions were taken by Iran and Turkey, the treaties signed and the economic policies pursued by these countries had been affected by political atmosphere in the world. The Cambio control system and foreign exchange limitations caused some new difficulties in the international monetary system.

The different historical trajectories had defined the formation of foreign trade and transportation policies. Iran, by way of the Imperial Bank and AIOC, had been dependent on Britain in an archaic and deep way. The perspective of Iran to overcome this dependency converged with the economic and political penetration of Germany into the Near East. It is possible to assert that during the critical tug-of-war between the imperialist powers, bowing the stick towards Germany meant to diminish the dependency to Britain both economically and politically and solve the persistent problems.

However, Iran had to comprehend the realities of the international domain as it could not find a way to solve its problems by applying to another foreign power. The 1933 Treaty which was signed with AIOC had both caused the disappointment and the lack of adequate initiative had been an obstacle for the persuasion of Iranian society. Continuing the foreign relations with Germany meant absorbing the political influence of Iran, too. This influence caused the occupation of Iran owing to the perception of threat used as a tool of pressure and security projection by Britain and the Soviet Union. Hence, it can be summed up that the historical milestones of Iran proved that

the resolution of the persistent problems and the modernization is an uneasy and narrow route. Iran's quest of transformation into a Republic can be explained in a few notes. It is known that changing the political settlement was not an easy task. However, it was prevalent that Reza Shah had preferred to keep the dynasty's continuation instead of realizing the parliamentary reforms. The Shah's secularisation policy had some inadequacies. Among those the inadequacies gathered around the policies depending on the land-owning classes, making the peasants much more landless and confronting the clergy with a harsh political vision that these proved the lack of intellectual capacity of Reza Shah. The Shah's class bases had already been incompatible with the intellectual background. The social layers on which Reza Shah depended had been the main obstacles in front of the modernization in Iran. The extent of compromise was clearly determinant on the formation of the political opposition. The compromise, during the rest of the 1920s, acted as the "litmus paper which could keep the margins of a constitutionally organized political opposition". (Yümlü, 2016: 35).

After the experience of centuries-old neighborhood, these two countries had different historical dynamics making them encapsulated in an ambivalent framework of national independence. In this context, different localities had converged with the same world conjuncture and the historical paths had defined the different routes for Iran and Turkey in a more emboldened way through the end of 1930s.

References

Books/Theses

Abdelrehim, N. T. H. (2010). Oil Nationalisation and Manegerial Disclosure: The Case of Anglo Iranian Oil Company, 1933-1951, A Doctoral Thesis, The University of York.

Abrahamian, E. (2011). Modern İran Tarihi, çev. Dilek Şendil, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul.

Ahmad, F.(1999). İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul.

Akın, V. (2000). Bir Devrin Cemiyet Adamı Doktor Fuad Umay, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayını, Ankara.

Axworthy, M. (2016). A History of Iran Empire of the Mind, Basic Books, New York.

Aysan, M. A. (2014). Atatürk Dönemi Ekonomi Politikaları, Minval Yayınları, İstanbul.

Balkanlı A. O. (2002). Türkiye’de Ekonomik Gelişme ve Kriz, Filiz Kitabevi, İstanbul.

Berkes N. (1997). Teokrasi ve Laiklik, Adam Yayınları, İstanbul.

Bostock, F. & Jones, G. (1989). Planning and Power in Iran: Ebtehaj and Economic Development Under The Shah, New York Routedge, London.

Cleveland, W. L. (2008). Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi, çev. Mehmet Harmancı, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul.

Çavdar, T. (1974). Milli Mücadelenin Ekonomik Kökenleri, Köz Yayınları, İstanbul.

Daei, M. (2013). İran-Osmanlı Ticari İlişkileri (1900-1923), Berikan Yayınevi, Ankara.

Derin, H. (1995). Çankaya Özel Kalemmini Anımsarken (1933-1951), haz. Cemil Koçak, Tarih Vakfı ve Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul.

Djalili, M. R. & Kellner, T. (2010). İran'ın Son İki Yüzyıllık Tarihi, çev. Reşat Uzman, Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul.

Eldem, V. (1994). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara.

Esmer, A. Ş. (1953). Siyasi Tarih (1919-1939), Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara.

Glasneck, J. (1976). Türkiye'de Faşist Alman Propagandası, çev. Arif Gelen, Onur Yayınları, Ankara.

Issawi, C. (1971). The Economic History of Iran, 1800-1914, ed. Charles Issawi, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago&London.

Katouzian, H. (2013). Iran, Politics, History and Literature, Rutledge, New York.

Koçak, C. (2010). Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945), Cilt I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Kuruç, B. (2012). Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ekonomi Büyük Devletler ve Türkiye, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.

Küçük, Y. (1985), Bilim ve Edebiyat, Tekin Yayınevi, İstanbul.

Lorentz, J. H. (2007). Historical Dictionary of Iran, Scarecrow Press, USA.

Mansfield, P. (2012). Ortadoğu Tarihi, çev. Hüsrev Ümit Yolsalı, Say Yayınları, İstanbul.

Şahinkaya, S. (2009). Cumhuriyet Ekonomisinin İnşası, ODTÜ Yayıncılık, Ankara.

Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (1997). Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası: Para ve Kredi Sisteminin Oluşumunda Bir Aşama, T.C. Merkez Bankası Yayınları, Ankara.

Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (2010). Cumhuriyetin Harcı, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.

Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (2014). İkinci Dünya Savaşı Türkiye'si, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Tezel, Y. S. (1982). Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950), Yurt Yayınları, Ankara.

Tokgöz, E. (2009). Türkiye'nin İktisadi Gelişme Tarihi (1914-2009), İmaj Yayınevi, Ankara.

Toynbee, A. J. (2000). Türkiye III (Bir Devletin Yeniden Doğuşu), Yeni Gün Yayıncılık, Ankara.

Ünlü Soylu, P. (2015). Türkiye'de İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası İktisadi Politikanın Dönüşümü (1945-1950), Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara University, The Institute for the History of Turkish Revolution, Ankara.

Yılmaz, F. (1996). Devlet Borçlanması ve Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Dış Borçlanma, Birleşik Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Yümlü, M. (2016). The Reformation of the Political Opposition in Iran (1926-1946), Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, The Institute of Social Sciences, Ankara.

Articles

Ahin, T. (2010, Haziran). İran İslam Cumhuriyeti'nde İslam Yapısı", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Cilt: 43 Sayı: 2, s. 81-100.

Boratav, K. (1977). "Büyük Dünya Bunalımı İçinde Türkiye'nin Sanayileşme ve Gelişme Sorunları: 1929-1939", Tarihsel Gelişimi İçinde Türkiye Sanayi, TMMOB Makine Mühendisleri Odası Yayın No: 106/1, Ankara, s. 7-18.

Cevat, N. (1933, 23 Haziran). "Londra Konferansının Ruhiyatı", Akşam, p. 1-2.

Day, P. (1935, 4 Ağustos). "Yeni İran", çev. M. Rasim Özgen, Zaman, p. 5.

Issawi, C. (1978). "The Iranian Economy 1925-1975: Fifty Years of Economic Development", in the Iran Under the Pahlavis, Stanford: Hoover Institution, p.129-166.

Jones, G. (1987). The Imperial Bank of Iran and Iranian Economic Development, 1890-1952, pp. 69-81.

Karaömerlioğlu, M. A. (2002). "Türkiye'de Köycülük", Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 2, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 284-297.

Knapp, W. (1977). “1921-1941: The Period of Riza Shah”, Twentieth Century Iran, ed. Hossein Amirsadeghi, Heinemann, London, p. 23-51.

Malek, M. (2005). “Oil in Iran Between Two World Wars”, ed. Vanessa Martin, Anglo-Iranian Relations since 1800, London: Routledge, p. 128-137.

Mehmet, A. (1929, 11 Şubat). “Rusya ile Ticaretimiz”, Vakit, p.1.

Necmeddin, S. (1933, 16 Haziran). “Bir şey çıkacak mı?”, Akşam, p. 1-2.

Neumark, F. (1939). “Türkiye İktisadiyatı: 1938 Senesinde Türk Harici Ticareti”, çev. Orhan Tuna, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, Cilt: 62, Sayı: 1, p. 118-126.

Neyyiri, L. D. (2005). “Yüzyılım İlk Yarısında İran ve Osmanlı Devletlerinin Zayıflatılması ve Avrupa’nın Bundaki Rölü”, İranlılar ve Türklerin Batıyla İlişkileri, çev. Sayyid Abu Talib Ruhani vd., İslami Kültür ve İlişkiler Teşkilatı ve Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, Ankara, p. 61-72.

Oskooee, M. B. (2005, Fall). “History of the Rial and Foreign an Exchange Policy in Iran”, Iranian Economic Review, Vol. 10, No. 14, p. 1-20.

Rezun, M. (1980). Reza Shah’s Court Minister: Teymourtash, Int. J. Middle East Stud. 12, Printed in USA, p. 119-137.

Savory, R. M. (1970). “Modern Persia”, In the Cambridge History of Islam, V. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 595-620.

Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (2001). “Cumhuriyetin Demiryolu Politikalarının Oluşumu ve Uygulaması”, Kebikeç, Sayı: 11, Kebikeç Yayınları, Ankara, p. 125-163.

Toprak, Z. (1988). “Türkiye Tarımı ve Yapısal Gelişmeler 1900-1950”, Türkiye’de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000), der. Şevket Pamuk-Zafer Toprak, Yurt Yayınları, Ankara, p. 19-35.

Töre, N. (1982). “Atatürk Döneminin (1923-1938) Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Politikası”, Atatürk Dönemi Ekonomi Politikası ve Türkiye’nin Ekonomik Gelişmesi, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, p. 45-61.

Vedat, N. (1930, 12 Ocak). “Günün Parolası: İktisat Programı”, Cumhuriyet, p. 2.

Newspapers and Archival Documents

“Turkey Foreign Debts”, Times [London, England], 11 February 1930, p.14

“Sovyetlerin İktisadi Mücadelesi, İtalya ve... Almanya”, Akşam, 19 Kânunuevvel (Aralık) 1929, s. 3.

“Tevfik Rüştü Bey Türk Tezini İzah Etti”, Akşam, 16 Haziran 1933, s.1.

“Dünyanın İktisadi Vaziyetine Dair Dikkate Şayan Bir Rapor”, Akşam, 24 Haziran 1933, s. 1-2.

“Road and Railways”, Times [London, England], 9 August 1938, p.54.

“Bugünkü İran”, Tan 28 Ağustos 1941, p. 4.

TBMM(ZC), Cilt: 3, Devre: IV, Fevkalade İçtima, Otuz dördüncü inikat, Tarih: 22.VII.1931, p. 305-352.

TBMM(ZC), Cilt: 2, Devre: VI, İçtima: F., Dokuzuncu inikad, Tarih: 8.V.1939, p. 28-35.

BCA, Fon Kodu: 490..1.0.0, Yer No: 580.2308..4, Tarih: 0.0.1938, p.3-10

BCA, Fon Kodu: 30.10..0, Yer No: 261.756..22, Tarih: 28.09.1930, p. 1.

BCA, Fon Kodu: 490..1.0.0, Yer No: 1455.38..2, Tarih: 0.0.1938, p.4.

FO, R 241/17/44, No.5, 1940, p. 7.

