



INFO - TÜRK INFO - TÜRK INFO - TÜRK

bulletin mensuel • monthly bulletin • maandelijks bulletin

109

10th Year • 31, rue des Eburons - 1040 Brussels - Belgium
Published in English and French by Collective Info-Türk •
Tel: (32-2) 230 34 72 • ISSN 0770-9013 • Dépot légal: 2198
Annual subscription: 500 BF • CCP 000-1168701-45-Bxl.



FILE ON POLITICAL PARTIES IN TURKEY

Is there today a real progress towards political pluralism in Turkey?
European institutions very often express their satisfaction in this regard, referring to the holding of local elections in 1984 for the first time since the coup d'état, with a wider representation of political parties than had been permitted in the general election of 1983.

However, the European Parliament, in its latest Resolution of October 23, 1985, "recognizing that political democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties remain unrepresented in the country's parliament, while leading political figures remain excluded from active political life, while Turkish Communist Party remains under a total ban," called on the Turkish regime to remove all these restrictions.

Since then many former political leaders such as Demirel, Ecevit, Erbakan and Türkes have been able to express their opinions, despite a formal ban, through the new political parties set up by their followers, and the Social Democracy Party (SODEP) has obtained the possibility of being represented in the parliament, thanks to merging with the Populist Party (HP).

No doubt, all these new developments can give rise to a greater satisfaction with regards to the right to engage in democratic politics in Turkey. Yet, it should not be forgotten that this progress is not the consequence of a voluntary democratisation carried out by the present rulers of the country, but rather a gain of the democratic forces of Turkey who, with the support of popular masses, oblige the regime, which has lost all its credibility, to step back.

Whatever is the level of this progress, the anti-democratic practices continue and an important slice of the political fan, the marxist or Kurdish parties, cannot take their place in the legal political life.

In this first issue of the 10th year of the *Bulletin Info-Türk*, our editorial board puts forward the present political situation in Turkey by sketching out the political fan of the pre-coup period and that of today.

PERCENTAGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES			
LEFT	Local elections - 1977		RIGHT
CHP (center-left)	42.09	AP (center-right)	37.18
TIP (socialist)	0.51	MSP (fundamentalist)	6.80
TBP (progressive)	0.28	MHP (neo-fascist)	6.73
SDP (socialist)	0.02	DP (right)	1.02
TSIP (socialist)	0.23	CGP (right)	0.53
Independents	4.61		
Left in total	47.74	Right in total	52.26
LEFT	Partial Elections - 1979		RIGHT
CHP (center-left)	29.14	AP (center-right)	46.83
TIP (socialist)	0.71	MSP (fundamentalist)	9.70
TBP (progressive)	1.18	MHP (neo-fascist)	6.60
SDP (socialist)	0.71	CGP (right)	2.49
TSIP (socialist)	1.31		
Independents	1.33		
Left in total	34.38	Right in total	52.26
LEFT	Legislative elections - 1983		RIGHT
HP (center-left)	30.46	ANAP (right)	45.15
Independents	1.12	MDP (right)	23.27
Left in total	31.58	Right in total	68.42
LEFT	Local elections - 1984		RIGHT
SODEP (center-left)	23.40	ANAP (right)	41.26
HP (center-left)	8.78	DYP (heir of AP)	13.35
Independents	1.34	MDP (right)	7.11
		RP (fundamentalist)	4.76
Left in total	33.52	Right in total	66.48
LEFT	Opinion Poll - November 1985		RIGHT
SHP (center-left)	32.76	ANAP (right)	31.03
DSP (center-left)	6.26	DYP (heir of AP)	17.24
		MDP (right)	6.89
		RP (fundamentalist)	3.71
Left in total	39.02	Right in total	58.87

POLITICAL PARTIES BEFORE THE MILITARY COUP OF 1980

LEFT-WING PARTIES:

THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (CHP)

Formed in early 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, it governed Turkey until 1946, as a single party and exercised a dictatorial rule representing the alliance of landowners, emerging local bourgeoisie and state bureaucracy. The 1950 elections were disastrous for the CHP, and the Democrat Party (DP), claiming to be the real representative of the bourgeoisie, kept an overwhelming majority until 1960. The May 1960 military coup enabled the CHP to recover some of its influence. Seeing the steady strengthening of the working class' movement and the success of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) in 1965 elections, the CHP adopted a left-of-the center policy and after the 1972 Convention, Mr. Bülent Ecevit replaced Mr. İsmet İnönü, chairman of the party since Atatürk's death. The CHP governed the country from 1961 to 1965, from 1973 to 1974 and from 1978 to 1979 in coalition with some small formations or independent deputies.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY (TKP)
AND ITS ALLIES

The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) is one of the two oldest political parties of the country. Founded in 1921 by a congress held in Baku, it was affiliated with the Communist International. But just after its foundation, the TKP was outlawed by the Kemalist power and its 15 leaders were assassinated in Turkey on January 28-29, 1922. Since then the TKP has always remained underground and could not be influential in the Turkish politics until 1974. In this period, its officials were established in the socialist countries. However, after 1974, the TKP began to influence certain trade unions and democratic organisations through its sympathisers in Turkey, certain of whom were arrested after the military coup of 1980.

The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP): Following the adoption of the 1961 Constitution, 12 trade union leaders, independent of the TKP, founded the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) which obtained 15 seats in the National Assembly in the 1965 elections. But a few years later, the TIP also lost its influence on the electorate and was banned in 1971 by the Constitutional Court on the accusation of "separatist activities." After the general amnesty of 1973, the members and sympathisers of the TIP were scattered in various political parties and groups of different tendencies. The second TIP which was founded in 1975 by the last president of the former TIP was one of these parties. A few years later it approached the line of the TKP.

The Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP): Founded in 1974 by a group of the former TIP activists who are also near to the TKP line.

The Communist Labour Party of Turkey (TKEP): Founded by a group of the youth leaders of the 60s who also approached later on to the TKP line.

The Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP): Founded in 1975 by certain members of Kurdish origin of the former TIP who also later approached international policy of the TKP.

The Workers' Party of Kurdistan (KIP): Founded in the same period by some Kurdish militants who contest the representativity of the TKSP.

LEFT-WING PARTIES OF OTHER TENDENCIES

The Socialist Revolution Party (SDP): Founded in 1976 by one of the presidents of the former TIP. Near to "euro-communism", it contests the TKP line.

The Labour Party of Turkey (TEP): Founded in 1975 by one of the former leaders of the TKP. It contests the present leadership of the TKP established in socialist countries.

The Communist Party of Turkey/Union (TKP/B): Founded by a fraction of the TSIP which it considers "pacifist and legalist".

The Workers' Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP): Founded in 1975 by a group near to the line of the present rulers of China.

The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML): Founded by a group which remains loyal to the ideas of Mao-tse Tung.

The Liberation (Kurtulus): Founded by a group of former youth leaders. Loyal to the ideas of Stalin.

The Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): Independent of all ideological centers of the world. Among all others, including the TKP and its allies, the Dev-Yol was the most influential in the population.

The Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol): A scission of the Dev-Yol. It advocated armed propaganda.

Also mentioned in this group should be *the People's Path (HY)*, *the People's Union (HB)*, *the Marxist-Leninist Union for Armed Propaganda (MLSPB)*, *the Revolutionary Vanguard of the People (HDO)* and *the Partisan's Path (PY)*, which also advocated armed propaganda, as well as a few Trotskyist groups.

Besides, *the Union Party of Turkey (TBP)* was one of the progressive parties of the period. It was founded with the purpose of defending the rights of the Alevite minority.

KURDISH PARTIES OF OTHER TENDENCIES

While the TKSP and the KIP were allying themselves to the TKP, seven other Kurdish organizations were working independently in the Turkish Kurdistan:

The Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK): Among all Kurdish organizations, the PKK was the strongest and advocated armed propaganda.

The National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK): Heir to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

Five other Kurdish groups were *Rızgari*, *Ala Rızgari*, *Kawa*, *Denge Kawa* and *Tekosin*.

Among all these left-wing parties, only the CHP, the TIP, the TBP, the TSIP, the TEP, the SDP and the TIKP took part in electoral work. Others were either outlawed or preferred to organize within the population in the form of social or cultural organizations or editorial boards under other names.

RIGHT-WING PARTIES:

The Justice Party (AP): Founded in 1961, the AP was the political heir of *the Democrat Party (DP)*, representing the bourgeoisie and rural notables, who governed Turkey for ten years, from 1950 until its ban in 1960.

The AP governed the country for ten years, from 1965 to 1970. On March 12, 1971, the military obliged the AP to withdraw from the government. Although it was beaten by the CHP in the 1973 elections, the AP governed the country two times more, from 1975

./..

to 1977 and from 1979 to 1980, in coalition with other right-wing parties. It was again the AP which was in power at the time of the military coup of 1980.

The National Salvation Party (MSP): Founded in 1972, the MSP was the political heir of the National Order Party (MNP), banned by the Constitutional Court in 1971 for "anti-secular activities". Following a fundamentalist line, the MSP was supported by orthodox muslimans as well as by provincial notables and the local bourgeoisie of Anatolia. It shared the power with CHP from 1973 to 1974 and with the AP from 1975 to 1977.

The Nationalist Action Party (MHP): Continuation of the Republican Peasant Nation Party (CKMP), the MHP was the principal responsible for the political assassinations of the period prior to the military coup of 1980. While it was a centrist little bourgeois party, the

CKMP was seized in 1965 by fascist minded Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkeş and his fellows through some dirty manoeuvres. After changing its name, the MHP was supported at the beginning by smalltown craftsmen and tradesmen as well as by racist youth. After having formed para-military (Grey Wolves) commando units, the MHP was supported also by the big bourgeoisie in order to intimidate the democratic forces of the country. It took part in the "Nationalist Front" coalition governments from 1975 to 1977 and thanks to this participation it placed many fascist elements in the key posts of the State. These fascist elements and the Grey Wolves prepared the pretext of the military coup by escalating political violence throughout the country.

The two other right-wing parties of the period, the Democratic Party (DP) and the Republican Reliance Party (CGP) had already disappeared from the political scene before 1980, though they had participated in coalition governments between 1975 and 1979.

EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL LIFE AFTER THE COUP D'ETAT

1. Dissolution of the Parliament and the arrest of political leaders: The military junta dissolved the Parliament on September 12, 1980, and also suspended all political activities. The first arbitrary arrests hit mainly political leaders. The principal figures of the parties represented in the Parliament were taken into custody many times, while the leaders of the Marxist parties were being arrested and brought before military tribunals. Some of them succeeded in fleeing the country and got political refugee status abroad.

2. Dissolution of all political parties: While the second year of the military regime was beginning with the nomination of 160 members of the so-called "Consultative Assembly", charged with drawing up the new Constitution, all political parties were formally banned and dissolved by the military junta. All belongings of the parties were confiscated by the military.

3. New legislation on political parties: The new Constitution adopted on November 7, 1982, defined first a series of restrictions on the political life. A law adopted by the military junta later detailed all these restrictions as follows:

"Political parties cannot preach a doctrine other than Atatürk's." That is to say, the foundation of political parties on an ideological basis other than that of the Junta is not permitted. Parties cannot be established on class, ethnic group or linguistic bases, since the Atatürk's doctrine recognizes only the Turkish nation "without classes or ethnic and linguistic differences".

"Judges and prosecutors, members of courts, teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions, State civil servants and those of public institutions and establishments, students and members of the Armed Forces cannot join political parties."

"Trade union organisations cannot take part in political life since they have been deprived of the right to establish ties with political parties or to support any political party or to have elected any of their officials to a political or parliamentary post."

"Political parties which preach the communist, fascist, national socialist, religious or separatist ideologies are banned. They are also banned from having any tie with associations and trade unions and from receiving funds from these organizations."

"Those who were sentenced for simple or 'ideological' crimes cannot be members of the new parties."

"Leaders of the dissolved parties are forbidden to re-engage in politics for the next 10 years, while the

members of the last legislative assembly are excluded for 5 years. This ban was extended later on to the chairmen, secretaries or administrative board members of the former political parties."

4. Foundation of new political parties: The military junta, after having defined the limits of political activities, authorized new political parties to organize from May 16, 1983.

General Evren stated many times before this date that the new parliamentary life should be based on a 2-party system: a powerful Atatürkist party in government while the second Atatürkist party is playing the role of opposition. Nevertheless, despite all these strict precautions taken in advance by the military, the dynamic forces of the country did not delay in showing themselves on the political scene by using the smallest legal possibility.

The foundation of the first political party was announced on May 16, 1983, by a fascist-minded former army general, Turgut Sunalp, supported by the military junta: The Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP).

However, despite all propaganda organized in favour of this party, it was the Great Turkey Party (BTP) that was welcome with enthusiasm by the members of the defunct Justice Party (AP).

Meantime, a third right-wing party, the *Motherland Party (ANAP)* was launched by Turgut Ozal, former vice-premier of the military government, who was also the author and the executor of the drastic economic decisions applied since January 24, 1980.

Former Premier Demirel's decision to support the BTP became an unexpected strike on General Evren's political plan. He did not delay in delivering riposte by announcing the dissolution of the new-founded BTP on May 31, 1983. The same decree of the military junta ordered the exile and the compulsory residence for the two principal founders of the BTP as well as Demirel and 13 other former politicians.

Besides, the decree extended the ban on the former politicians to the province and district officials of the dissolved parties, as well as to the mayors elected prior to 1980. So, only those who could get a special authorization from the junta were allowed to be founders and officials of new parties.

On June 13, 1983, the military junta also approved a new electoral law including a good many new restrictions and interdictions in order to avoid the new parties and others to be established to go in any way beyond its control. According to the new law:

- The NSC allowed itself the power to veto, not

only founders and officials of new parties, but also candidates, until the first meeting of the National Assembly and the election of its speaker. Thus not only party candidates could be removed when they appear on the lists before the elections but also the elected ones could be ousted from the Parliament, if the five generals dislike them, in spite of the popular vote.

- Besides, those who do not have a school diploma, those who were banned from public services, those who made public State secrets, and those who were condemned for political or ideological "offenses" could not stand for Parliament.

The new electoral law brought forth a double barrage system allowing only two parties to survive in Parliament.

Despite all these restrictions, popular masses which had voted for the defunct left-wing parties, began to look for a new political party through which they could express their dissatisfaction regards to the military regime and could air their most urgent demands.

Although several efforts were made by the divers trends of the old CHP to form a new social-democrat party, contrary to the determined position of Demirel, the former social-democrat leader Bülent Ecevit, manifesting his weakness once more, abstained from orienting social democrats to a single target; instead, he preferred to personally attend, thanks to a special permission of the military junta, the meetings of Socialist International abroad and to convince his European comrades to moderate their criticisms regards to the military regime in Turkey.

Since Ecevit lost all his prestige in the left-minded public by failing to show a way-out, the rank-and-file of the defunct CHP took different initiatives to create a new center-left party.

Benefitting from this disarray, Necdet Calp, a veteran civil servant who had been in the service of the military junta until last days, set up a "center-left" party, to be called *the Populist Party (HP)*.

But the chances of this party, considered by the press as a "test-tube baby", were lessened at the end of May when it became clear that the center-left was regrouping, despite its divisions, around Professor Erdal İnönü, the son of Kemal Atatürk's comrade-in-arms İsmet İnönü, second president of the Republic.

Although its name was *the Social Democracy Party (SODEP)*, this second center-left party was far from being the heir of the dissolved CHP regards to both its many founders and officials and its announced programme. In a statement he made before the foundation of the party, İnönü said: "The attachment and the respect to the Constitution and laws will be the basic principles of our activities." So, he was engaged to work in the framework imposed by the Junta.

The business circles were so satisfied with this development that the right-wing Istanbul daily *Tercüman* had as headline: "We are like a tight fist against foreigners," pointing out the similarities of the programmes of the MDP, the ANAP, the HP and the SODEP, after the last one's programme was made public.

While 15 new parties were set up after the adoption of the new Political Parties Law, the BTP was officially dissolved by a decree of the military junta and 11 others were denied the right to register for the poll as a result of the Junta's vetoes. According to the Election Law, to be allowed to register for the polls, a political party was obliged to have at least 30 founders who were not vetoed by the NSC. Until the deadline, August 25, 1983, the Junta vetoed 453 out of 750 party founders without any concrete justification. Thus, among others, two influential political parties,

the SODEP and the Correct Way Party (DYP) which succeeded the BTP with Demirel's support, lost any chance to participate in elections, while the three others, the MDP, the ANAP and the HP, were being allowed to register for the poll.

But the Army generals obviously did not completely trust even the candidates announced by these three "favoured" parties and vetoed also 89 candidates of the HP, 81 of the ANAP and 74 of the MDP.

Among these three political parties having the "confidence" of the Junta, it was the MDP of former general Turgut Sunalp that was the favorite of the military. Nevertheless, the election rallies of Ozal were much more successful than those of Sunalp. During their debates and electoral speeches on television, Ozal was distinguished from Sunalp.

Thereupon, being sure that his "popularity" still existed, General Evren went on television to address the voters with a thinly-veiled appeal to support the MDP and not to vote for the ANAP.

In fact, one year ago more than 90 percent of the electorate, having no alternative and being intimidated, voted for General Evren's election as "President of the Republic". But one year later, that image was shattered. The vote used by the people of Turkey on November 6, 1983, was not the expression of its confidence in any for the "privileged" parties, but it was rather a means of giving General Evren a slap on the face. While the ANAP was obtaining 211 seats in the National Assembly with 45.15 percent of the votes and the HP 117 seats with 30.46 percent, the favorite of General Evren, the MDP, paid the invoice for the past 3 years' repression and unpopular economic measures by obtaining only 71 seats with 23.27 percent of the votes.

The most paradoxical aspect of the election result was that the winner was, in actual fact, the principal author and mastermind of those unpopular economic measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund. Although the military might have preferred to entrust a former army general, Turgut Sunalp, the "civilian" administration of the country, the international financial circles, as they did just after the military coup, forced the military to allow Ozal to take part in the general elections. As it turned out, it was clear that Ozal was more successful than Sunalp in recruiting a young and well-trained *brain trust* consisting of people who have the confidence of big business.

At the local elections held on March 25, 1984, Ozal's party, obtaining 41.26 percent of the votes and by taking over the control of the city administration in 54 out of 67 provincial capitals, strengthened its power and ruled out, at least for a few years, an early parliamentary election.

However, this second election after the military coup d'état was, in fact, a new strike on the political scheme of the military. All of the three political parties which had had the privilege of participating in the general election and of being represented in Parliament lost in the local election, without exception, the support of the masses. On the contrary, the three other parties which had been excluded from legislative elections, the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), the Correct Way Party (DYP) and a new fundamentalist formation, the welfare Party (RP) took part in the local elections and made successful scores.

The three "favourite" parties managed to obtain 10 million out of 17.6 million casted votes (57.15 pc), while they had previously won 17.1 million out of 17.3 million votes (98.88 pc) at the general election, as for the three other parties, they obtained 7.3 millions (41.51 pc).

Ozal's party—in spite of its hasty claim of "vic-

tory"— lost 560,335 of its votes obtained in the general election. This result represented a 3.89 pc fall in the confidence of the electors. But the fall in votes of the two other favorite parties was quite disastrous for them. The MDP lost 2.7 million out of its 4 million votes. So, its percentage fell from 23.27 down to 7.11. As to the HP, it lost 3.7 million of 5.2 million votes cast for it at the general election and its percentage fell from 30.46 down to 8.78 pc.

Thus, the non-representative character of the National Assembly came to light in the aftermath of the local elections. Since then, this fact has been one of the main preoccupations of Turkey's democratic forces as well as of the European institutions. In fact, the European Parliament, in its recent Resolution of October 23, 1985, recognized that "political democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties, particularly the SODEP and the DYP remain unrepresented in the country's parliament, while leading political figures such as Mr Demirel and Mr Ecevit remain excluded from active political life, while the Turkish Communist Party remains under a total ban."

As for the Council of Europe, the rapporteur of its Political Affairs Committee said: "The Turkish Parliament elected in this way presents an anomaly which can only be removed by fresh elections."

Nevertheless, this anomaly will subsist as long as the present Constitution remains in force, because it is this fundamental document that makes impossible enjoying a political pluralism in Turkey.

A radical change in this Constitution depends first on the formation of a two-third democratic majority in the National Assembly and later on, the replacement of General Evren by a new President of the Republic coming out of this majority.

According to the Constitution, the new legislative elections will be held in 1988 while the term of General Evren at the head of the State will end in 1989.

However, until these dates, the democratic forces of Turkey, using all legal means, even if they are too limited, take all possible initiatives to organize on the political scene and to prepare themselves for the coming elections with the objective of modifying the Constitution and so establish a democratic regime conforming to the European Convention on Human Rights.

It should be borne in mind that the Marxist Left as well as the Kurdish Movement are formally outlawed and deprived of the right to organize in legal and electoral plans. So, it is not yet possible to speak of a real opening compatible with the regulations of politics. It seems that the left side of the political fan which is in the process of forming will be uncompleted at least until 1988.

Now we shall try to sketch the present political fan of Turkey and to make known its principal components.

RIGHT-WING PARTIES

The Motherland Party (ANAP): For the moment it appears in the right side of the political fan as the most powerful one. Profiting from the lack of serious rivals in the 1983 elections, it obtained an absolute majority at the National Assembly and enjoyed financial, economic and political support from national and international business circles.

In the course of the 1983 electoral campaign, Turgut Ozal managed to group together within his electorate the members and sympathizers of the three defunct right-wing parties, the Justice Party (AP), the National Salvation Party (MSP) and the Nationalist

Action Party (MHP) as well as some electors of the Republican People's Party (CHP).

It is a fact that, the absence of the organizations of these tendencies, respectively liberal, fundamentalist, neo-fascist and social-democrat, Ozal succeeded in gathering these four antagonist tendencies within the ANAP. But the hard-core of his party has been composed of the activists of the fundamentalist and neo-fascist parties.

After the 1984 local elections, the ANAP suddenly found itself in a multi-dimensional turmoil, having failed to keep its popularity because of the concurrence of the DYP and the SODEP. It is a matter of fact that, due to rapidly rising inflation, Ozal had already begun to suffer from a fall in popularity. Even the daily press close to big business launched a campaign of criticism against the Government's policies by dramatizing the effects of the high inflation rate. General Evren, who had been obliged to name Ozal as Prime Minister in 1983, attempted to lay the responsibility for all unpopular economic decisions on Ozal when he began to receive complaints from citizens: "If the President of the Republic interferes in the economic policy of the Government, in that case it will be regarded as the policy of the President of the Republic. Furthermore, if I interfere in the government's policy, they can claim, in case the situation should deteriorate, that it happened due to interference by the President of the Republic".

The troubles of Premier Ozal have been aggravated especially because of conflicts among the four opposing tendencies which allegedly had come to terms within the framework of the ANAP. In order to maintain the co-habitation of these tendencies within the party, Ozal has been obliged a few times to make shifts within his government. However, the 1st Grand Convention of the ANAP, held in April 1985, unveiled the conflicts between the different tendencies.

While certain founder-members of the ANAP coming from the defunct right-wing parties were keeping their posts in the Government or in the party administration, a shift towards other parties claiming to be real heirs of the defunct parties has been observed in the rank and file.

A recent opinion-poll shows that the percentage of those who would vote for the ANAP is 31.05 in November, 1985, while its election score was 45.15 in 1983.

In the fear of losing its absolute majority in the National Assembly even before the general elections of 1988 due to the possible transfers of some deputies to the DYP, Ozal has already launched a series of political manoeuvres for drawing some deputies of the MDP who are looking for another alternative because of the electoral disasters of their party.

The Correct Way Party (DYP): Overtly supported by the former Prime Minister Demirel, it pretends to be the legitimate heir of the defunct *Justice Party (AP)*. Nevertheless, in the 1984 local elections, it hardly obtained 13.35 pc of the cast votes while the latest score of the AP prior to the coup d'état was 47.84 pc. Disappointed with the feeble performance of the DYP, Demirel suggested to the party officials that they change their chairman at the 1st Convention held in May 1985. Of the two candidates running for the party's presidency, Lawyer Hüsamettin Cindoruk and Businessman Mehmet Yazar, it was the former who obtained Demirel's support and was placed at the head of the party. Yet, since this convention, the new chairman has not succeeded in drawing the former electors of the AP to the DYP. Some partial local elections which were recently held showed once more

that the DYP is still very far from arriving at the level of the ANAP.

The recent opinion-poll gives it a chance of 17.24 pc which is hardly a few points higher than its electoral score in 1984.

As a last remedy for overcoming this stagnation, Demirel has recently taken initiative in his own hands and, by defying the interdiction of making political declarations, he has started to give press interviews and to make significant visits to the electoral strongholds of his defunct party.

The Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP): Considering that this favorite party of General Evron does not have any chance as long as the former general Turgut Sunalp remains chairman, the rank-and-file of the MDP, following the example of the DYP, resorted to the same remedy at their 1st Convention held in July 1985: A former bureaucrat, Ulkü Söylemezoglu was elected chairman with 425 votes against 198 for Sunalp.

It is clear that the changing of the chairman is not enough for overcoming the disastrous situation of a party as long as it does not have an external support as that of the DYP.

The new direction of the MDP, being aware of this fact, immediately entered in a dialogue with the new chairman of the DYP with the purpose of merging the two parties so that all electors of the defunct AP who have been divided among three different parties can be grouped within the new structure. This initiative was first welcomed by the DYP leadership and the two sides have had a series of talks. But all these efforts failed to arrive to a fusion because the DYP leaders insisted that the MDP should join their party.

The recent opinion-poll gives the MDP a chance of 6.89 pc while its first score in the 1983 elections was of 23.27 pc.

If it cannot manage to merge with the DYP, the "favorite" party of General Evren will definitively disappear from the political scene of Turkey at the coming legislative elections. The possible shift of some of its deputies to the ANAP will no doubt accelerate this process.

The Welfare Party (RP): Heir of the defunct Nationalist Salvation Party (MSP), this fundamentalist party, despite its feeble score (4.76 pc) at the 1984 local elections, continues to draw religious electors who earlier voted for the ANAP in 1983 and 1984.

Its first grand convention held in July, 1985, was more spectacular than those of the other right-wing parties. Coming with their religious-style dressings, the delegates expressed their will to foster religious and traditional values and to fight for lifting secular barriers laid down by the State.

Led by Ahmet Tekdal, the RP enjoys the total support of Necmeddin Erbakan, chairman of the defunct fundamentalist party, MSP. Like Demirel, Erbakan also, by defying the ban on political declarations of former leaders, began to speak in public and to give political interviews to the press with a view to supporting the RP.

Despite the fact that it is contested by another fundamentalist party, the Reformist Democracy Party (IDP), which has also recently held a very spectacular convention, the RP is considered the principal representative of the fundamentalist movement in the political fan.

The Nationalist Labour Party (MCP): While the leaders of the defunct neo-fascist party, MHP, are still being tried before a military tribunal, this tendency

has made an unexpected resurrection in legal plan with the first convention of this new party.

Founded by some activists (Grey Wolves) of the MHP in 1983, under the name of *the Conservative Party (MP)*, this party did not show itself in public until that convention.

All the same, the Turkish press claimed very often that the Grey Wolves who infiltrated the ANAP began on the confrontation of different antagonist currents in that party, to turn towards the MP.

After the release of Alparslan Türkeş, leader of the defunct MHP, the Grey Wolves again started their activities by launching new publications or by organizing meetings or soirées.

The climax of this climbing on the legal political scene was the first Grand Convention of the MP during which the name of the party was transformed into the Nationalist Labour Party (MCP). Shouting the slogans proper to the neo-fascist movement, the delegates adopted as the symbol of the party a crescent encircled by nine stars representing nine principles of the Grey Wolves.

So, the neo-fascist movement has taken its own place in the new political fan of Turkey. This is a phenomenon that bothers first of all the ANAP whose hard-core as well as an important part of electors had been taken over from the former MHP. In the meantime, it is a serious menace against the democratic forces of Turkey which had given numerous victims to the political terror of the Grey Wolves. The big bourgeoisie already proved before the military coup d'état that it never hesitates to use these terror troops as a striking force for intimidating democratic forces when it cannot prevent their progress through parliamentary means.

LEFT-WING PARTIES

As has already been explained beforehand, the military junta, in its project for militarist "democracy" foresaw the existence of a "left-wing" party which works within the framework imposed by the new Constitution.

During the legislative elections of 1983, the *Populist Party (HP)* played this role very well. But a few months later, with the participation of *the Social Democracy Party (SODEP)* in the local elections in 1984, this project was doomed to failure.

The disastrous defeat of the HP and the success of the SODEP showed clearly that the social-democrat minded electors would never accept being represented by a party "favoured" by the military. After the local elections, the deputies of the HP lost all their popular basis and turned into a phantom "opposition."

On the other hand, the leader of the defunct Republican People's Party (CHP), Mr Ecevit, announced that he would never accept the HP nor the SODEP as the representatives of the social-democrat movement, and the social-democrats would found in the near future their own party, *the Democratic Left Party (DSP)*.

Panic-stricken by these two defiances, some deputies as well as local officials of the HP began to look for a solution to get out of this deadlock. In this confusion, the Secretary General of the party, Aydın Güven Gürkan, put forward the idea of merging with the futur DSP of Ecevit. This proposal was enthusiastically welcomed by the rank-and-file of the party and at the 1st grand convention held in July, 1985, the delegates, overthrowing the founder of party, elected Gürkan chairman and charged him with getting in touch with Ecevit with a view to merging with the DSP.

But Gürkan's approaches in this sense were cate-

gorically rejected by Ecevit who claimed that his future party would be the only representative of the social democrat movement. Disappointed with Ecevit's attitude, Gürkan did not delay getting in touch with the chairman of the SODEP, Mr Erdal İnönü.

Already, the first grand convention of the SODEP, held in June, 1984, had adopted a resolution calling for the fusion of all social democrat parties.

At the very first meeting, the two leaders, coming from academic background, made the proof of conciliation which is unprecedented in the history of Turkish politics. They agreed to take all initiatives with a view to realising the fusion of the HP and the SODEP and to do their best in order to overcome all difficulties which can arise because of the restrictions imposed by the Constitution and the hostilities which appeared between the partisans of the two sides during the local election campaign.

In a very short time, the two parties respectively held their extraordinary conventions and merged into a new social democrat party: *the Popular Social-Democrat Party (SHP)*.

The fusion of the two parties, despite some local discord, has been welcomed with great enthusiasm by the social-democrat electors.

The campaign, led by the duo Gürkan-Inönü in provinces during which they called on all social democrats to unite within the SHP, played an important role in merging the rank-and-file of the two parties.

The undeniable proof of the success of this new momentum had been the scores obtained at local stand-by elections by the common candidates of the two parties. While the SODEP candidate was elected the mayor of the Emirdag district by obtaining 50 percent of the votes, in September 1985, prior to the fusion, the candidate of the SHP was elected mayor in the Sarayköy district, after fusion, on November 17, by obtaining 57.45 percent of the votes.

After these two victories, the Turkish press began to talk of a possible victory of the SHP at the coming legislative elections in 1988.

What is more, since the merger of the two parties 84 deputies of the HP at the National Assembly have become the representatives of the SHP which enjoys a massive popular support.

According to the calendar established between the two components of the new party, the SHP will be chaired until May, 1986, by A. G. Gürkan while Erdal İnönü is remaining as the counsellor of the chairman. The SHP, after having made its all local congresses, will hold its first grand convention and the delegates will make a choice for chairman between İnönü and Gürkan, if both of them offer themselves as candidates.

However, it is rumoured in social democrat circles that, İnönü and Gürkan will respectively assume the posts of chairman and secretary general after the convention. The same circles estimate also that, in the case of an electoral victory, İnönü will be the candidate for the President of the Republic while Gürkan will assume the post of prime minister.

No doubt, the concretisation of all these hopes depend on a more healthy cohesion of the rank-and-files of the two components within the new party, on a more determined and coherent attitude concerning human rights as well as on the failure of the rival initiatives of the former social-democrat leader Ecevit.

PHENOMENON OF ECEVIT

Though he had every chance in 1983 to gather all members of his defunct party within a new political party, Ecevit failed to carry out this political mission by refusing all proposals and suggestions in this sense

coming from his former collaborators and sympathisers. As explained beforehand, instead of taking such an initiative, he preferred to attend the meetings of the Socialist International abroad and to count only on the solidarity of his European comrades.

But the social democrat masses did not delay taking initiative in their own hands and finding new personalities to lead their movement.

Angry with this new momentum of the social democrat movement, Ecevit tried first to discredit the two new social democrat parties by accusing them of working within the legal limits imposed by the military. But this argument was not so convincing for the social democrats who knew that Ecevit himself and his wife made many visits to the Western capitals with special permission of the military while other political leaders were deprived of this right.

Secondly, Ecevit attempted to set the rank-and-file of each party against the other with a view to preventing their possible merger. But this attempt too was doomed to failure after the birth of the SHP.

Thereupon, just as the social democrat masses were enthusiastically celebrating the birth of their unified party, Ecevit, taking no heed of all warnings coming from his former comrades, charged his wife with founding a rival party: *The Democratic Left Party (DSP)*.

Although Ecevit claimed that the SHP was founded by certain politicians having no contact with the social democrat basis, everyone knew that in fact it was the SDP which was founded, without taking into consideration the will of the basis, by Mrs Ecevit and a few confidantes of the Ecevit family. All fundamental documents of the party were drawn up and even printed by the Ecevit family many months prior to the foundation of the party. The election of Mrs Ecevit as Chairwoman of the DSP is another proof of the rubber-stamp character of the founding assembly of the party.

Ecevit also accused the HP of having the deputies in the National Assembly elected in an anti-democratic way. It is true that the 1983 elections were very far from being a democratic election. But it is Mrs Ecevit herself who transferred four of these deputies to her party and included them in its founding assembly.

On December 7, 1985, following all party transfers, the DSP had four seats in the National Assembly while the SHP had 84, the ANAP 208, the MDP 53 and 44 deputies remained independent.

The recent opinion-polls show that the Ecevit family's party had a minimal chance in the electorate with 6.26 percent while the SHP had 32.76 percent.

With this minimal electoral chance, Ecevit's rival party will serve only to widen the division of left-wing votes and consequently to maintain a right-wing government after the 1988 elections.

As for the solidarity of the Socialist International to Ecevit, until now it was a gesture in favour of a distinguished comrade deprived of his political rights.

But after the foundation of social democrat parties, their counterparts in the world will have to take into consideration the political realities of Turkey and to manifest their solidarity not in the concern for a former acquaintance, but with a view to contributing to the development of the social democrat movement, one of the principal components of the democratic forces of Turkey.

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY LEFT

As is explained in detail above, the Marxist left, still considered illegal by the present regime, still cannot enter the parliamentary scene or legally organise itself.

It appears that until a radical modification to the Constitution, it has to establish itself in the popular masses through democratic organisations, and to support legal left-wing formations, with a view of assuring a two thirds majority in the future parliament; a majority which is indispensable in order to modify the Constitution and to bring an end to the arbitrary rule of General Evren and the military.

Being the main target of the 5-year repression during which its tens of thousands militants were arrested, tortured, imprisoned and deprived of political and civil rights, the Left is for the time being in a period of weakness.

What is more, quarrels between the different fractions of each underground organisation have weakened them. Each organization has suffered from fractures and dissertions.

Although the arrested leaders of each organisation suffered at the hands of the military, most of the leaders who have been able to flee and take refuge in Western countries have tried to consolidate their control within their organisation, declaring that their opponents in the bosom of the party are "excluded..."

During the five years of military repression, even the parties with the same political tendencies have not been able to bring about a fusion among themselves. Some initiatives in this sense are doomed to failure.

The oldest among them, the *Communist Party of Turkey (TKP)*, is also split in two. The faction in England has declared itself an independent party under banner of *TKP/İşçinin Sesi (Worker's Voice)*.

Following this division, the leaders of the party have taken on a new initiative in 1984 with a view to regrouping other political parties of the same line within one alliance: *The Union of the Left*. On this appeal, the *Worker's Party of Turkey (TIP)*; the *Socialist Worker's Party of Turkey (TSIP)*, the *Communist Worker's Party of Turkey (TKEP)*, the *Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP)*, and the *Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PPKK-the former KIP)* are formally allied with the TKP. Although three of them, the TKP, the TIP and the TSIP had already announced before the coup their intention of fusing into a sole Marxist-Leninist party, they have still not reached this stage, and the TKP, acting as the only Marxist-Leninist party in Turkey, continues to present the other parties as its "allies" to the international forums of world communist parties.

In his article which appeared in *World Marxist Review* of September 1985, theoretical and information journal of Communist Parties throughout the World, the Secretary General of the TKP outlined the position of his party as follows: "The bourgeois press expresses in various ways the idea that the country needs a communist party keeping 'equidistant' from the

two social systems and opposed to 'Soviet Marxism'. The best answer to this is to go on building up the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the name of peace and social progress. Our party contributes its share to this struggle by working to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in Turkey, increase its influence on the left movement and foster proletarian internationalism in contrast to bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. We popularise the historic achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and show the decisive role which they are playing in today's world."

As for the other left-wing parties whose name have already been mentioned above, an attempt to constitute the "United Front of Anti-Fascist Resistance" (FKBDC) with the participation of *Dev-Yol*, *PKK*, *TEP*, *TKEP* and the *Worker's Voice (TKP/İS)* is doomed to failure, after some joint actions in Europe.

Like these five groups, the others, notably the *TDKP*, the *TKP/ML*, the *TKB/B*, *Kurtulus*, the *Dev-Sol*, the *KUK* and the *TIKP*, tried also to make themselves heard though publications edited by their leaders or through some specific actions in the foreign countries which have welcomed them.

Of course, it is not possible for the time being to evaluate the strength lost by each organisation and to determine their capacity to gather new forces for future struggles. The majority of the militants of the Marxist Left or the Kurdish Movement, some in prison and others underground, are still in a state of "wait and see".

Some unidentified activists of these parties try to use the legal possibilities in trade unions, associations and social-democrat parties in order not to lose their contact with the population.

Unless the Marxist and Kurdish parties are legalised and take their place in the political fan, it is not possible to say that a pluralist political life was established in Turkey.

Even the legalisation of one or a few of these parties will not signify the establishment of political pluralism as long as the others are deprived of the same right.

Only such a democratisation of the political life will allow each political opinion to express itself and to organise freely, and after a change such that the Marxist and Kurdish parties can save themselves from the state of dispersal and that the identical or similar tendencies can merge or the weaker ones join the stronger ones. After such a process, they will constitute, on the left of the social democracy, one of the essential forces of the future democracy of Turkey.

Until that day, whatsoever is the composition of the political fan, the democracy of Turkey will remain a shaky "democracy" *à la turque*.

TO THE ATTENTION OF OUR READERS

This issue of *Bulletin Info-Türk* is completely devoted to one subject: **File on Political Parties of Turkey**. Information concerning State terror, political and social life in Turkey as well as Turkish immigration will be given in the coming issue to appear within a few weeks.