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1977: A TURNING POINT FOR TURKEY

ANKARA (Info-Türk) - The people of Turkey faced with escalation of rightist terror, rising inflation, lack of economic stability and social security, is now looking ahead to general elections, scheduled nine months from now, for a strong democratic government which would be able to solve a growing list of problems accumulated through three years of government crisis and fascist coalition government.

The starting gun for campaigning was fired a long time ago, setting off the race not only between Bülent Ecevit's main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) and Süleyman Demirel's Justice Party (AP), but inside Prime Minister Demirel's right-wing coalition as well. More and more the outcome of this premature competition will be to decrease the effectiveness of the Government and lessen its competence to deal with the numerous domestic and foreign policy problems facing Turkey.

The four parties making up Demirel's coalition ranging from the neo-fascists to the pro-islamic are deeply split on the main issues and all want to increase their electoral backing by trying to drag the power of the Government to areas where they are most likely to make the most profit.

As pointed out by the Financial Times, the structure of the Government too is conducive to confusion. The leaders of the three parties which are in partnership with Demirel's pro-private enterprise Justice Party (AP) are all deputy Prime Ministers with special powers in important fields such as the economy or domestic security.

Demirel, a pragmatist representative of the big bourgeoisie, wants to keep industrial investments within the limits imposed by international economic and financial organisms. Deputy Prime Minister whose pro-islamic National Salvation Party (MSP) is the second biggest partner, has unveiled a monumental development

programme of 383 major industrial projects -the feasibility of which is seriously contended by the State Planning Organisation- and is demanding budgetary allocations for all.

Since many executive orders are carried out by government decrees, which must be signed by all cabinet ministers, even minor partners like Turhan Feyzioglu of the anti-communist Republican Reliance Party (CGP) and Alparslan Türkeş of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) can withhold their signatures and use them as bargaining cards with Demirel. Erbakan has used these cards extensively.

Ecevit, whose social democratic Republican People's Party (CHP) is the biggest in the country, is exploiting this "four-headed government" and hoping to come to power alone next October. "The country looks as if it has been raided by brigands," he said recently during a tour of the provinces.

Ecevit, who had been campaigning for early elections after resigning as Prime Minister in the wake of the Cyprus War, now wants elections ~~at~~ a time, presumably hoping to give enough rope to Demirel to hang himself. But more recently he has been courting Erbakan, hoping that he splits from the coalition so that the two can come to power.

The voting for the budget in March should show whether Demirel or Ecevit will take the country to the general elections as Prime Minister. Erbakan too has been flirting with Ecevit but it is not certain whether he is seriously considering a split or merely blackmailing Demirel.

Whatever will be the pre-election manoeuvres, there are now two big horses in the field, the Justice Party (AP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP), with Mr. Demirel and Mr. Ecevit each determined to come to power alone. Each insists that the country wants at least four years of stable politics to get to grips with Turkey's economic and social problems. Each of them - Mr. Demirel as of now, Mr. Ecevit on the last occasion- knows the problem of working in government with the MSP as a coalition partner.

Mr. Ecevit is fighting the election campaign almost exclusively on domestic issues, since there really is no fundamental difference between the Justice Party and the Republican People's Party on foreign policy.

The views of the CHP on domestic and foreign issues were already explained in the latest bulletin of Info-Türk Agency (See: *Bulletin - December 1976: Turkish "Democratic Left" to be affiliated to Socialist International*).

But in order to be able to apprehend the position of the Republican People's Party (CHP) in the Turkish political life, it is necessary to look over its historical background. It is very important also for the fact that all political parties, except the socialist formations, stem from this oldest political party or Turkey.

CHP: The Oldest Political Formation of Turkey

The Republican People's Party (CHP), oldest political formation of Turkey was founded in early 1923 as the People's Party (HP) under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk after the merger of two national resistance organisations of the National Liberation War. It became the Republican People's Party (CHP) in the wake of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey.

Although all the toiling classes and strata of the population of Turkey had participated and fought in the National Liberation War against the imperialistic forces, only the alliance of the big landowners and newly emerging urban bourgeoisie took the control of this political formation in their hands and exercised a mono-party dictatorship until the end of the Second World War.

The Communist Party of Turkey had already been outlawed even before the victory of the liberation war and its fifteen eminent leaders were assassinated on January 28-29, 1921.

Without being annoyed by any kind of political opposition, the CHP launched an economic, social and political program representing the interests of the coalition of the ruling classes and reflecting the fascist principle of "the state which compromises the interests of all the classes". The CHP went even beyond this principle and claimed that "the people of Turkey was not other than a mass which

did not recognize any class or any privilege." Behind this façade, the toiling masses of Turkey who did not have right to liberty and security, freedom of thought, conscience, expression, association and trade-union and right to strike were exploited to the utmost.

Authoritarian, tutellary, favoring state intervention in economy, the CHP was, above all, the architect of the process of creating a local bourgeoisie. Furthermore, it lived in symbiosis with the Armed Forces and the State bureaucracy. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, President of the Republic, Chairman of the Republican People's Party and Commander-in-chief of the Turkish Armed Forces, was also titled "Eternal Führer of the Nation". Following his death in 1938, another army general, İsmet İnönü assumed the same posts and he was also titled "National Führer".

The Statist economic policy implemented by the CHP, particularly in the aftermath of the 1929 World economic crisis, although successful in certain ways, contributed rather to the prosperity of private entrepreneurs than the Anatolian peasants still living in misery. Most of the Kemalist reforms remained in urban level. The mono-party rule brought the Latin alphabet and western-style attires to the poor peasants who felt more need for jobs and land to cultivate.

The western-style superficial reforms provoked also certain reaction from the side of the conservative wing of the landowners and the commercial bourgeoisie, above all, of the clericals. Representing this reaction the Progressive Republican Party (CTP) was formed in 1924 by the conservative elements of the bourgeoisie challenged the CHP for a short period.

Following the banning of the CTP in 1925 on grounds that it encouraged anti-republican activities, the CHP continued to exist as the sole party in Turkey until August 12, 1930, when the Liberal Party (SF) was formed. This party too was closed after having survived few months. And the mono-party regime continued until 1945 from 1930 on.

The CHP implemented its policy of "six arrows" depicted on the party emblem, representing "republicanism, nationalism, populism, secularism, reformism and etatism".

Transition to the American Way of Democracy

At the end of the World War II, despite the fact that Turkey did not participate among the fighting nations, the Turkish economy was in extremely poor conditions and the reaction of the working masses reached to its utmost.

On the other hand, the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, which had benefited by the possibilities of black-market during the period of World War, were also looking for liberalization of economic policy and for collaboration with foreign capital.

These new reactions and aspirations were to be represented by a new political formation other than the CHP which had already lost all prestige before the masses. Furthermore, the CHP itself also needed foreign assistance to overcome financial and economic difficulties and the USA was imposing american way of democracy and US military and economic control in return of well-known "aids".

The main condition of the american way of democracy was the creation of an alternative party which also would represent the interests of the ruling circles.

This new political formation, the Democrat Party (DP) was founded in January 1945 by "four dissidents" of the CHP. Although in the atmosphere of liberalization two socialist parties were also founded along with the DP, they were immediately closed down by the martial law authorities and so two-party system was put into practice.

Turkey's first direct elections were held in 1946, though not devoid of electoral irregularities in favor of the ruling party.

The ensuing elections in 1950 were disastrous for the CHP. The new party was backed by rural notables, the urban entrepreneurs craving for a liberal economy, and also by masses manipulated by religious circles. In the 1954 elections, the CHP could win only 31 seats while the DP won 504. In 1957, the DP declined, but still held 427 chairs. This somewhat due to the existing electoral majority system, in favor of larger party.

The May 1960 Coup enabled the CHP to recover some of its influence. However İnönü's party could not get the absolute majority in the 1961 elections and was obliged to exercise a coalition government.

Following several breakdowns in coalition governments, on the eve of 1965 elections, certain CHP leaders believed the organization should renew its line of policy and adopt a position more suitable to the social and economic conditions of rapidly developing Turkey. Observing the steady strengthening of the newly formed Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), Bülent Ecevit then launched the "opening to the left of the center" policy encouraged by İnönü.

However, challenged by the Justice Party (AP) on its right and the TIP on its left, the CHP failed again in 1965 elections. Thereupon, certain right-wing members of the CHP against Ecevit's policies abandoned the organization despite the statements by Ecevit saying "the left of the center is a wall against the communism and this policy is supported even by the USA representatives." The dissidents formed this time the Confidence Party (GP).

In the 1969 elections, CHP's electoral motto "land belongs to those who work on it" did not really pay off. The AP was again victorious, despite the soaring popularity of Bülent Ecevit, new Secretary General of the CHP.

Then came the military intervention of March 12, 1971. Disapproving the nomination of Nihat Erim, who was one of the political opponents of Ecevit in the CHP, as the Prime Minister of the military-backed government and the attitude of Chairman İnönü in favor of this government, Ecevit resigned from his party post.

In May 1972 Convention, he defeated Kemal Satır, the right-wing's candidate for Secretary-General. Considering this result as a blow to his authority, İnönü resigned from the presidency of the party and Bülent Ecevit, by the decision of an extra-ordinary congress replaced him.

Following İnönü's resignation from the post, the losers formed this time another political party, the Republican Party (CP).

The 1973 elections constituted a success for the CHP. Under the social-democratic label, the party obtained 33,3% of the suffrages. Although it failed to achieve absolute parliamentary majority, the CHP formed a coalition government with the National Salvation Party (MSP). But aftermath of the military operation in Cyprus, which increased the CHP's popularity, Ecevit and Prof. Erbakan, MSP Chairman, could not get along so well. Urging for early elections, Ecevit resigned from premiership on September 1974.

The 23rd Grand Convention of the party held 27-30th November 1976 reelected Ecevit Chairman of the CHP.

Further information on the formations, opinions, programs, leaders and actual positions of the other political parties of Turkey will be exposed by Info-Türk Agency in the coming bulletins. (TP-EP-DG-20/1)

HOMMAGE TO NAZİM HİKMET IN BELGIUM

BRUSSELS (Info-Türk) - On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of his birth, a soirée of homage to Nazim Hikmet, grand poet of the people of Turkey, was organized by the Cultural Center of the Workers of Turkey and Committee of the Workers of Turkey Affiliated to FGTB/ABVV on January 20, 1977. Under the patronage of the FGTB Brussels-Hal-Vilvorde, this soirée was held with the participation of the Belgian Socialist Party, the Belgian Communist Party and other Belgian and Immigrant democratic organizations and personalities. (TIKM-DG-20/1)

BAN ON BOOKS IN TURKEY

ANKARA (Info-Türk) - During the period of martial law (1971-1973) the world press had accustomed to give some bibliographical news from Turkey as follows:

The Daily Telegraph, January 29, 1973:

"Some 137 leftist publications are to be burnt in Turkey by order of martial law prosecutor. They include the works of the late Nazim Hikmet, a communist who is considered to be the finest contemporary poet Turkey produced."

The Times, February 21, 1973:

"Eleven book publishers have gone on trial before an Istanbul martial law tribunal on charges publishing, possessing and selling books in violation of an order of the Istanbul martial law command. The books in question include Turkish translations of Steinbeck's the Grapes of Wrath, Hemingway's For Whom the Bells Toll, and Jean Paul Sartre's The Age of Reason."

Although this period seems to end after the general elections of 1973, the rightist "Nationalist Front" Government does not hesitate to practice similar methods against all publications considered "leftist".

The official memorandum of the Ministry of Education, numbered 379-23642, ordered the dropping off of certain books from the primary and secondary school libraries.

The ban encompasses several Turkish writers and world classics, reaching even Charles Dickens! It covers some works of the now-deceased Nazim Hikmet, Sabahattin Ali, Cevat Fehmi Başkut, Orhan Kemal and Kemal Tahir, who have now become Turkish classical writers. The ban includes some novels of Yashar Kemal, Turkey's top legend writer, and of Aziz Nesin, Turkey's top humorist who has been awarded world prized. Others are Rifat Ilgaz, Kemal Bilbaşar, Fakir Baykurt, Oktay Akbal, Mahmut Makal, Dursun Akcam and the like.

Gogol, Dostoyevski, Sartre, Camus and Dickens are among the foreign men of letters, found unsuitable for children's libraries of Turkey.

On this decision, the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS) characterized the Minister of Education as an "enemy of culture".

Prof. Türkkaya Ataöv of Ankara University criticizes the decision as follows:

"The bans, verily, run against the Constitution. Article 20 of the Constitution declares that everyone enjoys freedom of thought and opinion and may express, in word or in print, singly or in unison with others such thoughts and opinions in any conceivable way. Article 21 gives everyone the right to learn and teach science and art and conduct all kinds of research to this effect. And Article 11 makes the categorical statement that even law cannot interfere with the right or the essence of freedom, even for reasons of public good, morals and national security.

"Hence, such governmental acts are un-constitutional. Everyone knows that the Constitution binds us all and supercedes all laws, decrees, decisions, memoranda and orders. Moreover, the order to seize the works of writers, 'whose views are known' (as stated in the governmental memorandum) is against our Penal Code. Such wording is illegal. If the courts (and only the courts) find a certain publication tresspassing law, proceedings may be brought only against the said publication, it cannot be generalized and applied to all works of the same author. Such an order in itself is against our Penal Code. We should remind here that there is no court decision against any one of the publications on the Minister's list.

"Practically speaking, such bans are devoid of any use. They only help to make their authors the laughing-stock of the world. Who can possibly ban Dickens and get away with it?

"The ban on publications is part of activities by a government of the trade and industrial bourgeoisie in alliance with feudal land-owners. The proposed 'raison d'être' for the ban has been the need to return to 'national culture'. The question is whether the social forces behind such a government can objectively judge what is national culture.

"The french middle class was, of course, successful in contributing to the evolution of the French culture. But the same French bourgeoisie had led a revolution, changing the society fundamentally and carrying it over to new heights. Many tend to believe that the bourgeoisie of countries like Turkey is incapable of delivering the under-developed societies to industrialization and that it is bound to be a broker tupe of a middle class serving international monopolistic capital, hence 'un-national' itself. Indeed, some of the government-sponsored publications very much lack what may be called 'national'. Similarly, some of the TV film series have easily created the suspicion that they came right from CIA files.

"For the middle class, capitalism ought to be the last stage of development. But capitalism too has its own contradictions, which lead to the creation of new problems centering around the existence of the working class, without which the capitalist order cannot function. This contradiction is inherent in the society itself, and it is going to be reflected in the Arts and literature as well as in politics. It is impossible to arrest this development. And also undesirable! It is these 'facts of life' that make our writers, playwrights, artists and cartoonists help create a truly national culture..." (DN-DG-11/1)

SHORTENING IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE INPUTS OF TURKISH LABOUR EMPLOYED ABROAD

ANKARA (Info-Türk) - The foreign exchange earnings of Turkish labour employed abroad, which have helped obtaining a balanced foreign payments situation and have made it possible to have the exchange reserves of Turkey up to 2 billion dollars in the past years, have been lessening in the last two years.

This subject shortening has continued in the first six months of 1976. As a result of such declination, the value of the net exchange reserves of Turkey has fallen down below zero.

As seen on the following data which was published in the Annual 1976 Report of OECD, Turkey cannot no longer count upon emigration as a decisive factor in alleviating a more and more serious employment problem:

	POPULATION, EMPLOYMENT, MIGRATION (in thousands)					
	1967	1972	1973	1974	1975	1977 (plan)
Population (mid-year)	32750	37000	37800	38900	40000	42600
Population of Working age (15 years and over)	14173	15085	15374	15790	16200	16080
Employment:	12733	13510	13810	14030	14000	14930
- Agriculture	9073	8760	8760	8700	8700	8600
- Non-agriculture of which industry	3660	4750	5050	5330	5300	6330
Unemployment	1440	1575	1564	1760	2200	1800
- Agriculture	910	850	840	800	800	700
- Non-agriculture	530	725	724	960	1400	1100
Worker Emigration	5	67	136	20	4	50
Total Workers abroad	200	750	850	830	750	(1100)

	WORKERS' REMITTANCES (In millions US dollars)					
	1965	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975
Exports	464	588	855	1317	1532	1401
Imports	572	948	1563	2086	3777	4738
Trade Balance	- 108	- 360	- 678	- 769	- 2245	- 3337
Services and Transfers(net)	10	180	640	1255	1516	1437
of which Workers' Remittances	76	273	740	1183	1426	1312

Despite these facts, the Turkish Government still tries to depend on the workers' remittances. Prime Minister Demirel, at the Grand Workers' Convention on November 12, 1976, said the Turkish workers were ready to go anywhere rather than sit unemployed where they were. He reported out of 2,5 million unemployed, two million applied to work abroad. "This can be prevented only through development" he went on, "until then, we must work at wherever work is. If we did not have a trade deficit of three billion, the remittances of all workers we have received so far would have been invested in production."

On the shortening in foreign exchange inputs of Turkish labour employed abroad, Labour Minister Sevket Kazan has recently visited Germany, Holland and Belgium and instead of seeking solutions for the problems of the Turkish workers, tried to convince them to increase their remittances. This attitude of Kazan provoked the vehement reactions of the Turkish workers and they protested against these efforts seeking more exploitation of Turkish workers abroad. (GM-TB-DC-DP-12/1)

THE SOCIALIST OPPOSITION CRITICIZES THE FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY

ANKARA (Info-Türk) - Mrs. Behice Boran, President of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) analysed and criticized the foreign policy of Turkey in her allocution given at the meeting of the delegates of the departmental federations of the party held on November 9-10, 1976 in Ankara. The most important parts of the allocution are as follows:

"In last year's meeting of the delegates of the departmental federations^o I had expounded the existence of a fundamental contradiction in Turkey's foreign policy. I had said that it was necessary for Turkey, because of her social structures being less-developed or developing and because of her having a national liberation war 55 years ago to be on the side of the Third World countries which follow an anti-imperialist and progressive line of development leading to socialism. This was not however to be. The Turkish bourgeoisie, keeping to its rule by making a political decision, chose to integrate with imperialism, especially western European after 1963, and to be dependent on it. This caused a fundamental conflict in the foreign policy of Turkey. Now the conflict between the foreign policy required by the social structure and the one followed by the ruling class is coming more to light.

"Today Turkey is, to say the least, in disagreement, even in dispute to some extent, with prominent members of the imperialist camp to which she belongs. She is in discord with the USA, EEC and with Greece, an ally in NATO and a close neighbour. The bilateral agreement with the USA is not still ratified in the Congress. It is not definite that following the presidential elections it will be ratified. In spite of the propaganda that the bilateral agreement protects the sovereignty of Turkey and that the bases belong to the Turkish Armed Forces, it still grants the Americans the sovereignty of some areas in Turkey. That is, again, it recognizes 'extra territorial' rights to Americans. The control and administrative rights of Turkey and the Armed Forces are rather superficial. The whole benefit obtained is 100 millions dollars rental money for the bases, which is nothing with regard to the large financial needs of Turkey; but the important thing is that even an inch of our soil cannot be rented, whatever the offer is, and that Turkey cannot give up her rights of sovereignty on that piece of soil. This is the main point. To compromise on these rights, furthermore, is a criminal act according to our Penal Code. We are against this bilateral agreement, against all this type of bilateral agreements. We are for the

^o) Behice Boran, *Turkey and the World of Today*, Info-Türk Agency, Brussels, March 76

liquidation of the bilateral agreements, NATO and US bases, and for the withdrawal from CENTO, NATO, EEC and the Energy Agency. The interests of the country definitely require this policy.

"Relations with the EEC have reached a 'turning point' as admitted by interested parties. There is disagreement at the very least with the EEC on agricultural concessions, on the Associate Membership Protocol, which conflicts with our industrialization, on the recognition of the free movement of our workers, and the like; today a section of bourgeois ideologists, professors of economics and even recently the Minister of Foreign Affairs have finally noticed and begin to say that the Protocol with the EEC is in conflict with our industrialization. Furthermore some of the industrialists and academics go as far as to say that to become a full member is inconceivable, that the existing protocol must be wholly rejected and new agreements with the EEC must be made. Caglayan-gil tells us that the Protocol is in conflict with our industrialization, for the conditions have changed since 1963 when the Ankara Agreement was signed. However this is not the real cause of disagreement. The day after the agreement was signed the then Workers' Party of Turkey opposed it. The TIP opposed it on that day, putting forward the same reasons as now, that this agreement will make Turkey more dependent, prevent the development of national industry and destroy our industrialization. After that for four years parliamentary members of TIP participated in the EEC-Turkey Common Parliamentary Commission and repeated the same views continuously. This was known since then. However the bourgeoisie and its power made a political, not an economic decision.

"A section of the bourgeoisie, particularly industrialists, though strongly opposing the EEC and the Protocol, have no intention of breaking the relations with the EEC and annulling the agreement. What they want is to integrate with the EEC on a different level, which is also desired by EEC officials. At least for a year EEC officials, openly and without leaving any doubt, have been saying the following: 'give up the questions of agricultural concessions, of a liberalization list, of tariff reductions. Even if we meet all your demands, there will not be much change in your situation. Your exports may increase a bit, but nothing else; since your economy -they say explicitly- is backward, the structure of your industry is backward, it must be saved from backwardness. To do this let us come to Turkey and invest freely and easily as we do at home.' They say this is the only way out.

"In fact the bourgeoisie and the big industrialists who strongly criticize EEC, Protocol and the existing relations, do not have a different attitude. They openly want foreign capital. In the study prepared by the Development Trust, one of the organizations of the big capitalists, foreign capital is invited to three areas; the first is the infrastructural investment, that is, foreign capital can build airports, ports, dams, bridges, etc, since these are costly for our private sector. The second area is tourism. Since tourism is not just a matter of money, it requires a special knowledge of running hotels and restaurants, of the needs of tourists. Thirdly, our industrialist bourgeoisie wants foreign capital for the investments which will transfer advanced technology. The transfer of advanced technology, that is, when foreign capital owns industrial establishments with the newest technology, it will have the biggest and the most modern establishments which will be able to dominate the manufacturing industry, even the whole economy.

"Thus the national economy will be under the influence, if not domination of foreign capital. However the bourgeoisie of Turkey is different to that of some other countries. The difference is that it does not want foreign capital in the same way as colonies, as Brasil and South Korea; it is insufficient for the bourgeoisie of Turkey just to let foreign capital build an independent establishment, bring technology, produce and export. The bourgeoisie of Turkey wants foreign capital put into those enterprises of which it will become a partner. It demands this, and from this the disagreement arises. In this partnership it consents to leave some areas mainly to foreign capital, and to share

some others only for itself. Our bourgeoisie does not want just foreign capital but it desires to become partners, and because it cannot industrialize the country alone, it wants to realize this in collaboration with foreign capital.

"Now, we, as Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), support the bourgeoisie's criticism of, objections to and demands from the EEC for alteration of the Protocol in favour of Turkey, for its annulation and for a new agreement. We have always given support to all demands from the EEC in favour of Turkey. Even before the bourgeoisie became aware of the things, we defended the interests of the industry of Turkey. However, while we support the demands of bourgeoisie from the EEC, we always keep in mind that bourgeoisie is not really against the EEC and foreign capital, imperialist domination and exploitation of the country.

"We never forget this. The bourgeoisie, appearing to defend the domestic industry eagerly against the EEC, is neither a 'national' nor a 'liberal bourgeoisie open to the left', though a section of it has recently shown an inclination towards Republican People's Party (CHP), for the term 'national bourgeoisie' is a scientific one, it does not mean a bourgeoisie with 'nationalistic feelings'.

"National bourgeoisie is industrialist bourgeoisie and wants to keep the domestic market under its monopoly; it does not want foreign capital penetration; hence it stands against foreign capital and imperialism.

"In Turkey bourgeoisie in this sense does not exist." (ÇB-MK-3/1)

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