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## BLOODY INCIDENTS OF THE 1st MAY AND THE JUNE 5 ELECTIONS

ISTANBUL (ITA) - About forty persons were killed on 1st May 1977 at Istanbul during the incidents burst at the end of the important May Day Rally organized by the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK).

The tragic incidents of the 1st May happened just before the June 5 general elections cannot be considered "accidental".

Turkish Prime Minister Demirel and his ministers, in order to cover their own responsibilities, claim that the incidents are the result of internal conflicts of the Turkish Left.

On the contrary, these incidents are a new link of the succession of armed attacks provoked and supported by the Nationalist Front Government who does everything for preventing the development of working class movement and the constitution of a democratic government following the June 5 1977 elections.

The eye-witnesses of the incidents affirm that:

- Unknown persons shot the demonstrators from the roofs of the municipal Water Works Administration Building and of the Intercontinental Hotel.

- Following these shots, a common panic started and it was perceived that two cars passed through the Taksim Square by shooting at the demonstrators. Many people were crushed in this common panic.

- On the other hand, pro-governemental press had already started before the 1st May provocative publications affirming that the 1st May would be the occasion for bloody incidents. The responsible state authorities too made statements in the same sense just during the incidents.

It is probable that provocator-agents had been introduced under different covers and applied their provocations in accordance with the orders given by the authorities.

- Authorities' claim that armes were found in the possession of the demonstrators who had been arrested after the incidents is not convincing.

It is possible that certain persons were carrying arms, but it is completely normal in such a country where about two hundreds persons had been assassinated by the fascist commando units and where the public order could not be secured by the state forces.

Furthermore, Mr. Ecevit, former Prime Minister of Turkey and the leader of the main opposition formation, is obliged to have himself escorted by armed body-guards, since he had been attacked thrice during his one week electoral campaign.

From 1st April 1975, the date when the Nationalist Front Government was formed, until May 7, 1977, within 25 months, more than 2.000 raids were made on the meetings or the university campuses. These armed attacks have caused 228 deaths and more than 3.000 wounded.

Info-Türk Agency had already given the lists of the political assassinations until April 17, 1977. (See: Precedent bulletins).

Beside 34 victims of the Bloody 1st May, 19 persons were assassinated within three weeks; so, the total number of the victims within 25 months of the Nationalist Front reached 228.

Chronological list of the recent political assassinations:

- April 20: Sadık Canarslan, student, in Istanbul  
Mehmet Küçükdal, student, in Istanbul  
Hasan Kozan, teacher, in Gaziantep
- April 21: Osman Naci Güven, student, in Istanbul
- April 23: Ali Güngör, worker, in Istanbul  
Osman Aktas, in Ankara
- April 24: Mehmet Bingöl, student, in Ankara
- April 25: Sabahattin Dengil, member of the CHP, in Istanbul
- April 27: Eyüp Küçükpalamutçu, student, in Istanbul
- April 28: Çigdem Yıldız, student, in Istanbul  
Mustafa Kuru, trade-unionist, in Çorum  
İdris Türkoğlu, student, in İzmir
- April 30: Mehmet Yagcıoğlu, student, in Istanbul  
Tamer Saatçioğlu, student, in Istanbul
- May 4: Mehmet Beden, teacher, in Urfa.  
Feramuz Demir, worker, in Ankara
- May 5: Özalp Koç, student, in Niğde
- May 7: Mehmet Baş, teacher, in Çatalca  
Feridun Şimşek, student, in Urfa.

The list of the victims of the 1st May 1977 incidents in Istanbul: Kahraman Alsancak (worker), Duran Nergis (carpenter), Bayram Çatak (teacher), Ercüman Gürkut (student), Bayram Iyir (worker), Hikmet Özkürkçü (teacher), Aleko Konteus, Meral Özkol, Mehmet Ali Genç, Hasan Yıldırım, Hacer İpek (student), Kenan Çatak, Ender Demirdöven, Sibel Acıkalin, Mustafa Elmas, Nazan Ünalı, Nazmi Arı, Niyazi Darı, Ahmet Küçüktepe, Bayram Sürücü, Jale Yeşilli, Ahmet Gözükara, Hamdi Toka, Kadir Balcı, Yücel Elbistanlı, Tefik Bayko, Nazmi Erenkuş, Hikmet Çiftçi.

6 victims could not be identified until May 7, 1977.

Anyway it seems clear that the Istanbul massacre takes place within the succession of political assassinations committed by the security forces and the para-military fascist commando units.

As explained by the FGTB (Socialist Trade-Union of Belgium) Committee of the Workers of Turkey and the Turkish Section of the CSC (Catholic trade-union of Belgium) who had a common press conference in Brussels on May 4, 1977, "for the first time, Turkey, after having recognized dictatorship, and actually been submitted to a repressive regime although parliamentary, will be able to have a democratic government open to Left, after the June 5 elections. Seeing this progress, the Right in power attempts to prevent the constitution of a democratic government, and if not prevented, to have the military rule return into power."

At the same press conference, the representatives of the workers of Turkey called on the world opinion to support the struggle of the democratic forces of Turkey.

COMPETING POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN THE JUNE 5 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Eight political groupings will take part in the June 5 legislative elections. With the exception of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), all of them had participated in the 1973 elections. The TIP had participated in the 1965 and 1969 elections, but it was closed during the 1973 elections.

Eight political parties:

<u>SOCIALIST</u> <u>OPPOSITION</u>	<u>LEFT-OF-THE</u> <u>OPPOSITION</u>	<u>CENTER</u>	<u>RIGHTIST</u> <u>OPPOSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNEMENTAL</u> <u>PARTIES</u>
Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP)	Republican People's Party (CHP)		Democratic Party (DP)	Party of Justice (AP)
	Union Party of Turkey (TBP)			National Salvation Party (MSP)
				Republican Reliance Party (GGP)
				Nationalist Action Party (MHP)

NUMBERS OF VOTES POLLED BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

	1965		1969		1973	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
AP	4.921.235	52,9	4.229.712	46,5	3.197.897	29,8
MSP	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.265.771	11,8
GGP	-----	-----	597.818	6,6	564.343	5,3
MHP	208.696	2,2	275.961	3,0	362.208	3,4
DP	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.275.502	11,9
CHP	2.675.785	28,7	2.487.006	27,4	3.570.543	33,3
TBP	-----	-----	234.685	2,8	121.759	1,1
TIP	276.101	3,0	243.631	2,8	-----	-----
Divers	1.225.741	13,2	1.001.913	10,9	365.595	3,4

NUMBERS OF SEATS WON BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

	1965		1969		1973	
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
AP	240	53,3	256	56,9	149	33,1
MSP	-----	-----	-----	-----	48	10,7
GGP	-----	-----	15	3,3	13	2,9
MHP	11	2,5	1	0,2	3	0,7
DP	-----	-----	-----	-----	45	10,0
CHP	134	29,8	143	31,8	185	41,1
TBP	-----	-----	8	1,8	1	0,2
TIP	15	3,3	2	0,5	-----	-----
Divers	50	11,1	25	5,5	6	1,3

A detailed analysis on the formations, opinions, leaders, programmes, symbols and actual positions of these political parties is given in the following pages.



OPPOSITION PARTIESCHP; Republican People's Party

Formed in early 1923 as the People's Party (HP) under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It became the Republican People's Party in November 1924 in the wake of the Republic of Turkey, formed on October 29, 1923.

It governed Turkey for 22 years, until 1946, as a single party and exercised a dictatorial rule representing the alliance of landowners - emerging local bourgeoisie - state bureaucracy.

Without being annoyed by any kind of political opposition, the CHP launched an economic, social and political programme representing the interests of this alliance of ruling classes and reflecting the fascist principle of "the state which comprises 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, freedoms of thought, conscience, expression, association and trade union and right to strike, were exploited to the utmost.

After having passed to multi-party system in 1946, the new political formation, the Democrat Party (DP) founded by "four dissidents" of the CHP started to represent the interests of rural notables and the urban entrepreneurs craving for a liberal economy and also achieved to manipulate the working masses by encouraging the influence of the religious circles. The 1950 elections were disastrous for the CHP and the DP kept an overwhelming majority until 1960.

The May 1960 military coup enabled the CHP to recover some of its influence but could never get the absolute majority in Parliament.

Seeing the steady strengthening of 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.

In 1973 elections constituted a success for the CHP. Under the social-democratic label, the party obtained 33,3% of the suffrage. Although it failed to achieve absolute parliamentary majority, the CHP formed a coalition government with the National Salvation Party (MSP). Since the collapse of this government following the Cyprus Military Operation, the CHP has been principal opposition formation with its 190 deputies in Parliament.

The CHP although living a golden age and seeming the strongest contestant of 1977 elections, still has some problems. In spite of the previous splinters of 1967 and 1972, it cannot be considered quite homogeneous. The left wing of the party complains that Ecevit is surrounded by the centrists and rightists led by Orhan Eyüboğlu, the Secretary General. Although Ecevit is confident of resuming his short-lived premiership in the upcoming elections thanks to the urban and peasant votes, these voters will shift to other parties at the left of the CHP, if Ecevit's Government cannot fulfil the promises given during the electoral campaign.

Leader of CHP; Bülent Ecevit

Born in 1925, Istanbul. Graduated from Robert College Literature Department in 1944. Then attended Istanbul University's Faculty of Letters. Between 1946-50 he was at London University, studying Sanskrit and art history. He was also working as an assistant of Turkish Embassy's press office. During the same period, Ecevit published the Turkish translation of Tagore's Nobel Prize winner work "Gitanjali".

After his return to Turkey, he worked first in the Directorate General of Press and Publication, and then joined the daily Ulus, organ of the Republican People's Party (CHP). From this time onward he started taking interest in politics. In 1954 he went to the United States where he was a contributing editor at the Winston-Salem N.C. Journal for three months. In 1957 he was granted a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship and studied social history, Middle East and Ottoman history at Harvard University for about eight months.

He was elected deputy from CHP ticket same year and nominated also to the same party's administrative council.

After the May 1960 coup, he was named a Constitutional Assembly member, and served as Minister of Labour in all İnönü Coalition governments thereafter.

During the 18th Annual Convention of the CHP, he was elected Secretary General of the Party. In March 1971 he resigned from this post and on May 14, 1972, following a tough power struggle between him and İnönü, he became the Chairman of the CHP.

He was the Premier of 7-month old CHP-MSP (National Salvation Party) Coalition Government in 1974.

He was re-elected the Chairman of the CHP by the 23rd Party Convention.

#### Programme of the CHP

The CHP proposes a new way of the capitalist mode of development. According to the Party Programme, village-cities (köy-kent) will be created to slow down the exodus to urban centers as well as to reorganize rural life. It advocates the popular sector (halk sektörü) next to private and public sectors. As to international affairs, the CHP defends the Turkish presence within the western european unity. It is not against NATO, but asks not to be left outside the decision process of this alliance. It urges that the foreign military bases in Turkey be placed under the Turkish Government's control. As the executor of Cyprus military operation, it advocates bizonal federation in Cyprus. Also favours the strengthening of diplomatic ties with other countries not entirely sticking to western countries. Partizan of balanced ties with the EEC.

Notwithstanding the party programme favours freedom of opinion and speech and urges social justice, the party leaders maintain an undisputable anti-communist attitude and claim themselves the most intelligent fighters against communism. The CHP is affiliated to the Socialist International.

#### Party Symbol: Six Arrows

The six arrows symbolize the six fundamental principles of Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic: Republicanism, secularism, nationalism, statism, populism and reformism.

#### TIP: Workers' Party of Turkey

Formed on May 1st, 1975, the TIP is a continuation of the party under the same name which was banned by the Court of Constitution in 1971 on grounds of "separatist activities".

The earlier TIP was founded in February 1961 by 12 trade-union leaders. At the beginning the TIP was an ouvrierist party without a programme based on scientific socialist principles.

From February 1972 on left-wing intellectuals were to provide a new impetus to the Workers' Party of Turkey. Until that date, formation of a political party on scientific socialist principles had been forbidden by the ruling classes. The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) founded in 1921 was outlawed by the Kemalist power and 15 leaders of the party were assassinated.

Thanks to the quantitative growth of the working class and to the new Constitution adopted in 1961, it has been possible to propagate scientific socialist ideas and to organize a political party as the representative of the working class. Nevertheless, Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code which punish the propaganda for socialism and the formation of any organization "with the purpose of establishing the domination of a certain class on other classes" have remained in power and been applied from time to time in order to intimidate the socialist movement.

Despite the existence of these articles, the TIP achieved to get contact with the working class and other toiling masses and secured 15 seats in the National Assembly in 1965 elections.

From 1965 on, the Workers' Party of Turkey courageously defended the interests of the working class and other toiling masses in Parliament and played a vanguard role in the struggle for democracy, independence and socialism.

Seeing the growth of the socialist movement, the bourgeois parties changed the electoral system in 1969 and the TIP could secure only two seats in Parliament.

The second blow on the TIP was the 12th March military intervention. The TIP became a target for the right wingers, accusing the socialists of being responsible for the reigning anarchy and subversive activities. Under the military's pressure, the Court of Constitution closed down the party in 1971, accusing it of that during the 1970 Convention the party resolution openly encouraged the defence of the rights of the separate ethnic groups and nationalities, mainly the Kurds, along with the defence of the rights of workers. The leaders of TIP, in their turn, were condemned to 15-year imprisonments by a military tribunal on grounds of propagating communist ideas.

As a result of the combined struggles of all democratic forces and the elections of October 14, 1973, the TIP leaders were released in July 1974 along with so many other political prisoners. They have gained their political rights thanks to a constitutional amendment which was essentially aimed at restoring the rights of members of the Democrat Party victimized by the military coup of 1960, and from which the progressives prosecuted by the 1971 military regime were, inevitably, able to profit.

Although the TIP has been challenged by other left-wing parties founded since 1974 to represent various fractions in the Turkish left, they are unlikely to succeed in obtaining any important support from workers. Only the TIP achieved to fulfil constitutional prerequisite of establishing its local branches in at least 15 provinces at national level at least 6 months prior to the June 5 elections.

Whatever will be the results of the elections, the TIP's participation makes it possible to raise the voice of the working class during the electoral campaign through radio and TV broadcastings and open-air meetings.

#### Leader of TIP: Mrs. Behice Boran

She is the only woman party leader in Turkey. Born in 1910. A graduate of Faculty of Letters. One of the pioneer sociologists in Turkey. She has dedicated her entire life to the struggle against fascism and to the cause of national independence and socialism. She is among those who led the fight for democracy during the dark period spanning the rule of the "Single Chief - Single Party" from 1923 to 1946. She carried on this struggle in the form of periodicals published during those years. While lecturing in the Faculty of Letters of Ankara University after having completed a doctorate degree on sociology at the University of Michigan in the US she undertook an analysis of Turkey's social structure and as such, became one of the primary targets of the general fascist offensive triggered by the ruling power against the progressive members of the educational body, in 1946 she was dismissed.

She then became President of the Association of the Friends for Peace founded in 1950. For having protested against the dispatch of Turkish soldiers to Korea, this association was disbanded and its leaders were arrested and received heavy prison terms. It is in prison that Behice Boran brought her only son into the world.

In 1962 she joined the Workers' Party of Turkey. As one of the 15 deputies representing the TIP in the 1965-69 Parliament, she defended the interests of the working class. Elected national secretary of the TIP in 1970, she became president after the 4th Grand Congress in October of the same year. After the TIP was closed down, she, along with other leaders of the party, was sentenced to 15-year imprisonment.

After the general amnesty, she regained her political rights. At the time of the TIP's refounding on May 1st 1975, her name appeared as one of the founders, and at the first meeting of the central committee she was unanimously elected to the presidency.

Programme of the TIP

Although the long-run aim of the TIP be to establish socialism in Turkey, as confirmed by the Resolutions adopted by the First Grand Congress, the immediate task at hand is the establishment of democracy. The democratic struggle must be waged together with the struggle against imperialism. The democratic struggle must also consider as a prime target the economic origins of anti-democratic tendencies and practices. In the short run, the Nationalist Front Government must be overthrown, the authors of armed and unarmed assaults, of assassinations must be identified and punished. Anti-democratic articles of the Turkish Penal Code must be repealed. Discriminatory, oppressive, racist and chauvinistic practices must be prevented. All contemporary social rights for workers must be recognized. All the legal means must be used to counter the activities of imperialism and big monopoly capital.

Turkey must withdraw from NATO, the bilateral military accords between Turkey and the US must be annuled. The association agreement between Turkey and the EEC must be annuled and replaced by bilateral trade agreements. Cooperation, friendship and non-agression pacts must be co-signed with all the neighbouring countries. The formation of a sovereign, independent, integral and non-aligned Cypriot state must be guaranteed. (See: The Resolutions adopted by the First Grand Congress of TIP, Bulletin, april 1977)

Symbol of the TIP

Like its socialist counterparts in the world, the TIP has adopted the wheat stalk and the cogwheel as the party symbol.

TBP: Union Party of Turkey

Created in October 1966 addressing to the Moslem alevite minority electorate. Led by several local alevite businessmen in various provinces of the Central Anatolia, the TBP won 2,8 percent of the votes during the 1969 elections and obtained eight seats in the National Assembly. After the 1971 coup, hoping to recuperate former electorate of the Workers' Party of Turkey banned by the military, the TBP presented a leftist platform, but despite all its efforts, could not attract the left electorate. Furthermore, it lost also the alevite minority electorate. It has only one deputy in Parliament and does not have any chance for the June 5 elections.

Programme of the TBP

Similar to the Republican People's Party (CHP), but manifests a more sound anti-imperialist stand.

Symbol of the TBP

Sacred lion and twelve stars representing the famous 12 imams (leaders) of the alevite sect.

Leader of the TBP

Mustafa Timisi, a local alevite personality.

DP: Democratic Party

Came into being following the splinter of 40 deputies from the AP, as a result of a conflict within the party, in power at the time, June 1970. It manifested the reaction of the local provincial bourgeoisie against the privileges of the big bourgeoisie of Istanbul. Former President of the Republic (until the 1960 coup from 1950) Celal Bayar overtly backed DP's 1973 election campaign, so it managed to gain 45 seats in the National Assembly. But after the formation of the Nationalist Front Government, the AP achieved to absorb the deputies of DP. Today the DP is represented by only 19 members in Parliament. Furthermore, Bayar shifted his support from DP to AP. In the coming elections, the DP does not have any chance even for forming a parliamentary group.

Programme of the DP

Similar to the programme of the AP, plus more support to the local provincial bourgeoisie and more freedoms for religious beliefs.

Leader of the DP: Ferruh Bozbeyli

Born in 1927. Former President of the National Assembly. Graduate of Law. Maintains a stubborn stance against Left.

Symbol of the DP: Right hand to show the party's faith in God.

GOVERNEMENTAL PARTIESAP: Justice Party

The AP is a political heir of the Democrat Party (DP) which had been formed as the representative of rural notables and urban bourgeoisie and governed Turkey for ten years (1950-1960).

The Justice Party was formed in 1961 by a group of former Democrats whose party was banned by the military in 1960.

At the beginning, the AP was a rather heterogeneous organization and there were several coalitions of interests coexisting within the party. But as the contradictions of interests crystallized among these groups, due to economic difficulties and social changes splinters became inevitable.

In 1970, a group of Justice Party deputies formed the Democratic Party claiming Demirel, Chairman of the Justice Party, usurped the heritage of the former Democrat Party. On the other hand, certain religiously based conservative elements left the party by accusing Demirel of having flirted with free-masonic circles. In fact, both of these splinters were the representatives of local Anatolian bourgeoisie who were envious of the privileges enjoyed by the big businesses of important centers such as Istanbul and Izmir.

The Justice Party governed Turkey for 5 years (1965-1970) and was forced to leave the power on March 12th 1971 by the military under the pretext of re-establishing law and order in the country. In fact, the Justice Party, because of the mentioned splinters and of the growing resistance of the toiling masses, had happened to be unable to protect the interests of the big bourgeoisie.

These blows on the one hand, and on the other the growing consciousness of the masses prevented the Justice Party from re-gaining the majority in 1973 elections. However, thanks to the collapse of the CHP-MSP coalition, the Justice Party could find the possibility of forming a rightist government under the name of "Nationalist Front" and governs Turkey since 1975. Exploiting this opportunity, the AP achieved to weaken the Democratic Party and to absorb the majority of its deputies. Demirel's party has tried to absorb also the voters of the MSP and the MHP by calling them to unite under the same banner, but these attempts have not been so successful. Demirel, conscious of the importance of being in power on the eve of the general elections has so far succeeded to hold together his patchwork cabinet despite continuous harassment from the MSP.

Nevertheless, the "big business" support for the AP is not unanimous, as the renewed CHP displays its concern over them too. The Adana and Izmir industrialists still back Demirel, while those of Istanbul have reduced their support. Therefore, it seems a very far possibility for the AP to come into power alone.

Leader of the AP: Süleyman Demirel

Born in Isparta, 1924. A graduate of Istanbul Technical University. He was the Director General of State Waters Works until the 1960 Coup. He entered the Justice Party in 1961 and became the party chairman following the sudden death of its founder and first leader Gümüşpala.

Demirel, an unknown person in the political life, was presented and imposed by pro-USA circles and thanks to huge propaganda carried out by big daily newspapers could defeated the other candidate, Bilgiç, despite the fact that the latter had been more popular among the party members. ./.



He was assigned to form the government in 1965. Five years later, he had to resign on March 12th, 1971, following the military intervention. He resumed his post as Prime Minister when the Nationalist Front was asked to form a government on April 1975.

#### Programme of the AP

It encourages liberal economy and gives priority to private enterprise. Staunchly anti-communist, supports grand bourgeoisie and calls for strong executive bodies. Favours investment banking. Places more emphasis on agricultural reform (green revolution) than agrarian reform (land distribution). Advocates special defense programme including development of the national war industry. Urges the unity of all "nationalist" forces under its banner against the Left. Favours the European Economic Community, is pro-NATO et pro-CENTO. Wants bizonal federation in Cyprus. Welcomes foreign capital and favours multilateral trade agreements.

#### Symbol of the AP: White Horse

The white horse which walks with his head facing the right is the symbol of the AP. It was chosen in order to prove that the AP is a successor of the Democrat Party. The word of "democrat" is deformed in the daily conversation of Anatolian peasants and pronounced as "denirkirat", literally meaning as strong as a white iron horse.

#### MSP: National Salvation Party

Formed in October 1972, the MSP is in fact a continuation of the National Order Party (MNP) banned by the Constitutional Court on grounds of "anti-secular activities". Numerically the third most important party in Turkey, the MSP follows a pro-islamic path. It is backed by puritan Moslems as well as provincial notables and businessmen. It also has deep roots among certain pro-islamic technocrats.

Most party members are prominent members of local provincial Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

Thanks to its key position without which it was impossible to acquire a majority in Parliament, on the left or on the right, the MSP has been able to participate in both coalition governments formed in succession by Ecevit and Demirel, with control over the important ministries of agricultural and industry.

In the 1977 elections if none of the principal parties can get the absolute majority, the MSP, with a great probability, will take place in the government formed either by the AP or the CHP. Nevertheless, there is a certain reaction against the MSP's participation in coalition governments by the big business circles, due to the fact that the ministers of this party used to force illegally the businessmen to pay tribute to the MSP in order to obtain bureaucratic and financial facilities.

#### Leader of the MSP: Necmettin Erbakan

Born in 1926, Sinop. A schoolmate of Demirel from the Istanbul Technical University. He became a professor at the same university in 1965. He was the controversial President of the Turkish Union of Chambers until 1969. He was the AP candidate from Konya in the same year, but vetoed by Chairman Demirel. Thereupon he participated in the elections independently and elected deputy. He founded the pro-islamic National Order Party (MNP) and was elected the party chairman. But this party was later banned by the military. Soon after 1973 general elections, he entered the National Salvation Party, formed by his former collaborators. Later he was elected chairman of this new party. He served as deputy premier minister in Ecevit and Demirel governments until today.

Programme of the MSP

Considers the moral development of the country is as important as its material development. Praises the historic and religious traditions and beliefs of Turkey's moslem people. Backs the increases in the number of religious schools and the need of a "truly national" education. Defender of free enterprise, the MSP however, is critical towards bank interests. Its ideology envisages reconciliation between labor and capital. Partizan of a national heavy industry and nuclear energy production. Against the EEC. Apparently for a bizonal federation in Cyprus, but also welcomes an independent Turkish Cypriot State.

Symbol of the MSP: Key

For the leaders of the MSP, the key represents progress of the masses both spiritually and materially. It can be considered as the key of paradise and also as the key of forming a coalition government in Turkey where none of the principal parties have not been able to have an absolute majority.

MHP: Nationalist Action Party

The MHP is a continuation of the Republican Peasant Nation Party. While it was a centrist little bourgeois party, ex-colonel Alparslan Türkeş and his fascist-minded fellows seized it through some dirty manoeuvres in 1965.

This is the party which is main responsible of the political assassinations all over Turkey. Just after seized the party, this group formed paramilitary "Gray Wolves" commando units.

The MHP is backed by small town crafts and tradesmen as well as by racist youth.

The MHP has only three deputies in Parliament, but thanks to the Nationalist Front Coalition, it was able to place 2 out of 3 deputies in Government.

It is encouraged and supported by the big bourgeoisie in order to intimidate the democratic forces. Thanks to its participation in the government, the MHP has been able to place many fascist elements in the key points of the state apparatus.

Leader of the MHP: Alparslan Türkeş

Ex-colonel. Born in Cyprus, 1917. During the 40's, he was one of the Pan-Türkist activists who favoured the Nazi expansion all over the world. One of the co-authors of the 27th May 1960 military coup. Later expelled from the junta for his "authoritarian" tendencies and exiled to India. After having returned to Turkey, he seized a little centrist party and turned it into a fascist organization which menaces democracy in Turkey.

As the former chief of the NATO Department of the General Staff Headquarters of Turkish Armed Forces, Türkeş has very close relations with the US missions in Turkey.

Immediately after having seized the party, Türkeş claimed himself Başbuğ ("führer" in Turkish).

Programme of the MHP

The nine principles propagated as "nine rays", namely "nationalism, idealism, moralism, corporatism, scientism, populism, progressivism, technologism, as well as being for the defence of freedom and the peasantry" are quasi utopic.

The party advocates the necessity of corporatism and solidarity between all the social strata of the union. Under a "strong state" private, national and public sectors should co-exist according to a corporative spirit. The MHP aims to establish a state, carbon-copy of Hitler's Germany.

Symbol of the MHP: Gray Wolf

The Gray Wolf, a legendary animal in the Turkish history. But officially "three crescents", the symbol of the Ottoman Empire's flag, is used on the party banners.

CGP: Republican Reliance Party

Formed in 1967 by a group of CHP members, following the victory of Ecevit's "left-of-the-center" policy. Its anti-communist stance was successful for some time, and the CGP benefited from the power hiatus created by Demirel's euster from power in March 12, 1971, by placing several of its deputies in key ministries during a series of "above parties" interim governments. The CGP participates in the Nationalist Front Government, but lost many of its voters in favour of either the Justice Party or the Republican People's Party. For the June 5 elections, the CGP too does not have any chance.

Leader of the CGP: Turhan Feyzioglu

Born in Kayseri, 1922. Son of a wealthy notable family, Professor of Constitutional Law. A long-time member of the Turkish parliamentary group in the Council of Europe where he is very famous for his demagogic anti-communist speeches.

Programme of the CGP

Pro-capitalist, pro-USA et anti-communist.

Symbol of the CGP: Ram

This animal represents bravery and the fighting spirit.

A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE ANTI-  
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