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president of the
workers' party of turkey



TURKEY
AND THE WORLD
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Ever since the formation of the "Nationalist Front" Government composed of four right-wing parties, Turkey has been the scene of developments of great importance.

Imperialism and its local collaborators hasten the rise of fascism day by day; while fascist commandos assassinate progressives practically every day, worker, peasant and student leaders, intellectuals, teachers and writers are subpoenaed by the State Security Courts and sentenced to heavy prison terms.

Parallel to the upsurge of terror, so too the resistance of the people of Turkey grows stronger; the struggle for "independence, democracy, peace and social progress" of all the democratic forces led by the working class of Turkey is taking on bigger proportions.

The appraisal of all these recent developments in Turkey from the point of view of the working class and the exposure of this matter to world public opinion by a person qualified to represent the workers' movement and able to act as an authority in the matter are of great importance for this will make it is possible for the world forces of democracy, peace and socialism to be more familiar with the struggle of the people of Turkey and to display a more active solidarity.

Without losing sight of this necessity, we are publishing a French and an English version of the speech delivered at the meeting of the departmental delegates of the Workers' Party of Turkey on 22-23 November 1975 by Behice Boran, President of the Workers' Party of Turkey, the most active political organization of the working class of Turkey.

Boran's speech is particularly significant in the light of the appraisal which the revolutionary movement of Turkey conveys regarding world development, and in the light of the manner in which the working class of Turkey determines its stance with respect to ideological camps.

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behice boran

Behice Boran, the President of the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT), was and always remains one of the main targets of the reactionary forces in Turkey. During the military regime which emerged with the coup d'état of March 12th, 1971, Behice Boran was, at 61 years of age, condemned to 15 years of confinement and was obliged to serve her sentence at Adapazari under inhuman conditions until July 1974, at which time she, along with all other political prisoners, was amnestied.

This was not the first time that Behice Boran had had clashes of this nature with the country's reactionary forces. Endowed with a courageous and valiant personality, she has in effect 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 entitled "The Country and the World", "The Steps" published during those years. While lecturing in the Letters Faculty of the Ankara University after having completed a doctorate degree on sociology at the University of Michigan in the U.S.

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. Acquitted by the tribunal, Behice Boran was, however, unable to return to the university for the simple reason that the Ministry of National Education had in the meantime put the lid on the sociology department.

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 immediately disbanded and its leaders were arrested and received heavy prison sentences. It is in prison that Behice Boran brought her only son into the world.

Deprived of her political rights, she supported her family by doing translations throughout the Democratic Party's rule, when reactionism and MacCarthyism were being unleashed.

In the relatively democratic atmosphere of the 1960's, Behice Boran regained her political rights and in 1962 joined the Workers' Party of Turkey-WPT, thereby continuing her struggle at the heart of Turkey's only legal socialist organization.

As one of the 15 deputies representing the Workers' Party of Turkey in the 1965 Parliament, she defended the interests of the working class.

Elected national secretary of the W.P.T., in 1970, she became president after the 4th National Congress in October of the same year. Her presidency coincided with the grimmest days of recent years. This refers to the general offensive of the reactionary forces intended to establish neo-fascism in

Turkey. Inquiries aimed at discrediting the leaders of the WPT were held as a pretext to suppress the only legal left-wing political organization. It is under these circumstances that the coup d'état of March 12th, 1971 took place, resulting in the arrest of all the WPT leaders and the banning of the WPT itself on July 20th of 1971. The token trial of these leaders lasted more than a year and a half, and sentences of up to fifteen years of prison were delivered as its pay-off. Behice Boran was, in addition to this, sentenced to five years under house arrest in the city of Giresun.

Behice Boran, who by her courageous, determined and consistent attitude before the tribunals held under martial law, displayed the moral strength of a revolutionary, relates how she had evaluated the situation during her confinement, in the preface of her book entitled *The Trial of the WPT according to Two Viewpoints*: "...this establishment which existed *de facto* could not tolerate the working class party, the socialist party. It was necessary to eliminate the socialist movement which it represented. This was done.

"Or else it was thought this could be done. Since it is not known or else it is forgotten that social and political movements arise as a consequence of objective conditions and respond to the needs of society. As long as this objective situation exists and continues to evolve, it cannot fail to be reflected in men's consciences, to shake them and to incite them to seek solutions. Even if they undergo concrete modifications in form, the movements which arise from these conditions and needs continue to exist in essence. In Turkey as well, regardless of the judgements pronounced by the tribunals, the socialist movement would find its medium of expression on the political plan and would rise again. Under a new set of circumstances, the "WPT" move-

ment would be swept up by the course of history under a new form... Consequently, with respect to this extremely important situation, in so far as I am a member of and president of the party, I had to explain and defend the very nature and views of the WPT; to firmly set down socialism as versus capitalism, and the working class ideology as versus bourgeois ideology."

As a result of the combined struggles of all democratic forces, and the elections of October 14, 1973, Behice Boran was released in July 1974 along with so many other patriots, democrats, progressives and socialists.

Behice Boran has regained her political rights thanks to a constitutional amendment which was essentially aimed at restoring the rights of members of the Democratic Party victimized by the military coup d'état of 1960, and from which the progressives persecuted by the 1971 military regime were, inevitably, able to profit.

At the time of the WPT's refounding on May 1st, 1975, her name appeared as one of the founders, and at the first meeting she was unanimously elected to the presidency of the Party.

Behice Boran is once again at the head of the struggle for democracy, independence, social progress, peace and socialism.



*Allocution given by Mrs. Behice Boran
President of the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT), at the meeting of the delegates of the departmental federations.*

Ankara, 22-23 November, 1975

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The evolution of the international situation since last May, date of the founding of our party, allows us to deduce the following points of interest:

1. The political and military recoil of imperialism,
2. A deepening of the crisis of the capitalist world,
3. An accentuation of the influence of the division at the heart of the socialist camp clarifies the ranks involved in the struggle between capitalism and socialism.^o

On the world scale, today's fundamental political phenomenon remains that of the struggle between capitalism and socialism. This struggle of two so-

^o) *Mrs. Boran points out the last developments which brought into focus the remoteness of China from socialist policies.*

cial systems takes on a concrete form on the one hand, by struggles between countries and states belonging to these two systems and on the other hand, by struggles between different social classes within the former system.

The struggles for National Liberation constitute a part of, or so to speak, a third facet of this struggle between two social systems. These national liberation struggles and wars counter imperialism at the external level; at the internal level, they counter capitalism and precapitalist forms of exploitation. Furthermore, these struggles are increasingly committed to socialism as their ultimate aim. In this world-wide multidimensional revolutionary struggle, it is the world socialist system which plays an avant-garde role.

The policy of détente and peaceful coexistence does not in the least imply the disappearance or relative obliteration of these struggles. The real significance of the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence is that of preventing the transformation of the struggle between different social systems into a "hot" war - a Third World War. Détente and peaceful coexistence are not obstacles to the struggle for anti-imperialist liberation waged by countries under the yoke of imperialism. It is normal and even necessary that the peoples oppressed by imperialism wage a struggle against the imperialistic countries which oppress them, and this national struggle can transform itself, if the circumstances warrant it, into an armed struggle. In this case, the workers' movements as well as the socialist countries back those who are fighting for their liberation and furnish them with aid and assistance. Yesterday, such was the case in Viet-Nam. Today, such is the case in Angola. But a thermonuclear world war would be a great catastrophe for all mankind, including the countries engaged in a struggle for their liberation, and would slow down considerably the world-wide transition to socialism.

The prevention of such an incident is the objective of the principle of peaceful coexistence and the policy of detente which is its natural consequence. The world-wide transition to socialism can progress and attain its goal without a third world war and by a political, economic, social and ideological struggle within the framework of peaceful coexistence.

When one views the international situation, it becomes clear that the capitalist-imperialist camp is recoiling both from a political and military standpoint. The end of the war in Viet-Nam, the fall of the Thieu regime, the victory of the democratic and popular forces in Cambodia, the formation of a left-wing power in Laos are the signs of this recoil. Thailand, where the USA has established military bases, is in ebullition and is showing a more and more anti-american attitude.

The fact remains, however, that US imperialism is not about to give up its hold on south-east Asia. It tries to restrict these democratic developments to narrow geographic limits and endeavors to maintain its influence and penetration over a route stretching from the Philippines via the Indian Ocean to Pakistan and Turkey. American imperialism does not tolerate, neither in Turkey nor in Bangladesh a government policy as left-wing and as independent as Australia's. In India, Indira Gandhi seems to have foiled the plans which proved to be against her government and seems to have deterred the danger at least provisionally. Far from having settled the question from the point of view of US imperialism, the elimination of Mujibur Rahman seems to have plunged the country into a cycle of coups d'état and counter-coups d'état. The former social-democratic Australian prime minister, Gough Whitlam, who was overthrown, not because of the political crisis provoked by the Senate's refusal to vote on the budget, but rather because of his more

independent policies in matters of international politics, continues to receive his greatest support from the Australian working class and people. The fact that the USA had to intervene in the case of these three latter countries, shows that despite the efforts exerted in the opposite direction, left wing orientation and the movement for national liberation are expanding and gaining in strength throughout the world.

In spite of these recent developments in south and south-east Asia, the heart of the struggle between the systems has shifted to the Middle-East and southern Europe. Although the Middle-East crisis is as yet far from being settled, the US appears to have pegged some points, the prime factor of which has been Egypt. Ever since his claim to power, Sadat has pursued unremittingly a policy of elimination of economic étatism and strengthening of the bourgeoisie internally, and externally a policy of rapprochement with the United States. Regarding it as an obstacle to its national interests and development, Egypt wishes to rid itself quickly of the Israeli problem. In other words, it is turning its back on Arab nationalism and going it alone, thus favorizing US policies. With the signing of a temporary agreement with Israel, Egypt has practically recognized the State of Israel and has accepted not to resort to arms for a given time. To be brief, Egypt has "dropped" the Palestinian problem and the question of the Golan Heights in order to pursue a government policy geared to its self-interests. Thus, within the already not so firm or united entity formed by the Arab countries, a breach of considerable importance has been introduced, a rift has been created. This pre-existing division at the core of the Arab world, between progressive countries and reactionary countries, which has prevented the realization of Arab unity has thus been deepened by the new political orientation of Egypt.

Another point of significance which arises from these recent developments in Egypt is the failure of petty bourgeois radicalism. One cannot progress towards socialism while the workers' movement is repressed and the party of the working class is banned. To free a country from the yoke of imperialism and to pave its path to real development and independence, it no longer suffices to invent new kinds of socialism labeled "Arab socialism" or the likes. Doubtless, the transition to socialism and its subsequent development will occur in each country in accordance with the country's historical and social conditions and in forms compatible to these conditions. The socialist system in each country will be socialist as to the foundation, and national as to the form. But this foundation is unique, universal.

The Middle-East problem would not be resolved by agreements made between Israel and each of the Arab countries on a separate basis. This would be contrary to the interests of the Arab peoples of the region and would only serve to reinforce the strongholds of American imperialism. The recognition of the State of Israel is inevitable. But more than the existence of the State of Israel, the matter of real concern is the fact that Israel itself constitutes, so to speak, a Middle-East "spring-board" for U.S. imperialism, and that it practices a chauvinistic and expansionist government policy. This is what necessitates prevention. However, the temporary Egyptian-Israeli agreement merely tends to reinforce these characteristics of the Israeli state. The United States supplies Israel with massive economic and military assistance. According to certain sources, they would be willing to deliver long-range missiles to Israel. These missiles would be able to reach not only the neighboring Arab countries in the vicinity of Israel, but also practically all of Eastern Anatolia right up to Ankara.

The Arabs can fight the expansionist policy of the advanced imperialist fortress which Israel has become, only by acting in unison. The Geneva Conference must resume its work and the Middle-East problem must be settled by discussions which will be held by all the parties involved. In such a situation, Turkey assumes a position alongside the progressive Arab countries.

Another geographic region where the struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems manifests itself with particular acuity is southern Europe. Until very recently, fascism dominated or threatened in one way or another the whole of this region. In fact, fascist regimes were in power in Spain and in Portugal during many long years, Greece was under the yoke of the Colonels' Junta and Turkey was living out the period of repression which followed the coup d'état of March 12th, 1971. As to Italy, it was fluctuating between democracy and fascism. Today in Italy, the strong workers' movement together with its allies are managing to quell the fascist threat, but are unable to break down the resistance of the American imperialist backed monopoly bourgeoisie in their efforts to come to power much less share it. Presently, the situation has changed in the other four countries. Turkey has emerged from a period of open repression, parliamentary democracy has replaced the military junta in Greece, with the death of Franco the struggle of democratic forces has reached a new phase of development in Spain, and Portugal has born witness to the front-stage takeover of its democratic and left-wing forces following the spectacular downfall of its 40 years old fascist regime. Nevertheless, the situation in these countries is as yet far from clear, and the victory of the democratic forces and the popular masses is not yet decisive. In Turkey, the repressive and anti-democratic practices which stemmed from the coup of March 12th, 1971 prevail in different

forms. The junta no longer governs in Greece, but the reactionary regime of Caramanlis has taken its place; as the supporting pillars of the junta and its economic foundation are still intact, as the purging of fascist elements within the army has not yet taken place and by virtue of the military atmosphere created by intensive rearmament, there is the ever-present possibility of substituting a militarist regime in place of the Caramanlis government.

The United States and the Common Market are presently concentrating all their efforts on Spain and Portugal: the fascist regimes were very much in tune with U.S. interests; as to the Common Market and the northern European countries, for their part, they prefer "plural democracy" to fascist regimes and would like Spain and Portugal to join the EEC (European Economic Community). But once fascism has been overthrown, the democratic and left-wing movements spring forth with strength and imperil the interests of American and European big capital and monopolies. Europe and the U.S. are attempting to reduce the dangerous proportions acquired by the movement in Portugal, and to prevent any movement at all in Spain from taking place. The United States as well as the EEC look upon the parliamentary democracy of both these countries as a means of protecting the political and economic power of the capitalist classes, not to mention their own interests, and finally, as a means of stopping the revolutionary movement of the popular masses. It is for this reason that the CIA financed on a non-limit basis the social-democrats and certain unions. Even though one cannot venture into any prognostic on the short-run, it is certain that on the long-run the victory will belong to the working masses and the workers.

The results of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation held in Helsinki is but another political indication of the recoil of impe-

rialism. Doubtless, the imperialist countries which took part in the conference did not do so by sheer whim. The proposal, which was introduced by the Soviet Union and supported by the socialist countries of Europe, met with a long period of resistance before gaining sufficient acceptance. Despite the sarcasm of the bourgeois press, its criticism of the non-applicability of the resolutions drawn up at the Helsinki Conference, the very fact that the conference was successfully completed marks the triumph of democratic, progressive and socialist forces in the world.

Another indication of the recession that the capitalist-imperialist world is in the process of undergoing, is the profound economic crisis from whose grip it has been trying to get free during the last three years. Previously, periods of relative economic stagnation or recession were fairly frequent, but even bourgeois economists admit that the present situation is indeed a crisis. Yet, it had been repeatedly claimed and insisted upon that since the 1929 crash, there could nor would no longer be any economic crises. That which unnerves bourgeois economists and politicians the most is the simultaneous presence of economic stagnation with massive unemployment and galloping inflation. Previously, these two phenomena seemed to mutually exclude each other. While inflation raged, monetary measures and various state interventions were tried out in an effort to bring it under control; in the case of a slow-down in economic activity, banking and monetary revival measures made their appearance. These usual Keynesian-type measures are henceforth inefficient and the bourgeois economists are recurring to the one and the same Marx whom they had not long ago declared as having been discarded "in History's waste-basket".

But, despite everything, the leading circles of capitalist societies have no choice other than to continue applying the old remedies involving li-

mits and risks of which they are well aware. Lacking the ability to turn to socialism, they have no other solutions and are forced to choose between unemployment and inflation. By considering unemployment as the greater of these two dangers, they have chosen to revive the economy at the cost of rising inflation. It is quite normal that the efforts be directed towards the elimination of unemployment, for the working class, the embodiment of socialism's hopes, is more inclined to "stir" in the case of unemployment. The chosen method for whipping up the economy precludes a budget deficit. The enormous budget deficits which currently exist in the U.S. and West Germany are gratified by a new monetary emission. With the growth of money supply, it is hoped that business and investments will start rolling again. By their budget deficit, the U.S. and West Germany also hope to revive international commerce as well as their own foreign investments, and, to a certain extent, help out the other capitalist countries.

President Ford declared at the Rambouillet conference that the American economy was recovering more rapidly than foreseen. Yet, according to quite a number of observers, the indications of this so-called recovery are deceptive. It has been observed, for instance, that the relative drop in unemployment was due to staff increases in the administration and the tertiary sector, and that the increase of demand in the automobile sector could be explained by an anticipated rise in costs announced well in advance. Data from Wall Street sources indicate that 600 of the 800 largest American enterprises are experiencing serious financial difficulties. Certain ones such as Lockheed and Chrysler are on the verge of bankruptcy. Moreover, the occidental economists predict that the wave of inflation will continue to climb in 1977 and that the economic crisis will become worse.

The recent meeting of the 6 heads of state and

the government is a sign of the extreme seriousness of the situation. They attempted to overcome their differences and search out the means of acting in unison. The items discussed were all of an economic or monetary nature, with special attention given to the question of developing the international commerce without any restrictions. Whereas the European countries would have liked the United States to take rigorous measures in order to pull them through the crisis as well, the President of the United States did not want to assume this role as shown by his affirmation that the economic recovery of the U.S. would have little effect on European economies. One of the reasons for the concertation of the "great" occidental powers is the preparation of the meeting which will be held in December with the under-developed or said "Third-World" countries. These countries which, at various world conferences, attempt to unite themselves in order to defend their common interests, are demanding a new world economic order and are trying to use the prices of oil and raw materials as an economic weapon. The occidental countries which experienced the "energy crisis" are trying, in the face of this situation, to form a bloc against the Third-World countries. This means that the struggle between the two groups of countries will be even more bitter. It must not, however, be forgotten that regardless of their efforts and the extent of their cooperation, contradictions, friction and competition will continue to dominate the scene among the various capitalist countries, for it is part of the very nature of the capitalist system.

Economic crisis as well is part of the logic behind the capitalist system. This is why monetary or economic measures remain ineffective. The causes of the crisis being structural, the solution lies in the overthrow of the capitalist regime, in the transition to socialism.

If measures of the keynesian type fail at the present time to adequately control inflation or unemployment, it is because monopoly capitalism has reached another phase of its development on the world scale. The intermingling of the process of monopolization and of an increased concentration of capital with the state apparatus has engendered state - monopoly capitalism. Moreover, these multinational monopolies manage to control the whole of capitalist economies.

These multinational monopolies, in accordance with the geographic distribution of the units of production, speculate on prices on the world scale, prevent their formation by the mechanisms of the market and act in a manner conducive to their increases, and moreover, dominate international commerce.

In Turkey, not enough attention has been devoted to the fact that in the socialist countries there is neither unemployment, nor inflation, nor drops in production nor deficiencies in demand. The "energy crisis" did not fluster the socialist countries whose centrally planned economies continue their development unhampered.

The existence of a world socialist system is another fundamental reason for the crisis. The capitalist market, the threshing-floor of activity, has shrunk. Approximately a third of the world's population lives under a socialist regime. Trade with the socialist countries and the investments planted therein do not suffice on the part of the capitalist countries to compensate the shrinking of their sphere of influence since, on the one hand, the volume of this commerce is not as yet worthy of consideration and, on the other hand, the socialist countries direct their international trade as well as their investment agreements with the capitalist countries in accordance with their own interests and maintain control of their economic development.

The actual and future consequences of the economic crisis render the capitalists fearful. The revolutionary struggle of the working class is attaining new dimensions, particularly in the key-countries such as France or Italy. In these two countries the working class is drawing nearer to a takeover of the power. It is in Europe that the "dominos theory" can actually be applied. At the core of Great Britain's Labour Party likewise the German Social-Democrat Party, the left is growing stronger. The social-democrat governments, long since in power in the scandinavian countries are losing their strength. Obviously, the economic crisis and the rising tide of social struggles reveal fascist tendencies at the core of the forces of the right. But the future belongs to socialism and the balance of forces present on the battleground of the struggle of the classes is transforming itself to the advantage of the working and laboring masses. We firmly believe that it will be possible to eliminate the fascist threat by unanimous action on the part of the laboring masses and the progressive and democratic forces under the guidance of the working class.

As to the role played by the People's Republic of China and the movement called maoism, it is undoubtedly an obstacle to the unity of the front created by the forces battling capitalism on the world scale. Since the early 1960's, China has digressed more and more from the general guide lines of the socialist movement even to the extent of contradicting it. As regards international political problems, China is siding more and more frequently with the capitalist-imperialist countries. Its constant stance in favor of NATO or the EEC and against the European Security Conference are ample proof. China did not support the movement of national liberation in Bangla-Desh; it retained diplomatic ties with the Chilean fascist regime to whom it even granted economic support.

Currently in Angola, it is lending its support to the same reactionary and pro-imperialist forces backed by the United States, England, Zaire and South Africa. China pursues a destructive policy directed not against the capitalist-imperialist countries, but against the socialist countries and in particular the USSR.

As to the attitude of the maoists in the capitalist countries, it is essentially directed against the parties of the working class just like the attacks of the reactionary and fascist forces. In Turkey, attacks of this kind have occurred and the maoists have always been found in consortation with the fascistes and the enemies of socialism.

The fact that China, far from joining forces with the other socialist countries so as to strengthen the cohesion of the socialist world in the face of the capitalist-imperialist offensive is siding with the latter constitutes a deplorable attitude; all the more reason why this attitude must be fought against or at least isolated. The working class of the world never ceases to fight it. The movement of the working class in Turkey will know, by its organization and its fight for a correct political attitude, how to respond in a suitable fashion to maoism and other leftist deviations. As to China herself, the lively forces of Chinese society with the Chinese working class in the forefront will succeed in guiding the country towards a correct political attitude. The socialist countries will continue to assume their role of avant-garde in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY

What are the place and the government policy of Turkey in the world which I have just finished describing summarily?

The Turkish foreign policy has always hosted a contradiction. Objectively, given its economic and social structure, Turkey is a dependent capitalist country caught in the world capitalist-imperialist system. After the First World War, Turkey forcefully released slogans on "total independence" and waged a war against the imperialist powers who sought to dismember it. The place of such a country is objectively alongside the "under-developed" countries of the "Third World" which are oppressed and exploited by imperialism. As to Turkey's foreign policy, it should then be orientated towards the support of the progressive, and anti-imperialist struggles of these countries. One would also expect that Turkey would seek to remain on good terms with the socialist countries which support anti-imperialist struggles and which aid the independent countries striving for progress.

Yet, Turkey's external policy has not been geared to this end. In its continuous desire to "occidentalize itself", Turkey has looked down on the countries of Asia and Africa and sought "occidentalization" especially through superficial reforms in the suprastructural institutions. Diplomatic relations with the occidental capitalist countries have been reinforced, and regarding the major world issues, Turkey has always sided with these countries.

Despite this determined desire and pretention to being occidental, the crux of the matter does not lie essentially with a desire or a pretention. After having, following the War of Independence, somewhat affirmed its independence, in comparison with the period of decline of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has been unable to nor has it attempted to sever the ties which bound it to the capitalist-imperialist world system. The social forces capable of guiding the country in this direction were not developed or efficient. The Turkish bourgeoisie was, from the first, instinctively afraid of

socialism and consequently of the working class whose action could lead the country towards socialism. It is thus that inside the country, all the democratic freedoms were stifled. This is also why bonds of real friendship and cooperation were not established with our northern neighbor, the Soviet Union. This is furthermore why an entire noisy ideological propaganda dealing with the necessity of the "occidentalization" of the country went hand in hand with a constant strengthening of ties with the European capitalist countries -almost an economic merging. The perpetual domination of the bourgeoisie was constantly providing the thrust for such a merging.

The entry of Turkey to NATO and CENTO, its membership in the EEC, the presence of American military bases on its territory, the gearing of its national defense policy in accordance with NATO strategy were complementary to the political and economic interests of the bourgeoisie rather than to any military necessity.

Turkey is currently experiencing the harmful consequences of an external policy contrary to its interests and to the needs of its social development. As dependence and integration entail their own inherent contradictions, serious differences between Turkey and the Occident have come to light under the influence of developments in the world scene. One now realizes that the clauses of the EEC membership treaty, formulated in an atmosphere of national festivity, are in contradiction with the developmental conditions of a dependent capitalist system. It becomes clear that the reorganization of external trade which followed the signing of this treaty profited the countries of the EEC whose exports to Turkey increased considerably without there being a similar increase in Turkish exports. Presently, the Turkish government has had to resort to asking the EEC for trade concessions, particularly in order to halt, at

least provisionally, the incoming flow of products listed as custom-free. As this list gets longer, the industrial branches in Turkey, which require protection, are in effect threatened. In order for Turkey to be able to endow itself with an industry other than the assembly-line or luxury consumer goods industries, it must give up its status as a member of the EEC. In place of this membership, it must work out a bilateral trade agreement with the EEC as are already doing some of the Asian or African countries.

As regards ties with the U.S., one knows they are harmful. Already as of 1970, in response to economic pressures, the governments of Turkey undertook to improve Turkey's diplomatic relations with the European socialist countries, scheduled talks for a review of the Turkish-American bilateral accords, did not consent to the United States' use of the military base at Incirlik during the Jordanian crisis and the Israeli-Arab War of 1973, and subsequent to this recalled their decision to ban poppy culture.

The Turkish disembarkation of Cyprus in July 1974 served only to add venom to the situation. The CIA plans were disrupted. It is true that the fundamental aims of the USA did not alter; only the means, the methods would alter.

Presently, the United States is doing every thing possible to lead Turkey back to the "straight path". A power takeover of the bourgeoisie would exact just that, but the pressure of public opinion and the political equilibrium are militating in the opposite direction. The United States exerts a more powerful pressure on Turkey by means of halting military assistance, blocking international financial backing and excluding Turkey from the system of generalized preferential tariffs enforced by the US. The United States is now requesting that Turkey allow them to benefit from the clause for the most favored nation before al-

lowing Turkey to benefit from their preferential tariffs. The partial lifting of the embargo on military supplies and the dispatch of arms and supplies already paid for by Turkey does not constitute a decrease in US pressure, as the threat of a new embargo is always maintained in order to impose on Turkey once again a ban on poppy culture.

All patriots feel rebellious in the face of such an attitude on the part of the United States. It is high time the bonds of dependence on the States be broken. But far from breaking these bonds, the current government, an emanation of the bourgeoisie itself linked with the imperialist forces, has already begun talks with the US.

The link between class support of the ruling power and its foreign policy becomes obvious to all. The inane statement according to which foreign policy is "above parties" (therefore, above social classes) and that it has nothing to do with the internal policy is demonstrated once again.

The search for new markets and diversified finance sources prompts capitalism to look to new horizons beyond other than the United States and Western Europe. The financial accord signed with the Soviet Union, the economic and technical accords with Bulgaria and Roumania are the result of this quest. Here, economic necessities have triumphed over ideological and political enmities.

The same quest for markets and sources of finance also direct the power towards the "Third World" and the other countries of the region, but there is a preference for the countries with reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes such as Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates of the Persian Gulf.

Turkey would especially wish to ally itself with the oil-producing countries of the Middle-East in order to promote commonly held investments in Turkey. The pipe-line construction agreement

signed with Irak was put into effect after a long series of hesitations, but that is as far as it went. Attempts to interest Iran were futile since Iran invests in Europe and pursues a policy of rearmament. Presently, an attempt is being made to relaunch the RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development - an accord between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan) from its ashes, but without great hope. Turkish businessmen too are having a hand in it. A delegation went to Iran and then to Pakistan after having visited the States. Their visit preceded by little that of the President of the Republic.

The rapprochement begun with the Arab countries is also aimed at gaining their support of Turkey's policy on the question of Cyprus. But the lack of sincerity on the part of Turkish leaders often exposes them to rebuffs and does not rouse any support. To vote in favor of the exclusion of Israel from the United-Nations at the Islamic Conference in Djiddah while giving the United States assurances pointing the other way, to invite a representative of the PLO in order to launch talks concerning the opening of a PLO office in Ankara and then to refrain from terminating the talks - all this does not arise from a serious foreign policy. Turkey's vote in favor of the UNO's motion condemning zionism is but another example of political near-sightedness aimed at rousing the sympathy of the Arab countries. This sympathy has not materialized; Denktash was unable to voice his opinion before the United-Nations, and the motion of the non-aligned countries on the Cyprus question was carried by a large majority despite Turkey's opposition. The Nationalist Front government does not understand that from an Arab viewpoint, the Cyprus problem has other ramifications.

The Cyprus question constitutes a permanent source of ill-ease for the Nationalist Front government now in power in Turkey. To attribute this feeling of ill-ease to counter-pressures from out-

side and from within (public opinion) the country alone, would be too superficial of an approach to the problem. The difficulty here lies in the fact that the government has not as yet comprehended the veritable nature of the Cyprus problem and that, consequently, the solutions which it proposes are unacceptable to the group of countries involved.

The federative solution which is proposed is incoherent and indefensible. Given that the Turkish propositions cater to a weakening in the authority of the central state and a notable increase in the autonomy of both federated states, the solution has all the appearances of a camouflage destined to mask the actual partition of the island. Furthermore, formerly begun project for the economic integration of the Turkish sector of the island with Turkey foreshadows from now on a future partition of Cyprus, and a Cyprian unitary state would not be viable without real economic integration between the Greek and Turkish sectors. All the countries, socialist or capitalist alike, oppose the partition of the island. Providing the United States agrees to it, many other countries will oppose it.

However, the Cyprus problem exceeds in scope the Greek and Turkish communities, Greece, Turkey and Great Britain alone. The Turkish government which on the one hand insists upon the fact that the problem must be solved by intercommunitary talks alone, but which, on the other hand does not refuse the arbitrage proposed by Henry Kissinger, does not appear to have really understood it. The Cyprus issue is of prime importance as regards the East Mediterranean region, and more so as regards the Arab countries, since the country which would have at its disposition military bases on the island, will be able to directly threaten the safety of these countries and even directly intervene in the case of a conflict in the region. However,

henceforth, it is the transfer of British bases to the United States that is in question. It is for this reason that the Arab countries are very much concerned about maintaining independence, territorial unity and the neutrality of Cyprus. As long as Turkey will not keep a safe distance opposite the United States, in what concerns its external affairs policy, it will fail to ensure the support of the Arab countries.

Those Arab countries which are asking for Israel's withdrawal from occupied territory, will not accept the notion that it is possible to find a fair solution to the Cyprus problem, considering that 40% of Cyprus's territory is occupied by Turkey. It is the legitimacy of the forcibly acquired territorial gains which is in question.

By reason of the strengthening of the American stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean region, this matter equally concerns the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe. As for the other "Third World" countries, they are preoccupied with the same phenomenon and are rising in protest against the disappearance of an independent state adhering to the UNO.

As long as Turkey will fail to grasp the international bearing of the Cyprus problem, and as long as it will not propose solutions specifically adapted to this political plan, it will be condemned to diplomatic isolation. Cyprus must be able to remain independent; its territorial integrity must be safeguarded by international accords; its territory must be rid of foreign military bases and demilitarized; the federal (central) state and the communities must dispose of equal political rights; the internal political life must be rendered democratic. Acceptable to the international community, such a formula is also compatible with the interests of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Cyprus will thus cease to be a point of disagreement in the region

and will become an element of peace and security.

As regards the Turkish foreign affairs policy, generally speaking:

- Turkey must withdraw its membership from NATO, CENTO, the EEC as well as from all similar imperialist institutions.

- Turkey must practise a neutralist policy of non-alignment outside the military pacts and must work for disarmament and world peace.

- Turkey must side with the anti-imperialist countries and movements and must back them in the course of their struggle. It must develop its rapports with the socialist countries.

- Turkey must sign non-aggression treaties with the Soviet Union and the other neighboring countries.

- Turkey must seek to safeguard itself through organizations such as UNO and the European Conference for Security and Cooperation rather than through a military block.

- Turkey must base its diplomatic relations with other countries on the principles of independence, sovereignty and equality.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION

Turkey is going through an economic, social and political crisis provoked by its position as a backward and dependent capitalist country.

The industry which has undergone a relative development throughout the years 1960-1970 is currently being confronted with the prospect of a double-noosed hang-rope: a lack of finance sources and the tightness of the market. The interior market cannot absorb all the industrial produce. The great inequality in the distribution of revenues and the weak buying power of the masses do not permit this. Strong price increases rapidly cancel out increases in salary and in the state's buying

price for agricultural products. One even observes in very recent years a decrease in the buying strength of the working and laboring masses and of the civil servants. In what concerns exportation, Turkish products cannot compete on the international market given their quality and their cost. The abrupt increase in the exportation of manufactured products after 1970 is due to the subsidies granted and the measures of encouragement taken by the state. At the present time, these measures no longer suffice.

The exportation policy practised by the various governments has had a harmful influence on Turkey's external commerce. The exportation has always been directed towards western Europe. However the European demand for Turkish agricultural products such as tobacco, cotton, hazelnuts, figs and raisins has stabilized; it is not elastic. As for the industrial products, they cannot be marketed in the industrialized countries of Europe. Textile exportation is declining due to the European economic crisis. Turkey could have sought to develop its commercial ties with the socialist countries but, until very recently, these ties have been blocked as a result of the country's stage of dependence upon the imperialist - capitalist block. Although there has been a development in economic and trade relations with the socialist countries, Turkey has chosen to maintain an attitude towards these countries, which can best be described as distant and mistrustful.

In its quest for markets for its industrial products, Turkey could have turned to the Middle-East or to other Third-World countries, but this was not done. It was not a matter of costs or quality which prevented this action from being taken. It is clear that the governments of Turkey are failing to promote a coherent and efficient trade policy. Capitalism in Turkey has not attained a sufficient degree of rationalism.

Turkey's own resources cannot cover its industrial investments. For its part, the credit system favored trade more than industry. Banks prefer short-term credit with high interest rates assigned to the commercial sector. The lack of bank credit specifically geared to industry incites the latter to resort to commercial credit, and this of course is reflected in the cost of industrial products and by the fact that it is one of the first sources of inflation. In 1975, and especially after the Nationalist Front government's takeover of the power, imports enjoyed a spectacular rise, a large portion of which served to finance speculative stocks.

This distribution of bank credits provokes clashes between industrialists and bankers -clashes intensified by the competition between these two divisions of the capital in their attempts to lay their hands on the people's savings. In order to obtain funds, industry has been issuing for several years, shares and bonds at high interest rates. Thus, it is hoped that the people's savings would be channelled directly to the industrial sector without having to go through the banks. Even recently, banks were not allowed to hold lotteries so as to make the notion of banks savings less appealing. This same competition for sources of finance also exists between monopoly and non-monopoly sections of the industrial capital.

As for exterior resources, they are far from capable of covering the needs in foreign currency. Loans from international institutions are plainly insufficient. In the 7 months since it came to power, the Nationalist Front government has borrowed 1 billion 300 million dollars. Turkey's special withdrawal rights with respect to the International Monetary Fund have expired. The foreign currency thus obtained and the funds sent by the Turkish workers abroad will be far from able to cover the 2 and a half billion dollar trade deficit. The go-

vernment is in bad shape; the bourgeoisie as well.

The political situation cannot be well appraised unless it is viewed within the economic context which we have just outlined. In the course of the 1960's, the industrial sector takes the lead over the agricultural sector and the industrial bourgeoisie starts to dominate the commercial and agrarian bourgeoisie. This industrial bourgeoisie is therefore starting to promote reforms aimed at accelerating industrial development. The clashes and contradictions at the core of the coalition of the dominant classes is provoking the appearance of new right-wing parties opposite the Justice Party. The Democratic Party, the Party of National Order (later called the Party of National Salvation) are the political consequences of these developments. Presently, the bourgeoisie is uneasy because it is witnessing the progressive collapse of its social pillars of support.

The legislative elections of 1973 and the partial elections of 1975 have clearly shown that the bourgeois parties are in the process of losing the people's vote. This loss of political and economic trust has led various strata of the bourgeoisie to temporarily put aside their differences. The most reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie have thus witnessed the spread of their influence. The reluctant and symbolic experimental agrarian reform, for example, was blocked although it would have been to the industrial bourgeoisie's advantage to encourage an agrarian reform capable of providing it with financial resources and a broadening of the market necessary to its survival.

As regards regression in the political field, it is becoming more and more evident. The coup d'état of March 12 triggered a process of juridical and political repression. The 1961 Constitution was amended three times in a manner which proved to be anti-democratic and restrictive of public freedoms. The unity of the judicial power was broken by the

formation of state security courts. The bourgeoisie and its political power are not yet satisfied and are now preparing to promulgate new anti-democratic laws and to broaden the competence of the state security courts.

Regardless of the bans, restrictions, etc., introduced at the legislative level, the fact remains that the bourgeoisie does not feel secure. This insecurity is not uniquely due to the legislative election results, but arises from the increasingly substantial growth of class consciousness of the working class, of the daily struggles it wages, of the claims of the laboring masses, and the resistance of youth, intellectuals and even certain strata of the bureaucracy. It is for this reason that prosecutions, arrests and trials are becoming more intense. The personal safety of youths, teachers, workers and political figures is no longer ensured.

As of late, youth has become the object of intense aggressions and armed provocations. Assassinations are becoming an everyday occurrence. The progressive and revolutionary youth is being goaded into taking arms in order to defend itself and it is being prompted to join a circle of armed violence. Young people must be wary of this pitfall and must not forget that the most effective weapon is organization and disciplined action. The great majority of students can and must unite itself in a movement of solidarity against the aggressions of fascist commandos. Their objective must consist in isolating their foe by withdrawing from the terrain of armed reprisal and leaving him to confront the university rectory and the police. The attitude on the part of the university authorities and the police in the face of the provocations will thus be displayed before the discerning eyes of the public.

This tactic does not by any means signify a refusal to carry on the struggle; it is a refusal to carry on the struggle in accordance with the terms set forth by the adversary. The rejection of the

enemy's fighting tactics prompts us to decide for ourselves our methods of retaliation. And this method can be none other than organization and organized struggle. The task of putting this method into effect is above all the responsibility of the socialists. Socialist youth must immerse itself in the student masses and organize their movement so as to isolate the fascist commandos. The student masses must organize themselves in order to promote the following fundamental aim: the creation of a democratic and autonomous university system endowed with the material means to ensure quality education.

Moreover, socialist youth must make an effort to act as one together with the working class's political party. Youth must never lose sight of the fact that in itself it does not constitute a social class or a social force liable to "guide" the working and laboring masses. Nor must it lose sight of the fact that there is no "short-cut" to revolution. This is why the democratic and progressive youth movement as well as the political party of the working class must wage a solid battle against leftism in all its forms. The struggle for socialism is a hard, long-winded one which demands discipline; and this struggle is waged by the political party of the working class.

The first task of every mass organization consists in responding to its particular mass's problems and needs. The organizations which fail to fulfil this task cannot become avant-garde organizations. The anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle is not a struggle restricted to the political scene; it is a struggle which must be waged at all levels of social life, since imperialism and the phenomenon of dependence are reflected in all branches of society. Mass organizations must, each in their own branch, lead the struggle for independence, democracy and socialism. The whole of these tributarial struggles constitutes an irresistible

revolutionary movement. The direction and orientation of this great movement is the responsibility of the political party of the working class.

The pressure and violence applied against the student movement is presently over-reaching itself by victimizing teachers, workers and civil servants. Village schoolteachers are being daily mistreated, wounded and assassinated. Civil servants are being summarily displaced, relocated and dismissed. This actuality exceeds the limits of a purely partisan action. Here, one is dealing with a conscious and systematic attempt to fascisize the state apparatus. The teacher and civil servant masses are, however, resisting these attempts and carrying on the struggle for democratization of the country.

The violent attacks aimed at the People's Republican Party, the leading opposition party, are part of this fascist violence. Henceforth, political personalities and political organizations are also possible victims of these attacks. Thus, it was possible for members of the head committee of a departmental federation of a political party to be arrested, tried and condemned to prison sentences on the grounds that they constituted a clandestine organization. Yet, the legal proceedings to be applied in the case of an offense committed by a member or local organization of a political party is dealt with in detail in the Law on Political Parties and in the Law for the Procedure of the Constitutional Court. The offenses committed by political parties in the exercise of their political activities are subject to the verdict of the Constitutional Court alone. Similarly, the leader of another political party was arrested by a tribunal of instance under a prosecution directly answerable to the Constitutional Court. As for the State Security Courts, they continue to function, to judge and to condemn, despite and fully aware of acknowledgement of their unconstitutionality by the Constitutional Court.

agriculture and lumber workers in the forests; articles 13 and 17 of the Law on Work which are being used to disrupt strikes and to abolish workman's compensation must be repealed. The right to strike, be it a solidarity or a general strike must be acknowledged. Local or sectorial strikes are sometimes not enough to improve the social status of workers. In handling the serious problems which involve the entire working class, the solidarity strike and the general strike are necessary arms.

The second exigency of the bourgeoisie concerns the Union Law. An attempt to amend this law in a manner favorizing the bourgeoisie provoked the massive demonstrations of the 15th and 16th of June in 1970. The amendments were aimed at hampering the freedom of choice of a union, at eliminating the progressive unions and at regrouping the workers in unions at the beck and call of the bourgeoisie. The Turk-Is (yellow confederation of trade unions) would be strengthened and the DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions) weakened and on the long run eliminated.

The careless sprouting of local unions surely leads to a breaking up of the economic unity and struggle of the working class. But it is not the modification of laws enforced in favor of the management which will remedy this harmful situation. The "right to a referendum" of the workers must be recognized. With the worker referendum, the unions which truly defend the economic interests of the working class likewise the ones which do not, would be accessible to the view of all. Thus, a gradual sifting out of the unions and progress in the way of union unity will occur. This right to a union referendum constitutes one of the immediate essential claims of the working class.

The working class of Turkey will not give way to the anti-democratic plans of the bourgeoisie. Our working class, whose degree of class consciousness

Putting all this aside, the main enemy of the government of the Nationalist Front is still the working class. It is the primary target of fascist violence. In Seydişehir and at Ankara, the police and the fascist organizations joined forces in an attack on a union gathering. Shots were fired at workers in Istanbul and Ambarlı. Nonetheless, the bourgeoisie and the government of the Nationalist Front fear the organized power of the working class. The control of the worker movement by way of anti-democratic legislation seems easier to them. The first exigency of the bourgeoisie is a wage freeze, and the second, the restriction of union rights.

So as to justify an eventual wage freeze, the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie do not cease to argue that wage increases are the major factor responsible for inflation. However, price increases are much sharper than nominal wage increases and as such they entail a decrease in real wages. The significant causes of inflation are not to be found with respect to wages, but should instead be sought after with respect to the high interest rates set by banks and the exorbitant costs of imported investment goods. To deter attention from the real problems, a freeze on benefits and housing rents has been proposed in addition to the wage freeze. Every one knows that this amounts to nothing short of a ruse. Tampering with the books always permits part of the benefits to be concealed and partial freezes on rents have already been disregarded several times in the past.

On the contrary, we feel that a mobile wage scale must be introduced and that the real level of wages, between two collective work contracts, must be safeguarded against the erosion caused by price increases. The minimum wage likewise the basic tax exemption must be raised. The unemployment insurance law must be promulgated and it must cover the

and organization has greatly improved since 1970, will fight firmly against all anti-democratic initiatives and will know how to preserve and consolidate the socio-economic advantages it has acquired through a long, hard struggle.

Nowadays, many of the sectorial struggles waged by the working class entertain the goal of protecting union rights or of protesting against job layoffs. This proves that the union movement has attained a high degree of awareness and solidarity. Opposite the desires of the bourgeoisie and the government of the Nationalist Front, the union center known as Turk-Is is losing members to the profit of DISK. DISK includes socialist workers and trade-unionists, but the political stance of the center has not yet clearly proven itself in favor of independence, democracy and socialism.

The working class of Turkey is more and more aware of the fact that in order to protect and expand its own socio-economic victories and also to ensure total independence for our country and to propel the process of democratization, union struggle in the economic field alone is inadequate. Political struggle, political organization, in other words the Party, is indispensable. The solution to all economic, social and cultural problems is inevitably preceded by the solving of the political problem, i.e. the problem of political power. The working class of Turkey knows that it constitutes a driving force and the main pillar of support for the democratic, anti-imperialist struggle and for socialism. It has the size and strength which would enable it to carry out this historical task by means of its own political party.

The results of the visit paid by the fascist leader Türkes and his "commandos" to Diyarbakır, the situation in Lice (a zone ravaged by the last earthquake) and in Hakkari shows that nothing has

altered in Eastern Anatolia's situation. The anti-democratic and anti-popular management of the country weighs heavily on the eastern regions under a racist and chauvinistic form. Moreover, the existence of feudal vestiges in this region stresses the importance of a struggle for democratic freedoms. The proposals of the Workers' Party of Turkey aimed at democratizing all of the administrative mechanisms and establishing popular control of these mechanisms will bring a solution to these problems.

The law of the unequal development of capitalism and the policy practised by various governments provokes and maintains the economic backwardness of the East. In order to make up for this backwardness, investments should be orientated towards this region; however, it is the opposite which occurs. Nevertheless, the economic structure of Eastern Anatolia has rapidly altered in the last 50 years, and from an economic point of view, the region is integrated with the rest of Turkey.

The Workers' Party of Turkey maintains a stance on social problems from the viewpoint of scientific socialism. To preserve and consolidate the unity of the political movement of the working class and the laboring masses is the basic principle which offers a solution to many of the problems including those of the Eastern Anatolian region.

THE SITUATION OF THE NATIONALIST FRONT GOVERNMENT

In the face of so many varied problems, what is the situation like as regards the power of the Nationalist Front?

Demirel and the J.P. would find this a preferable alternative.

The P.R.P. could accept such a solution, providing the promise of forthcoming elections is kept. The wing of the P.R.P. in the vicinity of Istanbul's business milieu would accept unconditionally, but the request for forthcoming elections was put forward with insistence much too long ago for the PRP to be able to disregard it. The latter party could also support other governments formulas provided that the anticipated elections be held. The current composition of the National Assembly is such that a new government cannot be formed without the direct or indirect support of the P.R.P.

In another domain as well, the P.R.P. holds a key-position. In the struggle for or against democracy which is currently unfolding, the P.R.P. proves to be at the head of the front for a democratic struggle. This is so, quantitatively speaking, because of the fact that it is the largest political party. This, however, is not true from a qualitative standpoint. In this latter case, it is the movement of the working class and its party which matter most. The P.R.P.'s concept of democracy and its policy are unable to lead democracy to its logical conclusion: socialism. The P.R.P. professes to be the champion of the freedoms of thought, speech, congregation, etc... It will have fulfilled its historical mission if it contributes to the consolidation of these freedoms. But it cannot do this alone since it lacks a coherent political stance on the relationship between these "classic" freedoms and their economic foundations. As long as the reactionary power of big capital will not have recoiled, it will not be possible to establish or to reinforce democratic liberties. The "popular

The formation of and the claim to power of the Nationalist Front is the product of an attempt at unification on the part of the bourgeoisie. Presently, the bourgeoisie is claiming its due for services rendered and the government is doing its best to comply with this claim. But, in the face of growing popular discontent, the head of the Nationalist Front Government, Süleyman Demirel, finds himself caught between an obligation to satisfy the wishes of the bourgeoisie and the need to avoid losing the people's vote -this accounts for the hesitation and the incoherences of government action.

Demirel is striving to stay in power. Since his forced resignation of March 12th, 1971, he has enjoyed a comeback of which few politicians would be capable. Another election loss would be irreversible. This is why confronted with the demands of the NSP (National Salvation Party), his ally in the government coalition, he made so many concessions -save the resumption of talks with the United-States. The NSP is obstinate about Cyprus and international politics, and now the government appears to be faltering even more so.

If the government of the Nationalist Front falls, Demirel will attempt to form a new cabinet but there is little chance that he will succeed. The bourgeoisie knows (and this is important) that votes for the right are steadily decreasing and that Demirel and his party no longer dominate the right. Under these conditions and in spite of the fact that Demirel's Justice Party remains the principal party of the bourgeoisie, the latter would prefer a coalition of the Justice Party and the People's Republican Party. Thus, the Justice Party would remain in power and the demands of the PRP would be narrowed down. Rather than renounce power,

sector" which is played up by the P.R.P. will leave the power of big capital intact. As for the "foreign policy endowed with a personality" advanced by the P.R.P., it does not anticipate Turkey's withdrawal from NATO, CENTO and other pro-imperialist agreements or organizations. In order for the P.R.P. to carry out its democratic function, it is imperative that a socialist movement exists and develops on its left.

The main democratic force in Turkey as elsewhere, is the working class which makes itself heard through its own political party. After the military coup d'état of March 12th, 1971, a time of tough repression fell upon the working class and its legal political party was banned, but the working masses emerged more solid and more decided from this period of repression. The political party of the working class is being built and developed on this solid foundation. The existence of several political parties claiming to represent the working class should not discourage our militants nor cause our class enemies to rejoice. These parties will -already have- become an object of natural selection. There will remain only the party which takes root at the core of the working class, which offers solutions based on scientific socialism to the real problems of the country, and it will carry on, until the end, the struggle for independence, democracy and socialism.

All hail the radiant future of Turkey!

THE MAIN DEMOCRATIC FORCE IN TURKEY AS ELSEWHERE, IS THE WORKING CLASS WHICH MAKES ITSELF HEARD THROUGH ITS OWN POLITICAL PARTY. AFTER THE MILITARY COUP D'ETAT OF MARCH 12th, 1971, A TIME OF TOUGH REPRESSION FELL UPON THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS LEGAL POLITICAL PARTY WAS BANNED, BUT THE WORKING CLASS EMERGED MORE SOLID AND MORE DECIDED FROM THIS PERIOD OF REPRESSION. THE POLITICAL PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS IS BEING BUILT AND DEVELOPPED ON THIS SOLID FOUNDATION.

BEHİCE BORAN

President

of the WORKERS' PARTY OF TURKEY